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TEUFFEL'S

# HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE

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# HISTORY OF

# ROMAN LITERATURE

REVISED AND ENLARGED BY

LUDWIG SCHWABE

AUTHORISED TRANSLATION FROM THE FIFTH GERMAN EDITION BY

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VOL. II

THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

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# PART III.

## THE IMPERIAL EPOCH.

271. Just as the Augustan age occupies a double position in history, being the close of the Republic and the beginning of the Imperial epoch, so also in literature its larger half belongs to the Golden age, its later and lesser half to the Silver age. In the latter the original national energies still continued to be active, though weakened and clogged by the new political conditions, owing to which the Monarchy after Augustus rapidly became a thorough despotism. This gradually extinguished all independent intellectual life—a result which became fully evident when, under the Antonines, the feverish excitement of the age relaxed for a number of years, and new productions were attempted. But from such complete exhaustion nothing came beyond a semblance of vitality and second-hand work. At the close of the second century Commodus revived the former despotism, when the nation was struck down and the Empire shaken by successive blows. During this time the internal dissolution was yet a while hidden and arrested by the vigorous provincial life; but in the literary sphere only jurisprudence and learning could thrive. Literature survived for some time the outward downfall of the Roman Empire (a. 476) and was not extinct until the sixth century. Thus the Imperial epoch is divided into three parts, the literary importance of which successively decreases: the first century of the Christian era, the second century or the age of Hadrian and the Antonines, and finally the third part embracing the third to the sixth century.

## A. THE SILVER AGE OF ROMAN LITERATURE.

### The First Century, A.D. 14–117.

272. The first century embraces the reigns of Tiberius (A.D. 14–47), Gaius (Caligula, a. 37–41), Claudius (41–54), Nero (54–68), Vespasian (69–79), Titus (79–81), Domitian (81–96), Nerva (96–98), and Trajan (98–117). It may be subdivided into three separate portions, the age of the Julian (A.D. 14–68) and of the Flavian Dynasty (69–96), and the time of Nerva and Trajan (96–117). The character of this century was fixed by its commencement. The Monarchy, which under Augustus had for the most part worn a modest garb, gradually became under the succeeding emperors of his house naked despotism, crafty or brutal, dull-witted or maniacal, but always in equally deadly antagonism to independence of any kind, tolerating only slaves and tools beside itself, leaving men of higher character their choice between death and hypocrisy.[1]) Vespasian and Titus came too late, and they were too soon followed by the malignant tyrant Domitian, to bring about any real improvement; the age of Nerva and Trajan could only awake to the sufferings and losses of the fatal past. In relation to literature these evils were aggravated by the fact that all the emperors of this period had some appreciation and knowledge of it; all the more suspiciously did they watch every sign of literary life, and were actually jealous of the literary success of others. Hence literature encountered the agency of despotism in a more virulent form.[2])

The influence exercised by this despotism upon men's minds was of a twofold kind. First of all, it created around itself the quiet of the graveyard, since all independence was compelled under threat of death to hypocritical silence[3]) or subterfuge; servility alone was allowed to speak; the rest submitted to what

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[1]) The smaller the genuine enjoyment offered by life and the greater its torments, the easier became the resolution (supported by the doctrines of the Stoics) to depart from it voluntarily. Such was under Tiberius the choice of his friend Cocceius Nerva, of Cassius Severus, Albucius Silus, (Apicius,) Silius Italicus, Corellius Rufus (Plin. ep. 1, 12), Titius Aristo (ib. 1, 22, 8), and others.

[2]) Plin. ep. 3, 5, 5 *sub Nerone, cum omne studiorum genus paulo liberius et erectius periculosum servitus fecisset.* WASchmidt, Gesch. der Denk- und Glaubensfreiheit im ersten Jahrhundert der Kaiserherrschaft, Berl. 1847. Friedländer, Sittengesch. 3 $^{5}$, 361. [3]) It was dangerous to be a man of character; Plin. ep. 5, 14, 6 *tandem homines non ad pericula, ut prius, verum ad honores virtute perveniunt.* 8, 14, 7 *cum suspecta virtus, inertia in pretio.*

was inevitable, nay even endeavoured to accommodate their minds to it as much as possible.[4]) But at the same time this enforced withdrawal of independent thought into the innermost sphere effected on the one hand an earnestness and concentration benefiting domestic life and producing such characters as Arria and Fannia, while on the other hand it resulted in a mastery of psychological observation. The individual, prohibited from developing his external life, retired more and more into himself; compelled to read his own fate and that of others in the frowns of the ruler, he became practised in disentangling the problems of the spiritual life, and learned to thread his way through the labyrinth of the human heart. The majority, however, became blasé,[5]) soured and morbid. As it was impossible to display true character, when all endeavoured to create the impression of being different from what they really were, the consequence was hypocrisy and affectation. Forced carefully to hide nature, men relapsed into artificial and unnatural ways. Constantly watched by spies, or at least thinking themselves to be watched, they always felt as if they were on the stage; they calculated what impression their conduct would produce on their contemporaries and posterity[6]); they adapted themselves to certain parts and studied theatrical attitudes, they declaimed instead of speaking, just as they took to writing because they were precluded from acting. The greater the effort of an individual not to sink in these difficult times, the greater was he in his own estimation; a certain vanity attaches to all the characters of the age in question,[7]) and this was fed by the public declamations, which had no other purpose but that of exhibiting personal accomplishments and fostering mutual admiration.[8]) The uncertainty of existence and posses-

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[4]) Lucan. 3, 146 *cuius* (of libertas) *servaveris umbram si quidquid iubeare velis.*

[5]) *Fastidium*, cf. HBender, d. jüngere Plinius (Tüb. 1873) 13. 21. Similarly *desidia praesens*, Petron. sat. 88, where also: *priscis temporibus, cum adhuc nuda virtus placeret, vigebant artes ingenuae. . . at nos vino scortisque demersi ne paratas quidem artes audemus cognoscere, sed accusatores antiquitatis vitia tantum docemus et discimus. ubi est dialectica? ubi astronomia? ubi sapientiae consultissima via?* etc.

[6]) Plin. ep. 3, 16, 6 *ista facienti, ista dicenti gloria et aeternitas ante oculos erant.* 9, 3, 1, *mihi, nisi praemium aeternitatis ante oculos, pingue illud altumque otium placeat.* 9, 14, 1 (*nostro*) *studio et labore et reverentia posterorum.* Cf. 5, 8, 1. Tac. a. 14, 49 *Thrasea sueta firmitudine animi et ne gloria intercideret.*

[7]) Pliny, who was himself a very vain character, complains of the self-importance and arrogance of *adolescentuli nostri*, ep. 8, 23, 3.

[8]) Quint. 10, 1, 18 *et vitiosa pluribus placent et a corrogatis laudantur etiam quae non placent.* Cf. Pers. 1, 83.

sion, the continual apprehension in which men lived, caused a restless versatility, a morbid irritability and hurry, which was always afraid of beginning too late and eagerly made the most of the moment, whether in pursuit of sensual pleasure, or in passionate strivings for literary immortality.[9])

The general character of this age appears also in its literary diction[10]). Simple and natural composition was considered insipid[11]); the aim of language was to be brilliant, piquant, and interesting. Hence it was dressed up with abundant tinsel of epigrams[12]), rhetorical figures[13]), and poetical turns[14]), and indulged in all manner of borrowed phrases and allusions. Poetry became rhetorical and prose poetical. But the same end was aimed at in different ways: the one posturing (as Seneca does) with brief, abrupt sentences[16]), the other with antique roughness or (like Persius) with artificial obscurity[17]); now effect was sought by means of epigrammatic points and niceties (e.g. by Seneca, Curtius, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger), now by glaring

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Oratory was also influenced by this; Quint. 4, 3, 2 *quod natum ab ostentatione declamatoria iam in forum venit, postquam agere causas non ad utilitatem litigatorum, sed ad patronorum iactationem repertum est;* cf. § 45, 4. Friedländer SGesch. 3 [5], 372. Many instances of these mutual laudations occur in the correspondence of Pliny the Younger, and also in Martial and Statius. [9]) With the fashionable sentimentality the sympathy and intimacy with inanimate nature increase, a feature greatly developed in Pliny the Younger (§ 340, 7), but also found in Quintilian and others; similarly there is an increased inclination to idealise modes of life either distant or remote in time; cf. ARiese, die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens (Heidelb. 1875) 32. [10]) Even the letters of the inscriptions of this epoch betray an affected graecefulness and effeminate weakness; see Ritschl, op. 4, 698. EHübner, exempla scripturae, Berl. 1885. [11]) Quint. 2, 5, 11. 8, prooem. 24 sqq., e.g. 26 *nos quibus sordet omne quod natura dictavit.* Cf. § 313, 1 and 5. [12]) Quint. 7, 1, 44. 12, 10, 46. 48. [13]) Quint. 8, prooem. 24 *nihil iam proprium placet* etc. 9, 3, 1 *paene iam quidquid loquimur figura est.* [14]) Tac. dial. 20 *exigitur iam ab oratore etiam poeticus color.* Quint. 8, prooem. 25 *a corruptissimo quoque poetarum figuras ac translationes mutuamur.* Plin. ep. 7, 9, 8 *saepe in orationes quoque non historica modo, sed prope poetica descriptionum necessitas* (?) *incidit.* Fronto ad Caes. p. 24 *plerumque ad orationem faciendam versus, ad versificandum oratio magis adiuvat.* Friedländer, SGesch, 3 [5], 372. [15]) MHertz, Herm. 8. 261. [16]) Quint. 9, 4, 66 *mediis . . . cura sit . . . ne, quod nunc maxime vitium est, brevium contextu resultent ac sonum reddant paene puerilium crepitaculorum.* [17]) Quint. 8, prooem. 25 *tum demum ingeniosi scilicet si ad intellegendos nos opus sit ingenio.* 31 *quidam etiam cum optima sunt reperta quaerunt aliquid quod sit magis antiquum, remotum, inopinatum.* 9, 3, 10. So also Plin. ep. 9, 26, 4 *sunt maxime mirabilia quae maxime insperata, maxime periculosa.* Tac. dial. 23 *isti qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt, . . . quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur* etc. Sen. ep. 114, 13 *multi . . . XII tabulas loquuntur* etc.

colours (e.g. by Juvenal); for some outward polish was the main object, even at the cost of the subject-matter [18]) (e.g. Valerius Flaccus and Statius); for others the impression of profundity. Mannerism supplanted style, and bombastic pathos took the place of quiet power. It is true that under Vespasian some became aware of having sunk into utter unreality, and intentionally endeavoured to regain the simplicity of thought and the rounded phraseology peculiar to the Ciceronian age. Writers of this kind were Julius Secundus, Vipstanus Messalla, Curiatius Maternus, and especially Quintilian. But this example was so little in harmony with the general tendency of the time that it produced no further effect, and they themselves fell short of their own standard. Tacitus abandoned this method after a single attempt, and Pliny the Younger managed to combine florid phraseology with glittering antitheses. Most writers thought the style of their age to be a step in advance, and looked down upon the pre-Augustan writers as uncouth [19]). When Augustan authors were imitated, the writers fell into exaggeration; this was the case where Curtius imitated Livy, Persius Horace, and Valerius Flaccus Vergil. The victory of the modern over the antique element was complete in literature; only in circles which had no literary importance did the old school exist for some time longer, occasionally protesting against the modern refinements [20]); only technical writers, however, such as Celsus and Columella and the Jurists, succeeded in keeping free of these. But on the whole, literature lost the sympathy of the nation at large; most Emperors even intentionally widened the chasm between the educated class and the populace, so that the latter looked at the maltreatment

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[18]) Quint. 9, 4, 142 *duram potius atque asperam compositionem malim esse quam effeminatam et enervem, qualis apud multos, et cotidie magis, lascivissimis syntonorum modis saltat.* 5, 12, 18 *nos habitum orationis virilem . . . tenera quadam elocutionis cute operimus et dum laevia sint ac nitida, quantum valeant nihil interesse arbitramur.* 2, 5, 23 *recentis huius lasciviae flosculi, . . . praedulce illud genus.* 10, 1, 43 *recens haec lascivia deliciaeque et omnia ad voluptatem multitudinis imperitae composita.* Sen. ep. 114, 15. Pers. 1, 63. [19]) Mart. 8, 56, 1 *temporibus nostris aetas . . . cedit avorum.* Tac. dial. 20 *volgus quoque . . . adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis nec perfert in iudiciis tristem et impexam antiquitatem.* [20]) Cf. especially Pers. 1, 127. 3, 77. 5, 189. 6, 37. Mart. 11, 90. Plin. ep. 6, 21, 1 *sum ex iis qui mirantur antiquos, non tamen, ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio.* In the succeeding centuries the latter view became prevalent, so that writers actually apologised for speaking of their contemporaries and not always walking in the atmosphere of the schools, or as it were in the clouds. Cf. JBurckhardt, Constantin [2] 250.

and spoliation of the higher classes with unconcern if not with malicious delight. In spite of this, the Monarchy was the basis taken for granted even by the literary men, and the very boldest of them were opposed only to its extravagant abuses of power; men of an anxious temper speak of the time of the Republic not without subdued dread[21]), though the number of those who degraded their talent to humble servility was proportionately small, e.g. Velleius and Valerius Maximus under Tiberius, and Martial under Domitian. Yet as it was, even Vespasian understood how to gain literary men for the Court by granting them positions and salaries; public competitions in Greek and Roman declamation and poetry were more than once repeated from the time of Caligula[22]), both contributing to increased production and increased artificiality. A certain intellectual and literary culture was widely spread through the numerous professors and schools[23]) —even among ladies[24]); yet this was frequently mere superficial dilettantism[25]). The provinces, especially Spain and Gaul, furnished literature with its chief masters: Spain the two Senecas (father and son), Acilius Lucanus and Annaeus Lucanus, Columella, Pomponius Mela, Quintilian, Martial, Herennius Senecio, and others[26]), perhaps also Valerius Flaccus, Gaul the orators and rhetoricians Votienus Montanus, Domitius Afer, Julius Florus and Africanus, Gabinianus Quirinalis, Ursulus, Rufus, M. Aper, and others[27]). In a later period Africa began to exercise a predominant influence on literature[28]).

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[21]) Cf. e.g. Quint. 2, 16, 5. The new oratory is characterised by *modus et temperamentum* (Tac. dial. 41 extr.). This is also due to the fact that the majority of the great families had become extinct since the time of Nero, and the new generation had no ancestral interests in the Republican past. [22]) CIL. 9, 1663 *poeta latinus coronatus in munere patriae suae* (Beneventum). 9, 2860 *certamine sacro Iovis Capitolini* (106 A.D.) *coronatus inter poetas latinos.* Friedländer, SGesch. $2^5$, 437. 575. $3^5$, 378. Cf. § 319, 4. [23]) Tac. dial. 19 *pervolgatis iam omnibus* (philosophy, rhetoric etc.), *cum vix in corona quisquam adsistat quin elementis studiorum . . . certe imbutus sit.* [24]) Friedländer, l.l. $1^6$, 492. [25]) Tac. dial. 32 *quod* (the many-sided culture of the ancient orators) *adeo neglegitur ab horum temporum disertis ut* etc. Friedländer l.l. $3^5$, 352. HBender, d. jüng. Plin. (1873) 19.

[26]) Kortüm, geschichtl. Forschungen (Lpz. 1863) 209 (on the homogeneous and dissimilar elements of the Spanish-Roman school of poetry in the second half of the first century A.D.) JJRölly, Studien und Studienörter im Occident während der römischen Kaiserzeit, Lucerne 1869. HSchiller, Nero (1872) 570. [27]) Iuv. 15, 111 *Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos;* cf. 7, 147. 213. Quint. 10, 3, 13 *Iulius Florus in eloquentia Galliarum . . . princeps.* Fronto p. 160 *gallicanus quidam declamator.* Tac. a. 3, 43. [28]) As early as Juvenal, cf. s. 7, 148

Rhetoric and declamation governed the whole century in prose as well as in poetry; but rhetoric itself degenerated more and more into petty pedantry and hair-splitting. Literary facility was widely spread [29]), while the metrical laws created by the Augustan age were carefully observed [30]) and even made more stringent. But the intuitive sense of form was on the wane. The forms of poetry were applied to every sort of subject, poetry was mixed with prose, the different styles were intermingled, synonyms lost their distinct use, the dictionary was disgraced with the births of arbitrary fancy; some particles were actually discarded [31]) with the relaxed form of construction, and some were quite perverted from their original meaning [32]). Thus its peculiar colouring was imparted to the so-called silver Latinity.

### 1. THE AGE OF THE JULIAN DYNASTY, A.D. 14–68.

273. At the beginning of this period both ruler and literature continued in the track of the Augustan age. But the more openly despotism developed itself and the greater the influence which the Emperors themselves exercised on literature, the more decisive was its transformation. This age is therefore divided into two sections, the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–34) and those of his successors (37–68).

#### a. The Reign of Tiberius, A.D. 14–37.

274. In the twenty-three years taken up by this reign, rhetoric slowly sank from the height it had attained in the Augustan age; some of its representatives, e.g. Votienus Montanus, Mam. Scaurus, Romanius Hispo, were active in the Senate and also in the law-courts. Among the historians Cremutius

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*nutricula causidicorum Africa.* [29]) Petron. sat. 1 *rerum tumore et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu hoc tantum proficiunt ut cum in forum venerint putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos.* On later periods see JBurckhardt, Constantin² 378. [30]) Many turns from the Augustan poets become stereotyped, especially at the close of the hexameter, partly in consequence of the general conditions of the metre and of the Latin tongue. AZingerle, zu späteren lat. Dichtern (Innsbr. 1873) 44. Cf. in general LFriendländer l.l. 3⁵, 354.

[31]) FHaase's pref. to his ed. of Seneca 3. p. xiii. [32]) Such are the combinations *quin immo, nempe enim, ergo igitur* etc.; also the use of *interim* and many other peculiarities. Cf. EOpitz, specimen lexilogiae argenteae latinitatis, Naumb. 1852. OErdmann, d. Gebr. der lat. Adjectiva mit dem Gen. in der silbernen Latinität, Stendal 1880; cf. above § 219, 28 in fin. EArbenz, die Schriftstellerei in Rom zur Zeit der Kaiser (down to Hadrian), Basle 1877.

Cordus paid dearly for his candour; Velleius and Valerius Maximus held their own by flattery. The polyhistor Celsus, the jurist Masurius Sabinus, and the grammarians Julius Modestus, Pomponius Marcellus, Remmius Palaemon were exempt from difficulties owing to the nature of their subject-matter. Least of all did poetry prosper in this dull and gloomy period. The so-called Manilius (§ 253) seems not to have published his work until the time of Tiberius. Besides him, Phaedrus, the writer of fables, is the sole poet it can boast, and even he underwent persecution, as also did Pomponius Secundus, who subsequently attempted the composition of tragedies.

1. Suet. Tib. 42 *Asellio Sabino sestertia ducenta donavit pro dialogo in quo boleti et ficedulae et ostreae et turdi certamen induxerat.* AKiessling, in JJ. 103, 646 identifies him with *Sabinus Asilius, venustissimus inter rhetoras scurra*, in Sen. suas. 2, 12, and *Asillius* in Suet. Calig. 8.

2. Tac. a. 4, 31 *C. Cominium eq. rom. probrosi in se carminis convictum Caesar precibus fratris . . . concessit.* 6, 39 (*Sextius*) *Paconianus in carcere ob carmina illic in principem factitata strangulatus est.* There are four bombastic hexameters by him on some astronomical topic in Diom. GL. 1, 499 (*illud Paconianum*). Cf. Haupt, op. 3, 336.—Dio 57, 22 Αἴλιον Σατορνῖνον ὡς καὶ ἔπη τινὰ ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψαντα . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισεν.—Suet. Tib. 61 *obiectum est poetae* (Mam. Scaurus, see § 276, 2) *quod in tragoedia* (entitled Atreus, Dio 58, 24) *Agamemnonem probris lacessisset* (*versibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur*, Tac. a. 6, 29), *obiectum est historico* (Cremutius Cordus, see § 277, 1) *quod Brutum Cassiumque ultimos Romanorum dixisset: animadversum statim in auctores scriptaque abolita, quamvis probarentur ante aliquot annos, etiam Augusto audiente, recitata.* Specimens of the libels on Tiberius are given by Suet. Tib. 59.

3. On Julius Montanus (*tolerabilis poeta et amicitia Tiberii notus et frigore*) see § 252, 13.—On the poetry of Remmius Palaemon see § 282, 3; on Gaetulicus § 291, 1.—On the prohibition of the oscum ludicrum § 10, 2.—Phaedrus was persecuted by Sejanus (Phaedr. 3, prol. 41) § 284, 1. On Pomponius Secundus § 284, 7.

275. Among the members of the Imperial dynasty Tiberius himself (712/42 B.C.–790/37 A.D.) possessed a thorough rhetorical training, which he exhibited both orally and in writing, even as ruler, at least so far as his close, sinister temper allowed it. He also wrote memoirs full of daring mendacity, and verses in Greek and Latin. The unfortunate Germanicus (739/15 B.C.–772/19 A.D.) was also highly cultivated and composed several works in verse, especially a poetical version of Aratus' didactic poem on astronomy, which has come down to us together with scholia.

1. Suet. Tib. 70 *artes liberales utriusque generis* (Greek as well as Latin) *studiosissime coluit. in oratione latina secutus est Corvinum Messalam* (§ 222), . . . *sed adfectatione et morositate nimia obscurabat stilum, ut aliquanto ex tempore quam a cura*

*praestantior haberetur.* Tac. a. 13, 3 *Tiberius artem quoque callebat qua verba expenderet, tum validus sensibus aut consulto ambiguus.* 4, 31 *compositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum, solutius promptiusque eloquebatur quotiens subveniret.* He attended the lectures of the rhetorician Theodoros of Gadara, Sen. suas. 3, 8. Suet. Tib. 57. Quint. 3, 1, 17. Purist tendencies (in imitation of Messalla, see above and § 222, 2 l. 12): Suet. Tib. 71. Dio 57, 15. 17. His preference for archaic expressions, Suet. Aug. 86. gr. 22. Funeral speeches by him, Suet. Tib. 6. Aug. 100. Tac. a. 4, 12. Sen. cons. ad Marc. 15, 3. Dio 57, 11 and elsewhere. Accusations and defences, Suet. Tib. 8. Meyer, orat. rom.² 553. Documents composed by him are noticed by Tac. a. 3, 6. 53 sq. 4, 40; cf. 1, 81. 2, 63. Suet. Tib. 67. ib. 61 *commentario quem de vita sua summatim breviterque composuit* (like Augustus, § 220, 4) *ausus est scribere* etc. Domit. 20 *praeter commentarios et acta Tiberii Caesaris nihil lectitabat.*

2. Suet. Tib. 70 *composuit et carmen lyricum, cuius est titulus Conquestio de morte L. Caesaris. fecit et graeca poemata imitatus Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus* etc. *maxime tamen curavit notitiam historiae fabularis, usque ad ineptias atque derisum. nam et grammaticos, quod genus hominum praecipue appetebat, eiusmodi fere quaestionibus experiebatur, quae mater Hecubae* etc. According to Suidas (v. Καῖσαρ Τιβέριος) *ἔγραψεν ἐπιγράμματα καὶ τέχνην ῥητορικήν.* The latter is an error due to his being confounded with Tiberius the rhetorician in Suid. 2, 2, 1114 Bdy. Cf. also HFlach, RhM. 36, 319.

3. Suet. Calig. 3 of Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of Tiberius: *ingenium in utroque* (cf. n. 1) *eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praecellens. . . . oravit causas etiam triumphalis, atque inter cetera studiorum monimenta reliquit et comoedias graecas* (Suet. Claud. 11). Plin. NH. 8, 155 *fecit et divus Augustus equo tumulum, de quo Germanici Caesaris carmen est.* Tac. a. 2, 83 *veteres inter scriptores haberetur.* Ov. fast. 1, 20 *docti . . . principis. quae sit enim culti facundia sensimus oris civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis.* 25 *vates rege vatis habenas.* Pont. 2, 5, 53. 4, 8, 67 *non potes officium vatis contemnere vates.* 70 *gloria Pieridum summa futurus eras.* 73 *modo bella geris, numeris modo verba coerces.* 77 *tibi nec docti desunt nec principis artes.* A few Greek and Latin epigrams have come down to us under the name of Germanicus: AL. 708 PLM. 4, 102, the same in Greek Anth. Pal. 9, 387 (Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος, οἱ δὲ Γερμανικοῦ). AL. 709 PLM. 4, 103=Anth. Pal. 7, 549 (Φλάκκου). Also Anth. Pal. 9, 17. 18 (7, 73. 74 ?). On this see ABreysig, miscellanea crit. ad Germanicum, Erfurt 1873.

4. Under the title *Claudii Caesaris Arati Phaenomena* (or *Aratus Germanici ad Augustum* etc.), we possess a Latin version of the astronomical poem of Aratos of Soli; it gives, in well-made hexameters, the Φαινόμενα in 686 lines (the four larger fragments on the influence of constellations on weather, διοσημεῖα or prognostica, have no connection with Aratos). Compared with the fragments of Cicero's similar attempt (§ 117 a, 1) and with that of Avienus (§ 420, 2) the present version is remarkable for originality (Germanicus erases, adds, corrects and alters here and there), knowledge and relative poetical talent. Cf. JFrey, de Germ. Ar. interpr. p. xxiv. GSieg, de Cicerone, Germanico, Avieno Arati interpretibus, Halle 1886. The writer treats legends critically; see Phaen. 31. 166. 264. The collation of the text with Aratos and Avienus, and the use of the work as a text-book of astronomy, have caused many falsifications of the text, e.g. additions, omissions (the transcribers left out lines in order to make room for pictures of the constellations) and so forth, see Breysig's praef. p. v.—The MSS. fall into two classes; to the first (the more genuine) belong e.g. Basil. s. VIII/IX, Paris. 7886 (Puteaneus) s. IX/X, Matritens. A. 16 s. XII, Phillippicus in Middlehill s. IX/X, Arundelianus

in Oxford s. XIII (from this EBährens, RhM. 32, 323 has recovered nine hitherto unknown lines of the prognost.); to the second class belong e.g. MSS. in Boulogne s. X (see RDahms, JJ. 99, 269: a specimen of the writing in the trans. of the Palaeographical Society 7, pl. 96), Einsiedel s. X, Leid. Voss. Q. 97 (cod. Susianus) s. XIII? On this see EBährens, PLM. 1, 142 and ABreysig, Herm. 17, 401.

5. The Claudian Germanicus (son of Drusus) is regarded as the author of this version, e.g. by Hieronymus and Lactantius (inst. 5, 5), whereas Firmic. math. 2. praef. (cf. 8, 5) calls him Julius Caesar, as does Suidas (s. v. Γάιος Ἰούλ. Καῖσ.) ἔγραψε μετάφρασιν τῶν Ἀράτου φαινομένων (cf. § 195, 6). That it was rather the composition of the Flavian Domitian, was inferred by Rutgers, var. lectt. 2, 122, on the strength of v. 2 *carminis at nobis, genitor, tu maximus auctor, te veneror, tibi sacra fero doctique laboris primitias* (cf. 16 *pax tua tuque adsis nato*), while v. 558 sqq. (which should be assigned to the prognost.) are in favour of composition subsequent to the death of Augustus. But *genitor* used of an adoptive father (in this case Tiberius) is not unusual (Merkel ad Ibin p. 379); Germanicus is called *Ti. Caesaris Aug. filius, Divi Aug. nep., Divi Iuli pronepos* in official language (see e.g. Orelli-Henzen 5380) from the time of his adoption 757/4 a.d. (Vell. 2, 103. Suet. Calig. 4. Tib. 15. Tac. a. 4, 57), and this work may have been the first which he finished. The assumption of the authorship of Domitian is at variance with the silence observed by all his flatterers concerning a performance of this kind, as well as with the fact that Domitian did not assume the title of Germanicus until he attained to the Imperial dignity, after his campaign against the Chatti, a.d. 84; see Frontin. strat. 2, 11, 7 *imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus eo bello quo victis hostibus cognomen Germanici meruit, cum in finibus Chattorum castella poneret* etc. Cf. Mart. 2, 2 *Creta dedit magnum, maius dedit Africa nomen . . .; nobilius domito tribuit Germania Rheno, et puer hoc dignus nomine, Caesar, eras* (because in the year 70 Domitian, at the age of 19, had taken part in an expedition against Gaul and Germany); . . . *quae datur ex Chattis laurea tota tua est.* AImhof, Domitian 29. 131.

6. Editions of the Aratea of Germanicus. Especially ed. Hugo Grotius, Leid. 1600. Cum comm. varr. ed. JCSchwartz (Coburg 1715). In Buhles' ed. of Aratos (Lpz. 1801), in JCOrelli's ed. of Phaedrus (1831) p. 137. Cum scholiis ed. ABreysig, Berl. 1867. Bährens PLM. 1, 148. – JCSchaubach, de Arati interpretibus rom., Meiningen 1817. JFrey, RhM. 13, 409; de Germanico Arati interprete, Culm 1861. MHaupt, op. 3, 405. REllis, Journ. of philol. 7 (1877), 256.

7. Besides the didactic poem itself we also possess three collections of scholia on it written in different periods. The earlier ones (those of the Basil. and Paris.) were in existence as early as the third century (Lactantius—§ 397—used them) and probably then in connection with Germanicus' poem. They are chiefly taken from the original version of the καταστερισμοί of Eratosthenes, which is extant only in an abridgment, and also from Nigidius (§ 170): see Robert l.l. 11. 15. The second collection, represented chiefly by the cod. Sangerm. s. IX, is independent of the first, but also employs for the main, i.e. the mythological part of the work, the katasterismoi of Eratosthenes, using however an abridgment which was in parts more complete than the one now extant; in astronomical matters recourse was had to Hyginus' Astrology, Pliny's NH., Suetonius (?), Censorini fragm. (§ 379, 5) and Fulgentius (§ 480): hence it must have been compiled at earliest in the sixth century. Robert l.l. 21. 201. The third collection, extant in a cod. Strozzianus s. XIV in Florence and in a Vatic. Urbinas 1358 s. XV, comprises a combination of the first two collections with additions from Hyginus, Pliny, Fulgentius, Mar-

tianus Capella, Isidorus, etc. ROBERT l.l. 204.—ABREYSIG, Phil. 13, 660 and praef. to his ed. p. XXVI sqq. Eratosth. cataster. rec. CROBERT, Berl. 1878 (see prolegg. and epimetr. 1). Cf. REIFFERSCHEID, Suet. p. 440. JFREY, RhM. 25, 263.—Editions of these scholia together with Germanicus (see n. 6), esp. in BREYSIG's edition p. 54. Also in EYSSENHARDT's Martianus Capella (Lps. 1886) p. 377 and in part in ROBERT l.l. Addenda thereto from a cod. Dresd. (s. IX/X): EHEYDENREICH, RhM. 33, 480 (cf. JJ. 117, 256).—JCSCHAUBACH, obss. in scholia Germanici, Mein. 1821–1834 IV. WHDSURINGAR, de mythographo astronomico qui dicitur scholiastes Germanici, Leid. 1842. ABREYSIG, Phil. 13, 657; de Nigidii Fig. fragm. ap. schol. Germ., Berl. 1854; in the schol. on Germ., Posen 1865; Herm. 1, 453. 12, 515. JMAYBAUM, see addenda to 177[a].

276. Among the orators of this age the most important—(who likewise edited their own speeches and rhetorical writings) were the honest Votienus Montanus of Narbo, whose oratorical style, however, was exaggerated; the talented, but lazy and dissolute Mamercus Scaurus; Asinius Gallus (a. 714/40 B.C.–786/33 A.D.), the author of a comparison of his father Pollio and Cicero; the knight P. Vitellius, who conducted the prosecution of Piso for the murder of Germanicus; Domitius Afer (c. 740/14 B.C.–812/59 A.D.) of Nemausus, who held high dignities under Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero, and pleaded in the law-courts, but was less respectable as a man and outlived his oratorical reputation.

1. HIERON. on Eus. chron. a. Abr. 2043=780/27 A.D. *Votienus Montanus Narbonensis orator in Balearibus insulis moritur, illuc a Tiberio* (two years previously) *relegatus.* Cf. TAC. a. 4, 42 *habita per illos dies* (a. 778/25 A.D.) *de Votieno Montano, celebris ingenii viro, cognitio. . . . postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dictas* (which were, however, in accordance with truth) etc. *Votienus maiestatis poenis adfectus est.* SEN. contr. 9, praef. 1 *Montanus Votienus adeo numquam ostentationis declamavit causa ut ne exercitationis quidem declamaverit.* 9, 28, 17 *habet hoc Montanus vitium: sententias suas repetendo corrumpit; . . . et propter hoc et propter alia . . . solebat Scaurus Montanum inter oratores Ovidium vocare* (§ 247, 6, 7). 9, 28, 15 *Montanus Votienus, homo rarissimi, etiamsi non emendatissimi ingeni, vitium suum, quod in orationibus non evitat, in scholasticis quoque evitare non potuit. . . . memini illum pro Galla Numisia apud centumviros tirocinium ponere. . . .* (16) *ex iis quaedam in orationem contulit et alia plura quam dixerat adiecit.* 9, 29, 18 *Montanus Votienus Marcellum Marcium amicum suum, cuius frequenter mentionem in scriptis suis facit tamquam hominis diserti, aiebat dixisse* etc. 7, 20, 12 *Vinicius* (§ 268, 10) *erat non aequus ipsi Montano. accusaverat illum apud Caesarem, a colonia Narbonensi rogatus. at Montanus adeo toto animo scholasticus erat ut eodem die quo accusatus est a Vinicio diceret: delectavit me Vinici actio.* Seneca frequently gives specimens of the declamations of Montanus in the seventh and following books.

2. Mamercus Scaurus, *insignis nobilitate* (the great-grandson of the princeps senatus, § 136, 10) *et orandis causis, vita probrosus* (TAC. a. 6, 29 cf. 3, 66), a. 787/34 A.D. driven by Tiberius to suicide, cf. § 274, 2 and § 277, 4. PRE. 1[2], 374. 6. He is generally called Mamercus Scaurus, e.g. in TACITUS ann. 1, 13. 3, 31. 66, in

Sen. de ben. 4, 31, 3, in Dio 58, 24 Μαμέρκος Αἰμίλιος Σκαῦρος and in an Arvalian inscription CIL. 6, 2023[b], 16 *Mam. Aem⟨ilio Scauro⟩*. On the other hand Tac. a. 6, 9 and Sen. suas. 2, 22 have *Scaurus Mamercus*, and in agreement with this we find in a Pompeian inscription CIL. 4, 1553 *M. Emilio Scauro*, according to which (unless the current *M.* has been erroneously substituted for Mam. in the carelessly written Pompeian manuscript) the complete name should be: M. Aemilius Scaurus Mamercus. Cf. KNipperdey, op. 536. Of him Seneca states contr. 10, praef. 2–4 *non novi quemquam cuius ingenio populus rom. pertinacius ignoverit. dicebat neglegenter: saepe causam in ipsis subselliis, saepe dum amicitur discebat. . . . nihil erat illo venustius, nihil paratius. genus dicendi antiquum, verborum quoque non volgarium gravitas, ipse voltus habitusque corporis mire ad auctoritatem oratoriam aptatus.* (3) *sed . . . ignavus Scaurus. . . . pleraeque actiones malae, in omnibus tamen aliquod magni neglectique ingeni vestigium extabat. . . . orationes septem edidit, quae deinde senatusconsulto combustae sunt* (cf. § 274, 2). *bene cum illis ignis egerat; sed extant libelli qui cum fama eius pugnant, multo quidem solutiores ipsis actionibus.* (4) *declamantem audivimus, et novissime quidem M'. Lepido* (cos. 764/11, see Borghesi, oeuvr. 5, 289. Sen. rhet. p. 544 Kiessl.). 1, 2, 22 *Scaurus non tantum disertissimus homo sed venustissimus.* Tac. a. 3, 31 *Mam. Scaurus, qui . . . oratorum ea aetate uberrimus erat.* Specimens of his happy witticisms are given by Sen. contr. 1, 2, 22. 2, 9, 39. 9, 28, 17; cf. 10, 31, 19.

3. C. Asinius Gallus, the son of Asinius Pollio (§ 221), cos. 746/8, whom Tiberius drove to suicide, a. 786/33; PRE. 1[2], 1865, 9. Plin. ep. 7, 4, 3 *libri Asini Galli de comparatione patris et Ciceronis. . . .* (6) *libros Galli . . . quibus ille parenti ausus de Cicerone dare est palmamque decusque.* Claudius wrote against this work; see § 286, 2. Quint. 12, 1, 22 *Asinio utrique, qui vitia orationis eius* (Cicero) *etiam inimice pluribus locis insequuntur.* Gell. 17, 1, 1 *nonnulli tam prodigiosi tamque vecordes extiterunt, in quibus sunt Gallus Asinius et Largius Licinus* (§ 328, 6), *cuius liber etiam fertur infando titulo 'Ciceromastix,' ut scribere ausi sint M. Ciceronem parum integre atque improprie atque inconsiderate locutum.* An epigram by Gallus on the grammarian Marcellus (§ 282, 2) is quoted by Suet. gr. 22.

4. P. Vitellius, the uncle of the Emperor, *Germanici comes, Cn. Pisonem inimicum et interfectorem eius accusavit condemnavitque* (Suet. Vitell. 2), a 772/19 a.d. He died 784/31; PRE. 6, 2682, 4. Plin. NH. 11, 187 *extat oratio Vitelli qua Gnaeum Pisonem eius sceleris (veneficii) coarguit hoc usus argumento* etc.

5. Hieron. a. Abr. 2062=799/46 a.d. *Domitius Afer Nemausensis clarus orator habetur, qui postea Nerone regnante ex cibi redundantia in cena moritur.* Cos. suff. under Caligula a. 792/39 a.d.; cur. aquarum 802/49–812/59 (Frontin. aq. 102 *Cn. Domitius Afer*). A. 779/26 he accused Claudia Pulchra, Tac. a. 4, 52 *recens praetura, modicus dignationis et quoque facinore properus clarescere. . . . Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio. . . . mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tutando prosperior eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, nisi quod aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit.* 4, 66 *nullo mirante quod diu egens et parto nuper praemio male usus plura ad flagitia accingeretur.* 14, 19 *sequuntur* (a. 812/59) *virorum illustrium mortes, Domitii Afri et M. Servilii* (§ 291, 2), *qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant, ille orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus rom. celebris et elegantia vitae, quam clariorem effecit* (than Afer), *ut par ingenio ita morum diversus* (better than Afer). See also Plin. ep. 8, 18, 5. Quint. 10, 1, 118 *eorum quos viderim Domitius Afer et Iulius Africanus longe praestantissimi. verborum arte ille et toto genere dicendi praeferendus et quem in numero veterum habere non timeas.* 12, 11, 3 *vidi ego longe omnium quos mihi cognoscere*

*contigit summum oratorem, Domitium Afrum, valde senem cotidie aliquid ex ea quam meruerat auctoritate perdentem, cum agente illo, quem principem fuisse quondam fori non erat dubium, alii . . . riderent, alii erubescerent.* Cf. also 12, 10, 11 (above § 45, 2). Tac. dial. 13, 15. Dio 59, 19. Plin. ep. 2, 14, 10 *narrabat ille* (Quintilian): *adsectabar Domitium Afrum; cum apud centumviros diceret graviter et lente, hoc enim illi actionis genus erat* etc. Especially famous were his (published) speeches pro Voluseno Catulo (Quint. 10, 1, 24), pro Domitilla (ib. 8, 5, 16. 9, 2, 20. 9, 3, 66. 9, 4, 31), pro Laelia (ib. 9, 4, 31). Meyer, orat. fragm. p. 565. Other writings: Quint. 5, 7, 7 *sufficiebant alioqui libri duo a Domitio Afro in hanc rem (de testibus) compositi, quem adolescentulus senem colui.* 6, 3, 42 *mire fuit in hoc genere* (witty descriptions) *venustus Afer Domitius, cuius orationibus complures huiusmodi narrationes insertae reperiuntur: sed dictorum quoque ab eodem urbane sunt editi libri.* Cf. ib. 27 and 32.

6. Sex. Pompeius, the friend of Germanicus (Ov. Pont. 4, 5, 25; cf. Tac. a. 3, 11), consul in the year when Augustus died (767/14 a.d.), a patron of Ovid (Pont. 4, 1, 21. 4, 5, 37. 4, 15, 3. 37), who addressed to him his epistles ex Pont. 4, 1. 4. 5. 15, and of Valerius Maximus (§ 279, 1). Ovid mentions his *facundum os* (Pont. 4, 4, 37), Val. Max. 2, 6, 8 (*facundissimo sermone, qui ore eius quasi e beato quodam eloquentiae fonte emanabat*). 4, 7, ext. 2 (*clarissimi ac disertissimi viri*). He is not, as Kiessling conjectures in his Sen. Rhet. p. 549, to be identified with the rhetorician Pompeius Silo (§ 268, 10); see JBrzoska in the commentat. Reifferscheid., Bresl. 1884, 41. Cf. concerning him GGräber, quaestt. Ovid. 1 (Elberf. 1881), 26. BLorentz, de amicis in Ov. trist., Lps. 1881, 13.

7. Tac. a. 3, 24 *M. (Iunii) Silani potentia, qui per insignem nobilitatem et eloquentiam praecellebat.* Cos. 768/15 a.d., forced to commit suicide (Suet. Calig. 23) by Caligula, who had married his daughter Junia Claudilla (ib. 12. Tac. a. 6, 20). Cf. Mommsen, ephem. epigr. 1, 60. Attempts to connect him with the Brutus mentioned in Ovid. Pont, 1, 1. 3, 9. 4, 6 are to be found in Wölffel on Ovid ex Ponto p. 2187 and BLorentz, de amicis in Ov. trist. 38. See however GWartenberg, quaestt. Ovid., Berl. 1884, 59. GGräber, Unterss. über Ovids Briefe, Elberf. 1884, 6.

8. Tac. a. 6, 48 *poenae in Laelium Balbum decernuntur* (a. 790/37). . . . *Balbus truci eloquentia habebatur, promptus adversum insontes.* Cf. ib. 47. Quint. 10, 1, 24 *nobis pueris insignes pro Voluseno Catulo* (see n. 5) *Decimi Laelii orationes ferebantur.*

9. Tac. a. 6, 47 (*Vibius*) *Marsus quoque vetustis honoribus et inlustris studiis* (of oratory) *erat.* PRE. 6, 2571, 23.—On Valerius Messalinus see § 267, 6, on Popilius Laenas, Romanius Hispo, Vibius Gallus, Vinicius and others, see § 268, 10 sq.

10. Perhaps to this period belongs the Visellius, who is several times mentioned by Quintilian as the author of a work de figuris: Quint. 9, 3, 89 *haec omnia copiosius sunt executi qui . . . proprie libros huic operi* (that is, to the figurae, *σχήματα λέξεως*) *dedicaverunt, sicut Caecilius, Dionysius, Rutilius, Cornificius, Visellius.* 9, 2, 101 *Celsus* (§ 280) *et non negleyens auctor Visellius in hac eam* (comparationem) *parte posuerunt, Rutilius quidem Lupus* (§ 270) etc. 9, 2, 106 *Visellius quamquam paucissimas faciat figuras, ἐνθύμημα tamen quod commentum vocat et rationem appellans ἐπιχείρημα inter eas habet. quod quidem recipit quodam modo et Celsus: nam consequens an epichirema sit dubitat. Visellius adicit et sententiam.* The fragment by Visellius quoted in Priscian GL. 2, 386 (see MHertz ad loc.) belongs to Visellius Varro (§ 154, 6).

277. The expiration of the Republic and foundation of the Monarchy had, under Augustus, been related by A. Cremutius Cordus with much candour, which now furnished a pretext for persecuting him. In the reign of Tiberius, the same subject was treated in the rhetorical manner of the period by Aufidius Bassus, a man of philosophical culture, who described the reigns of the first Emperors and the expeditions against the Germans, and whose work was subsequently continued by Pliny the Elder. Seneca the Elder wrote his historical work in this reign. Bruttedius Niger and Tuscus were both rhetoricians and historians.

1. Tac. a. 4, 34 *Cremutius Cordus postulatur* (a 778/25 a.d.) . . . *quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto* (cf. Plut. Brut. 44) *C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset* (cf. § 274, 2). His pleading ib. 34 sq. *Egressus dein senatu vitam abstinentia finivit. libros per aediles cremandos censuere patres; sed manserunt, occultati et editi*, ib. 35. Sen. cons. ad Marciam 1, 2 (*A. Cremutii Cordi, parentis tui*). 22, 6 sqq. Dio 57, 24. The real cause of the attack upon him should be found in some expressions by which he had offended Sejanus, Sen. ad Marc. 22, 4 sq.—Dio l.l.: ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεδύθη αὖθις (τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ), ἄλλοι τε γὰρ καὶ μάλιστα ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρκία συνέκρυψεν αὐτά. Sen. ad Marc. 1, 3 sq., where e.g. we find *restituisti in publica monumenta libros quos vir ille fortissimus sanguine suo scripserat . . . optime* (*meruisti*) *de posteris, ad quos veniet incorrupta rerum fides auctori suo magno imputata. . . . magnum mehercule detrimentum res publica ceperat, si illum ob duas res pulcherrimas in oblivionem coniectum, eloquentiam et libertatem, non eruisses;* cf. ib. 26, 1 *illo ingenio . . . quo* (*Cremutius*) *civilia bella deflevit, quo proscribentes in aeternum ipse proscripsit.* 26, 5 *iuvabat* (Cremutius is speaking) *me unius me saeculi facta componere.* Suet. Calig. 16 (§ 267, 10). Quotations from his history concerning the death of Cicero, are made by Seneca suas. 6, 19. 23. From Quint. 10, 1, 104 it may be inferred that the strongest passages were omitted in a new edition: *habet amatores, nec immerito, Cremuti libertas, quamquam circumcisis quae dixisset ei nocuerat, sed elatum abunde spiritum et audaces sententias deprehendas etiam in his quae manent;* cf. KNipperdey, op. 436. FRitter, Phil. 6, 752.—Cremutius Cordus is mentioned as his authority by Plin. NH. ind. auct. b. 7. 10. 16; but both the two quotations 10, 74 and 16, 108 and the contents of b. 7 (mirabilia) point to a work on prodigies (admiranda, θαυμαστά; cf. e.g. § 186, 4), not to a contemporary chronicle.—JHeld, de vita scriptisque A. Crem. Cordi, Schweidnitz 1841. CRathlef, de A. Cremutio Cordo, Dorp. 1860. CPaucker, Domitian und Cremutius Cordus (SBer. der kurländ. Ges. f. Lit.), Mitau 1861.

2. Sen. ep. 30, 1 (written c. 60 a.d.) *Bassum Aufidium, virum optimum, vidi quassum, aetati obluctantem. . . . magno senectus et universo pondere incubuit.* ib. 3 *Bassus tamen noster alacer animo est. hoc philosophia praestat* etc. ib. 5. 10. 14 *dicebat ille, Epicuri praeceptis obsequens* etc. Quint. 10, 1, 103 *quam* (i.e. auctoritas historiae) *paulum aetate praecedens eum* (i.e. Servilius, § 291, 2) *Bassus Aufidius egregie, utique in libris belli germanici, praestitit, genere ipso probabilis in omnibus, in quibusdam suis ipse viribus minor.* Specimens of his historical work, concerning the death of Cicero, in rather affected phraseology, are given by Sen. suas. 6, 18 and 23. Cf. Plin. NH. 6, 27 *universae* (*Armeniae*) *magnitudinem Aufidius . . . prodidit.* praef. 20 *diximus . . . temporum nostrorum historiam, orsi a fine Aufidii Bassi.* Cassiod. in fine chron. p. 659 Momms. *a Bruto usque ad consula-*

*tum vestrum* (§ 483, 4), *sicut ex T. Livio et Aufidio Basso et Paschali clarorum virorum auctoritate firmato collegimus, anni sunt* MXXXI. It is uncertain with what events Aufidius began his narrative (whether from the commencement of the Civil Wars, from the death of Cæsar, or from where Livy ended) and at what point it closed (with the end of Claudius, cf. § 312, 5, or that of Caligula, or that of Tiberius etc.) We only know that Pliny, who continued his work, treated at least of the latter part of the reign of Nero, see § 312, 5. Cf. MOMMSEN, Cassiodor. 558. HCHRISTENSEN, de fontibus Cassii Dionis (Berl. 1871) 60. WSICKEL, de fontt. Cass. Dion. (Gött. 1876) 35. It is doubtful whether the libri belli germanici were an independent work or part of the larger history. TAC. dial. 23 (antiquarians) *quibus eloquentia Aufidii Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet.* PRE. $1^2$, 2129, 11.

3. On Seneca see § 269, 3.

4. Bruttedius Niger, aedilis a. 775/22 A.D. TAC. a. 3, 66 (*Bruttedium artibus honestis copiosum et, si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quaeque iturum festinatio exstimulabat*). He was a friend of Sejanus and was put to death with him a. 784/31. IUV. 10, 83. In rhetoric he was a pupil of Apollodoros, SEN. contr. 2, 9, 36. Specimens of his declamations ib. 35; on the other hand ib. 6, 20 sq. the narrative of Cicero's death and the public exhibition of his head is taken from an historical work, for SEN. l.l. 6, 16 (cf. 21) says that he passes on *a declamatoribus ad historicos*, and he gives, before and after these extracts from Bruttedius, others from Livy, Aufidius Bassus, Cremutius Cordus. HPETER, hist. fragm. 290.—SEN. suas. 2, 22 *historicum quoque vobis fatuum dabo. Tuscus ille qui Scaurum Mamercum* (§ 276, 2) *in quo Scaurum familia extincta est maiestatis reum fecerat, homo quam improbi animi tam infelicis ingenii, cum hanc suasoriam declamaret dixit* etc. By TAC. a. 6, 29 the accusers of Scaurus (a. 787/34) are called Servilius and Cornelius; one of them would appear to have had the cognomen Tuscus.

5. *Aemilius Sura de annis populi rom.* (cf. above p. 258, c and d): *Assyrii principes* etc. is an old gloss which has crept into the text of Velleius (1, 6, 6) as a parallel illustration. The work seems to have been an abridgment on Universal History, perhaps in the manner of Velleius' work, and arranged according to the five great Monarchies (the Assyrian, Median, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman), the fifth of which the anni pop. rom. seem to have formed. The date of composition is not known. MOMMSEN, RhM. 16, 282. REIFFERSCHEID's Sueton. p. XVI; see above § 160, 4.—On Annius Fetialis see § 259, 8.

278. The Monarchy occupies the principal place in the abridgment of Roman history in two books by C. Velleius Paterculus, A.D. 30. This writer had been in military service under Tiberius, whom he then learned to admire; but he soars to such fervour of loyalty and extravagance of style that he lauds and magnifies everything connected with his general beyond all bounds and vilifies all that was opposed to him. He does not appreciate the internal connection of things, and his interest centres upon individuals only. His work is peculiar in taking account of literary history. His diction is pompous and affected, but wanting in variety and ease. The construction of his sentences is frequently awkward. The vocabulary generally

agrees with classical usage, but the whole mode of treatment, in which the subject-matter is chiefly used as the vehicle of personal views, is quite in harmony with the spirit of the first century. The work has come down to us through only one MS. which has long since disappeared, and the first book is mutilated.

1. Of his personal affairs Velleius frequently informs us with unnecessary minuteness. 2, 101, 2 *sub initia stipendiorum meorum tribuno militum mihi* (a. 754/1 A.D.) . . . *quem militiae gradum ante sub patre tuo, M. Vinici, et P. Silio auspicatus in Thracia Macedoniaque, mox Achaia Asiaque et omnibus ad orientem visis provinciis et ore atque utroque maris pontici latere, haud iniucunda tot rerum, locorum . . . recordatione perfruor.* 2, 104, 3 *hoc tempus* (a. 757/4) *me . . . castrorum Ti. Caesaris militem fecit. quippe protinus ab adoptione* (June 757/4) *missus cum eo praefectus equitum in Germaniam, successor officii patris mei, caelestissimorum eius operum per annos continuos VIII praefectus aut legatus spectator et . . . adiutor fui.* 2, 111, 3 *habuit in hoc quoque bello* (pannonico, a. 759/6) *mediocritas nostra speciosi ministeri locum. finita equestri militia designatus quaestor, necdum senator, aequatus senatoribus et iam designatis tribunis plebei partem exercitus ab urbe traditi ab Augusto perduxi ad filium eius* (Tiberius). *in quaestura* (a. 760/7) *deinde, remissa sorte provinciae, legatus eiusdem ad eundem missus sum.* 2, 113, 3 *hiemis* (760/7 to 761/8) *initio regressus Sisciam legatos, inter quos ipsi fuimus, partitis praefecit hibernis.* 114, 2 *erat . . . lectica eius* (i.e. Tiberius) *publicata, cuius usum cum alii tum ego sensi.* 121, 3 *triumphus* (of Tiberius, Jan. 766/13), *quem mihi fratrique meo* (cf. 2, 115, 1 *Magio Celere Velleiano*) *inter praecipuos praecipuisque donis adornatos viros comitari contigit.* 124, 4 *quo tempore* (a. 767/14) *mihi fratrique meo, candidatis Caesaris, proxime a nobilissimis ac sacerdotalibus viris destinari praetoribus contigit, consecutis ut neque post nos quemquam divus Augustus* (merely because he died), *neque ante nos Caesar commendaret Tiberius.* That he did not advance beyond the praetorship up to 783/30 may be inferred from his silence. The latest fact mentioned in his work is the death of Livia (2, 130, 5), a. 782/29 A.D., and the consulship of M. Vinicius (a. 783/30), to whom Velleius dedicated his work in that year. He is identical with the person mentioned on a milestone in North Africa—*C. Velleio Paterculo leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) XXIX* CIL. 8, 10311. The inscription at the same time confirms the praenomen C., which is given in the editio princeps before and after b. 1 (Amerbach's apogr. does not contain the present beginning of b. 1 and in the subscriptio to b. 1 the praenomen is wanting): the title of the editio princeps indeed gives *P. Vellei*, but this is evidently only because BRhenanus (cf. his vita Vellei in the ed. princ.) identified the historian with *P. Vellaeus* in Tac. a. 3, 39. In Prisc. GL. 2, 248, 4 he is called *M. Velleius Paterculus*, otherwise he is mentioned only in Schol. Lucan. 9, 178 (and Schol. ant. on 8, 663, also in the very uncertain notice in Fronto p. 126) where he is called simply *Paterculus*. L. Velleius Paterculus cos. suff. 813/60 (CIL. 3, p. 845, Orelli 5407 Wilm. 904; also CIL. 1, 776[a]) is probably a son of the historian. Such passages as 1, 7, 2. 2, 76, 1. 2, 16, 2 make it probable that the historian was a native of Capua. Cf. also CIL. 10, ind. s. v. Velleius. Mommsen in Haase's ed. p. VII.

2. The historical work of Velleius is not strictly confined to Roman history. In imitation of the Annalists, the writer begins with the first settlements of Greeks in Italy, passes in rapid survey over the East and Greece, and in his first book brings the Roman history down to the fall of Carthage. His intention being originally only to give a short outline (1, 16, 1. 2, 41, 1. 2, 55, 1. 2, 86, 1. 2, 99, 4. 2,

108, 2. 2, 124, 1 cf. 2, 29, 2. 2, 52, 3. 2, 86, 1), the work, in conformity again with the manner of the Annalists (cf. § 257, 11), becomes more extensive the more it approaches the historian's own time, though it bears a subjective and rhetorical colouring, even where the writer summarises, and is frequently interrupted by his personal reflections. Thus Velleius finds space to attend to literary history, Greek as well as Roman. 1, 16–18 he reflects on the short period into which are crowded the chief classical writers of both literatures. 2, 9 gives a survey of the earlier, 2, 36 of the later Roman literature. Incidentally may be noticed, e.g. the praise of Homer 1, 5, of Cicero 2, 66 (above § 176, 1). Singularities are of course not wanting: for instance, Plautus, Horace and Propertius are not mentioned. He is fond of interspersing anecdotes and individual traits; in fact his whole method is personal and consequently arbitrary and partial in many places (SAUPPE l.l. 144. 155). There are, however, numerous instances of thoughtful observation. Much space is devoted to the delineation of the individual actors, the point in which our writer excels, though he sometimes appears capricious concerning the characters of the Republican period, but frequently also exceedingly happy. On the other hand, the characters of Caesar, Augustus and Tiberius are enveloped in a constantly increasing cloud of incense (SAUPPE l.l. 161), the latter especially being praised (after 2, 94) in quite an ecstatic manner with a downright extravagant use of superlatives, and the fulsome eulogy of Sejanus (2, 127. 128), who was at the zenith of his power when Velleius wrote (shortly before his downfall 784/31) is utterly offensive. Velleius had the ill luck to close his book too soon; otherwise we should doubtless have found in his pages the same ridicule of the dead potentate, which we read in his rival toady Valerius Maximus (§ 279, 1). That Germanicus was a good general and Agrippa a member of the Imperial house is put to their credit; Velleius manages with easy generalities to pass over Tiberius' disgraceful treatment of them. In face of these facts it will not do to excuse this unworthy attitude by the plea that Velleius the soldier looked up to his general, with whom he had stood side by side during the latter's best years, and wrote his work before his last and worst years; it is, moreover, his habit to exaggerate and lay on strong colours (KRITZ l.l. p. XLVIII); but it is fortunate he did not carry out his intention (if he really entertained it) of writing a special work on Tiberius and his time (see 2, 48, 5. 2, 96, 2. 2, 99, 3. 2, 103, 4. 2, 114, 4. 2, 119, 1).

3. Among his sources Velleius mentions Cato's origines (1, 7, 3) and the Annals of Hortensius (2, 16, 3). In general Velleius may be supposed to have followed the current historical works, e.g. the abridgment of Atticus, also Cornelius Nepos and Pompeius Trogus (?) in all foreign history and biographical details. He seems to have somewhat distrusted Livy as a disguised Republican, for he disagrees with him more frequently than otherwise. The studies of Velleius are not very deep; a large collection of his historical blunders is given by SAUPPE l.l. 147. In his dates, which he is fond of fixing by the year of the consulship of Vinucius (2, 49, 2. 2, 65, 2. cf. 1, 14, 6. 2, 103, 3), Velleius, evidently going for the most part by hasty recourse to different authorities, follows now Varro's now Cato's reckoning, or he varies from both and in different ways. PKAISER l.l. 20. The division of the subject-matter into two books turning upon the destruction of Carthage (1, 14, 1. cf. 2, 131, 1) is not at all bad, but from the point of view of Velleius it appears inconsistent to date the downfall of the Empire from the decay of Republican feeling. In this as well as in other points (SAUPPE l.l. 161. 169) he simply adopts the ordinary view. But the historical criticism of Velleius is rendered contradictory by the mixture of personal sympathies and antipathies. PKAISER, de fontt. Vell., Berl. 1884. FABRAHAM, Vell. u. die Parteien in Rom, Berl. 1885.

4. The peculiar style of Velleius is explained (see KRITZ p. XLVI) partly from the general taste of his period, which was inclined to affectation and artifice, partly from the character of the author, who was a mere literary dilettante, partly from his *festinatio*, which often led him into the careless style of conversational language. In particular his peculiarly clumsy sentences, in which he inserts endless parenthetic and relative sentences between two poor particles (e.g. 2, 18, 1–3. 2, 28, 2. 2, 41, 1 sq. 2, 75, 3. KRITZ p. LXI), the frequent repetition of one and the same idea, and of the same words within a brief interval (SAUPPE l.l. 175. KRITZ p. LV. LXVI), the pomposity and redundancy of his diction, betray the writer's want of practice and polish. To the general influence of the age we should attribute his empty jugglery of glittering epigrams, pointed antitheses, and affected phrases, the coquettish sprightliness of his diction and its meretricious colouring. Hence may be explained his fondness for poetical expressions and pretentious combinations of words (SAUPPE l.l. 178). This studied artificiality of Velleius reminds his reader greatly of Sallust. NOESTLING, de elocutione Vell., Ups. 1874. HGEORGES, de elocutione Vell., Lps. 1877. FHELM, see § 333, 16. CMORAWSKI, Phil. 35, 715. OLANGE, zum Sprachgebr. des V., Putbus 1878; Stettin 1886. FRITSCH, üb. d. Sprachgebr. des Vell., Arnstadt 1876. Also CDEOPPEN (n. 7) in c. 2 de genere dicendi. HFELIX, quaestt. gramm. in Vell., Halle 1886. FMILKAU, de Vell. genere dicendi quaest. sel., Königsb. 1888.—GAKOCH, Wörterbuch zu Vell., Lpz. 1847.

5. Was Velleius known at Fulda in the ninth century? MMANITIUS, NArch. f. deutsche Geschichte 7, 517. The only MS. of Velleius we know is the one found by Beatus Rhenanus a. 1515 in the ancient abbey of Murbach (in Alsace), which was, however, mutilated both at the end and especially at the beginning (where the preface and the events from the rape of the Sabines down to the war against Perseus are wanting) and contained many corrupt passages. BRHENANUS' edition, founded on a copy (trustworthy on the whole) of this MS., was carelessly printed at Basle by Froben 1520. The Murbach MS. itself was (not very accurately) collated with the text of the ed. princeps by Rhenanus' pupil JABURER, and this collation was added as an appendix to the ed. princ.; lastly this copy was faithfully transcribed for his own use by BAmerbach, another pupil of Rhenanus. The MS. itself and the first copy are lost. Amerbach's copy was discovered at Basle in 1835 by JCORELLI. Cf. the prefaces of ORELLI (p. VII) and KRITZ (c. 3, p. LXXVI). JCM LAURENT, Jahn's Archiv 6, 5. 7, 136; Serapeum 1847, no. 12; Gratulationsprogr. der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek (Hamb. 1856) 17. JFRÖHLICH, Jahn's Archiv 6, 512. DAFECHTER, die Amerbachsche Handschr. des V. P. etc., Basle 1844. CHALM, d. hs. Überliefer. d. V., RhM. 30, 534.

6. Editions (besides ed. princ., see n. 5) by JLIPSIUS (Leid. 1591. Antv. 1607), JGRUTER (Frankf. 1607), RRIGUEZ, Par. 1675 (with ind. verbb.), NHEINSIUS (Amst. 1678 and subsequently), PBURMAN (Leid.[2] 1744 II), DRUHNKEN (Leid. 1779 II, reprinted by CHFROTSCHER, Lps. 1830–39), JCHKRAUSE (Lps. 1800), JCORELLI (Lpz. 1835), FKRITZ (rec., annot. et indd. instruxit, Lps. 1840, min. ed. Lps.[2] 1848), FHAASE (Lps.[2] 1858), CHALM (apparatu critico adiecto, Lps. 1876).—Translations by FJACOBS (Lpz. 1793), WGÖTTE (Stuttg. 1833), FEYSSENHARDT (Stuttg. 1865) and others.

7. Treatises on Velleius: HDODWELL, annales Vell., Oxon. 1698. CMORGENSTERN, de fide historica V. P., imprimis de adulatione ei obiecta, Danz. 1798. HSAUPPE, schweiz. Museum für hist. Wiss. (Frauenfeld 1837) 1, 133. LSPECKERT, de la sincérité de V. P., Toulouse 1848. APERNICE, de V. fide historica, Lps. 1862. JSTANGER, de V. fide, Munich 1863. CWINDHEUSER, de V. fide ad Tiberii mores, Neuss 1867. GGOEKE, de Vell. Tiberii imagine, Jen. 1876. CDEOPPEN, de M. Vell., Rost. 1875.—Criticism: CHALM, emend. Vell., Munich 1836; RhM. 29, 485. JCM

LAURENT, Altona 1836. JJEEP, Wolfenb. 1839. MHAUPT, op. 1, 265. BMARTIN, Prenzlau 1862. NALSTERS (Münst. 1866), GAKOCH (Lps. 1866), EWILHELM (Jena 1866), FGIESE (Münst. 1868), ABERNDT (Lpz. 1873). MADVIG, adv. 2, 297 (cf. CHALM, JJ. 109, 397), JJCORNELISSEN, Mnemos. NS. 5, 47. 11, 411. JCGBOOT, ib. 5. 165. JFREUDENBERG, HKRAFFERT and RSPRENGER, JJ. 115, 41 sqq.—MHERTZ, die sog. excerpta Velleii ex historia gallica, in Haupt's Zeitschr. f. deutsches Altertum 10, 291. Cf. ib. 8, 587. FHELBING, z. Krit., Rost. 1889.

279. Valerius Maximus dedicated to Tiberius a collection of anecdotes for rhetorical purposes, factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem. It is compiled from few sources, in an uncritical manner and without taste or discrimination. This shallow writer perpetually obtrudes his flattery of Tiberius and his personal observations. The diction is declamatory, the style overloaded, but the vocabulary is still tolerably pure. A tenth book is not extant and was perhaps never finished. Besides the original work we also possess two abridgments: one made from a very good MS. by Julius Paris, and a very poor one by Januarius Nepotianus. A short appendix de praenominibus is likewise derived from good sources, but has no connection with Valerius Maximus.

1. The personal circumstances of Val. Max. appear to have been modest; see 4, 4, 11 *his adquiescere solaciis debemus qui parvulos census nostros nunquam querelis vacuos esse sinimus. . . . quid ergo modicam fortunam . . . diurnis conviciis lacera-mus?* He was connected with Sex. Pompeius, cos. 767/14 A.D. (see § 276, 6), who subsequently (perhaps a. 780/27) governed Asia as proconsul. VAL. MAX. 2, 6, 8 *quo tempore Asiam cum Sex. Pompeio petens Iulidem oppidum intravi.* 4, 7, ext. 2 *clarissimi ac disertissimi viri promptissimam erga me benivolentiam expertus. . . . Pompeium meum, . . . a quo omnium commodorum incrementa ultro oblata cepi, per quem tutior adversus casus steti, qui studia nostra ductu et auspiciis suis lucidiora et alacriora reddidit. itaque pavi invidiam quorundam optimi amici iactura.* 6, 1, prooem. *tu . . . sanctissimum Iuliae genialem torum adsidua statione celebras.* This shows that Livia († 782/29 A.D.) was then still alive. But the declamation against Sejanus appears to have been added (at the end of 9, 11) immediately after his downfall (a. 784/31): it closes with the words: *omni cum stirpe sua populi R. viribus obtritus etiam apud inferos, si tamen illuc receptus est, quae meretur supplicia pendit.* The author would thus seem to have been engaged in his work with certain interruptions, but during some time. But when the ninth book was written, the preceding books had not yet been published, as Sejanus never occurs in them. The statement of Matthew of Westminster (§ 258, 3) is no doubt wrong and cannot, therefore, be derived from Suetonius: *anno divinae incarnationis XIX* (=772/19) *Valerius historiographus Romanorum dicta descripsit et facta.* Cf. ELSCHNER, quaestt. Val. 12. RÜHL, die Verbreitung des Justin 30. Similarly Radulfus de Diceto (a. 1210): *Valerius Maximus urbis Romae ceterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna scripsit a. incarnati verbi XVIII.* RÜHL, l.l. 32.

2. The number of books amounted to ten, according to Julius Paris (see n. 9), who either erroneously counts in the treatise de nominibus (a. 11) or (as HALM

thinks) followed a mistaken heading. We, at all events, possess only nine; but as at the end of the ninth we do not find the otherwise inevitable moral effusions of the author, it appears credible that he did not complete his work or that we do not possess the conclusion. It is less probable that a whole book is lost. The design and purpose of the composition appear from praef. in.: *urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna, quae apud alios latius diffusa sunt quam ut breviter cognosci possint, ab inlustribus electa auctoribus digerere constitui, ut documenta sumere volentibus longae inquisitionis labor absit.* The work would thus appear to be a collection of examples for the use of rhetoricians and their schools. This accounts for the arrangement according to certain terms (e.g. *de religione, auspiciis, somniis, institutis antiquis, repulsis, testamentis, damnatis aut absolutis*), and especially moral ones (*de fortitudine, moderatione, humanitate, pudicitia, felicitate, luxuria* etc.). Each chapter is again divided into instances taken from Roman and from foreign history, those of the first class being much the more numerous on account of the authorities employed by Valerius and for reasons of national vanity. The features of the Republican period are not blurred, though the enemies of the Monarchy are constantly treated as traitors (cf. Tac. a. 4, 34, above § 256, 3). Tiberius and the whole Imperial family are throughout, even without any special occasion and without the excuse applicable to Velleius (278, 2), belauded in the coarsest manner and in direct opposition to truth.

3. The *inlustres auctores* (praef.) from whom Valerius drew the *dicta et facta* which suited his purpose, afterwards distributing them under the various headings of his compilation, are chiefly Livy (especially the first three decades), though he is mentioned only once (1, 8, ext. 19 *serpentis a T. Livio curiose pariter ac facunde relatae*); then Cicero, who is likewise mentioned only once (8, 13, ext. 1 *quemadmodum Cicero refert libro quem de senectute scripsit*); also Sallust and (probably for the foreign instances) Pompeius Trogus. It cannot be proved whether or to what extent Val. employed other sources, e.g. Varro (on account of 3, 2, 24 and other passages. Zschech p. 43, Kranz p. 19, Kettner, Varro de vita pop. R. p. 12, CCichorius, commentt. Ribbeck. 429), Coelius Antipater (§ 137, 6), Valerius Antias. But he has no doubt occasionally interspersed events he had himself witnessed (Kempf p. 12). Much may also have been derived from similar collections of the time of Val., or that immediately preceding, e.g. from *Pomponius Rufus collectorum libro VIII* (the number is uncertain, the conjecture of Kranz p. 8 being a mistaken one), a work once mentioned by our author (4, 4 in.) and nowhere else by any other writer. He generally copies literally from his sources, especially in quoting sayings; his alterations, where they occur, tend to increase the rhetorical effect of an anecdote by exaggerating and embellishing it. In other parts he sometimes cuts down the original, sometimes adds his own flavouring. His superficiality and his thoughtless use of his sources appear from the numerous bad mistakes (especially confusions) and blunders which may be traced in his work; see Kempf prolegg. p. 26. Cf. CElschner, quaestt. Valerianae, Berl. 1864, p. 32. FZschech, de Cicerone et Livio Valerii Maximi fontt., Berl. 1865. MKranz, Beitr. zur Quellenkritik des Val. Max., Posen 1876. BKrieger, quibus fontt. Val. M. usus sit in exemplis ad priora rerum Rom. tempora, Berl. 1888.

4. In point of style, Val. Max. shares with his period the conviction that simplicity and naturalness are trivial and vulgar. Everything is with him artificial, pompous, and far-fetched in thought as well as in diction, in his choice and in his arrangement of words; in consequence his style often becomes obscure, and still oftener turgid, tasteless and nonsensical. There is frequent confusion of epithets and strained use of verbs; he is lavish of metaphors and similar ornaments. With

all this, his manner is very monotonous, as he incessantly repeats certain favourite expressions. KEMPF p. 34, GELBCKE p. 8, RSEELISCH, de casuum obliquorum ap. V. M. usu, Münster 1872. RBLAUM, de V. M. dicendi genere in his quaestt. (n. 7) p. 3. AGEHRMANN, incunabula incrementaque proprietatum sermonis Val. Max. I, Rössel 1887.

5. Plutarch does not appear to have used Val. Max., though he mentions him Marcell. 30 and Brut. 53; see HPETER, Quellen des Plut. p. 75. 136. But his work was employed by PLINY NH. (ind. auct. b. 7, 33), FRONTINUS strat., GELLIUS (12, 7, 8), LACTANTIUS, CLAUD. MAMERT. (grat. act. 5, 3. 16, 2). Even the abridgments did not injure his popularity (n. 9 sq.), and he was not rarely read in the Middle Ages. This is borne out by the numerous MSS. in which the work has come down to us (KEMPF p. 71). Next in importance to the one employed by Julius Paris (n. 9; see CHALM, emend. Val. p. 4) are the Ashburnhamensis 1802 s. IX, now in Florence (cf. THSTANGL, Phil. 45, 225 and KEMPF's ed. of 1888), and the Bernensis 366 s. IX (cf. HALM's ed. p. IV).

6. Editions of Val. Max. e.g. by ALDUS MANUTIUS (Ven. 1534), STPIGHIUS (Antverp. 1567; with many arbitrary alterations; cum notis JLIPSII, Antv. 1585 and often), JVORST (cum notis, Berl. 1672), ATORRENIUS (cum comm. IPERIZONII et variorum, Leid. 1726), CBHASE (Paris 1823 II), and especially by C KEMPF (Berl. 1854 and Lpz. 1888) and CHALM (rec., Lps. 1865).—Translations e.g. by EHOFFMANN (Stuttg. 1828).

7. Critical works by CHALM, Münch. Gel. Anz. 1854 2, 233: emendatt. Val., Munich 1854, JVAHLEN, RhM. 11, 586, HJHELLER, Phil. 27, 343. 28, 361, GFÖRTSCH, em. Val., Naumb. 1855—70 III, CELSCHNER, quaest. Val., Berl. 1864, CFGELBCKE, quaest. Val., Berl. 1865, p. 23, CKEMPF, novae quaest. Val., Berl. 1866; JJ. 133, 49, MCGERTZ, tidskr. f. fil. 10, 260, RBLAUM, JJ. 107, 611; quaestt. Valer., Strasb. 1876, 29, MADVIG, adv. 2, 314. JJCORNELISSEN, Mnem. NS. 1, 295. ESCHULZE, Phil. 37, 570. HWENSKY, coniectt. in V. M., Bresl. 1879; JJ. 127, 637. 129, 777. WBÖHME, JJ. 133, 797.

8. On Val. Max. see JPERIZONIUS, animadv. hist. (ed. Harles, Altenb. 1771), HEDIRKSEN (d. hist. Beispielsammlung d. V. M. u. d. Auszüge, hinterl. Schr. 1 109), and especially KEMPF's Prolegomena 1854.

9. The abridgment of Julius Paris was made about the close of the fourth or the commencement of the fifth century (cf. n. 11), also for schools. The preface states: *Iulius Paris Licinio Cyriaco suo salutem. Exemplorum conquisitionem cum scirem esse non minus disputantibus quam declamantibus necessariam, decem Valerii Maximi libros dictorum et factorum memorabilium ad unum volumen epitomae coegi.* This epitomiser reduced the collection of Val. to its real contents, with frequent rectifications from the original sources (KEMPF p. 51) and the use of a MS. superior to and (1, 1, ext. 4—1, 4, ext. 1) fuller than those extant. His work is preserved in Vatic. 4929 saec. X, first edited by AMAI, scriptorum vett. nova coll. 3, 3 (1828), 1. Corrections of Mai's text are given by DURIEU, schedae Vatic. (Leid. 1860) 164. On the basis of this text Halm's ed. of Val. Max. (see n. 6) and in Kempf 1888. The Vat. (and Bern MS. of Val.) bear the subscription: *feliciter emendavi descriptum Ravennae Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus v.c.* (see § 296, 3. 468, 1 sq.).

10. The abridgment of Januarius Nepotianus. Preface: *Ianuarius Nepotianus Victori suo salutem. Impensius quam ceteri adolescentes litteris studes, quo tantum proficis ut exigas scripta veterum coerceri. . . . igitur de Valerio Maximo mecum sentis opera eius utilia esse, si sint brevia. digna enim cognitione componit, sed colli-*

*genda producit. . . . recidam itaque . . . eius redundantia et pleraque transgrediar, nonnulla praetermissa conectam. . . et cum integra fere in occulto sint, praeter nos duo profecto nemo epitomata cognoscat.* The extant abridgment extends in 21 chapters as far as Val. Max. 3, 2, 7 (additions from the historia miscella, see below) and is very loose and meagre, omitting many examples and adding others from other sources. Its principal value is in filling up the gap in the first book of Val. Max. (see n. 9). It exists only in Vatic. 1321 s. XIV, in a very bad text, and was first published by AMai, scriptorum vett. nova coll. 3, 3, 93 (cf. duRieu, schedae Vatic. 1860, p. 201) and Celle 1831; lastly in Kempf's ed. of Val. Max. 1888. Cf. AEberhard, Herm. 8, 91. AEussner, Phil. 33, 738. This abridgment was made at a late period, but before the commencement of the sixth century. Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 10, 47. See also Kempf 1854 p. 67. It has been much used in the historia miscella (see § 39, 5), see HDroysen, Herm. 13, 122.—Other mediaeval abridgments of Val. Max. are still preserved in MSS. in some libraries; see Kempf 1854 p. 69. 1888 p. xxvii.

11. At the end of the ninth book of Val. Max. the Berne MS. gives the usual subscription: *Valerii Maximi . . . liber nonus expl.* and then (by a later hand and from Julius Paris): *lib. X de praenomine.* In later MSS. this book is preceded by a prooemium: *decimus atque ultimus huius operis liber . . . aetati nostrae perditus est. verum Iulius Paris, abbreviator Valerii, post novem libros explicitos hunc decimum sub infra scripto compendio complexus est . . . verba quidem Iulii Paridis haec sunt: Liber decimus de praenominibus et similibus.* A more accurate designation of the contents is given in the MS. of Julius Paris (Vat., see n. 9): *incipit liber decimus de praenominibus, et nominibus, de cognominibus, de agnominibus, de appellationibus, de verbis.* Yet even the Vatican MS. contains only the chapter *de praenominibus* (printed e.g. in Kempf 1888 p. 587), of which the substance is derived from good early sources (Varro); (Mommsen, RhM. 15, 181. RReitzenstein, verrian. Forsch. 23). But if it actually contained originally a chapter *de agnominibus* at the beginning, the whole composition cannot have been made before the commencement of the fourth century of the Christian era.—At the end the Vat. and Bern. bear the subscription: *C. Titi Probi* (*sic*, see Hagen's catal. codd. Bern. p. 351) *finit epitoma historiarum diversarum exemplorumque* (*que* is wanting in the B) *romanorum*, which is followed by that of Helpidius Domnulus (n. 9). The relation of this C. Titius Probus to Julius Paris is obscure. He had, perhaps, composed a similar abridgment, which was subsequently combined with that of Val. Max. by Paris, so that of the latter only the prooemium (n. 9) should be assumed to remain, while the grammatical (and antiquarian) work on nomen (including the nomina propria) and verbum (Kempf), perhaps owing to the similarity of the pedagogic purpose, was joined (though after the time of the MS. from which the codd. of Val. Max. are derived) to the work of Val. Max., considered as the tenth book of it and epitomised as such by Paris. The author must certainly have lived before Julius Paris, while of C. Titius Probus his very name renders it improbable that he belonged to a much later time than the first century of the Christian era. Cf. ThBergk, RhM. 4, 120. Kempf 1854 p. 53, and De incerti auctoris fragmento quod inscribitur de praenominibus, Berl. 1854.

280. A. Cornelius Celsus, a man interested in many pursuits and possessed of a talent for pertinent and facile exposition, treated in a comprehensive encyclopaedia, after the example of Cato, of farming, medicine, military art, oratory, jurisprudence

and philosophy. Of this only the eight books de medicina have come down to us, being b. 6–13 of the complete work, the only one of this kind in the good age of Roman Literature. Here Celsus gives an account of the whole medical system of the time, writing as a layman and following chiefly Hippokrates and Asklepiades, with sound judgment and in simple, pure diction. The parts dealing with surgery are especially valuable; next to these the diagnosis of internal maladies. Celsus also wrote on philosophy, on the lines of the Sextii, and a treatise on a strategical question of the period, the latter not before the reign of Nero.

1. His praenomen is known from the headings of the extant work. On his period see COLUM. 1, 1, 14 *non minorem tamen laudem* (than the writers of the past, such as Vergil and Julius Hyginus) *meruerunt nostrorum temporum viri, Cornelius Celsus et Iulius Atticus.* 3, 17, 4 *mox Iulius Atticus et Cornelius Celsus, aetatis nostrae celeberrimi auctores, patrem atque filium Sasernam secuti* etc. 4, 8, 1 *Celsus et Atticus, quos in re rustica maxime nostra aetas probavit.* Cf. ib. 3, 1, 8. 4, 1, 1 and n. 5. As Columella was a contemporary of Seneca (§ 293, 1), Celsus cannot have written on farming much before Tiberius, but not later, as Julius Graecinus (§ 283, 4), who was executed under Caligula (c. 39 A.D.), had already used his work (PLIN. NH. 14, 23 *Graecinus, qui alioqui Cornelium Celsum transscripsit*). But Celsus began his encyclopaedia (see n. 3) with the books on farming, and he no doubt brought out the various parts of the extensive work separately, so that Graecinus could make use of the first part, though the whole work was not completed. Cf. also n. 6. Celsus may been born c. 755/2 A.D.

2. QUINT. 12, 11, 24 *quid plura* (of the possibility of embracing all branches of knowledge useful to an orator), *cum etiam Cornelius Celsus, mediocri vir ingenio, non solum de his omnibus conscripserit artibus* (i.e. on rhetoric, philosophy and jurisprudence, see OJAHN l.l. 277, LSCHWABE, Herm. 19, 391), *sed amplius rei militaris et rusticae et medicinae praecepta reliquerit, dignus vel ipso proposito ut eum scisse omnia illa credamus?* The title of the encyclopaedia: SCHOL. Plaut. Bacch. 69 (from Laur. 36, 37 s. XV) in Ritschl's ed. of 1849 p. VI *Celsus libros suos a varietate rerum cestos vocavit.* Is this statement trustworthy? SCHANZ l.l. 373. Cf. on similar fanciful titles PLIN. NH. praef. 24. GELL. praef. 6 and the κεστοί of Iulius Africanus; otherwise the headings of the MSS. (see n. 3) and the passage in Quintilian (above l. 3) point to the title *Artes.* The imitation of Cato (see § 121, 1–3) is unmistakeable in the selection of the branches treated. Their interconnection in Celsus is evidenced also by the similar estimate of their style, which exhibits, in the books on medical science, the same *elegantia* for which the agricultural sections are admired (n. 3). Celsus was saved from the absurd diction of his period by his sound common sense, also by the quantity of material he had to grapple with, and by the style of his authorities.

3. CELSUS, de Med. 5, 28, 16 refers to preceding books: *sicut in pecoribus proposui.* The five books *de re rustica* therefore immediately preceded those de medicina, and in fact many MSS. bear the heading *Celsi artium liber VI, idem medicinae I.* Cf. also the commencement of the books de med.: *ut alimenta sanis corporibus agricultura, sic sanitatem aegris medicina promittit.* COLUMELLA 1,

1, 14 (cf. n. 1) *Cornelius* (Celsus) *totum corpus disciplinae* (agriculture) *quinque libris complexus est.* 9, 2, 1 *de quibus* (bee-hives) *neque diligentius quidquam praecipi potest quam ab Hygino* (§ 262, 3) . . . *nec elegantius quam Celso.* . . . *Celsus utriusque memorati* (Hyginus and Vergil) *adhibuit modum.* 2, 2, 15 *Cornelium Celsum, non solum agricolationis sed universae naturae prudentem virum.* Columella mentions Celsus 30 times and always with the greatest respect: Celsus would appear to have been still living at the time when Columella wrote (Schwabe l.l. 391). The books on agriculture were used and are quoted e.g. by Plin. NH. 10, 150, who ind. auct. b. 7. 8. 10. 11. 14. 15. 17–29. 31 calls him sometimes Cornelius Celsus, sometimes Celsus. RReitzenstein, de scriptorum R. R. libris deperditis, Berl. 1884, 30. 55.

4. Of the eight books de medicina (I), b. 1 after an excellent introduction on the chief tendencies in medicine, treats of diatetics; (II) b. 2 of semiotics and general therapeutics; b. 3 and 4 of internal maladies; (III) b. 5 and 6 of pharmacology, with a great number of prescriptions; (IV) b. 7 and 8 surgical therapeutics (b. 8 diseases of the bones). These books appeared before the prescriptions of Scribonius Largus (therefore before 47 A.D. § 294, 2), as Celsus 4, 7 speaks of a prescription for angina which he has not found *in monumentis medicorum*, but it is mentioned in Largus 70. Schanz l.l. 364.—The numerous MSS. all show the same gaps (esp. 4, 27), and are therefore of common origin. The earliest and best are Vat. 5951 s. X (cf. ThStangl, WschrfklPh. 1884, 1469) and Laur. 73, 1 s. XII, also Paris. 7028 s. XI; the others are of s. XV/XVI. On the history of the text: DDetlefsen, Kieler Philol.-Vers. 1869, 91. RSabbadini, Guarino e gli archetipi di Celso e Plauto, Livorno 1886. Editions: (see LChoulant, Bücherk. d. ält. Med.[2] 167). Cum not. varr. ed. ThJAlmeloveen, Amst. 1687. 1713. Ed. CChKrause, Lps. 1766. Ex rec. LTargae, Patav. 1769 and esp. Veron. 1810 (with lexicon Cels.). Cum nott. varr., Leid. 1785 (with ind. verbb.). Ed. EMilligan, Edinb.[2] 1831 (with a good index). Ed. FRitter et HAlbers, Cologne 1835. Ed. SdeRenzi, Neap. 1851 (with lexicon Cels.). Ad fidem opt. libr. denuo rec. CDaremberg, Lps. 1859. —Translated by BRitter, Stuttg. 1840. EScheller, Brunswick 1846.—In general see HHäser, Gesch. Medicin 1[3], 276.

5. Veget. r. milit. 1, 8 *haec necessitas compulit evolutis auctoribus ea me . . . fidelissime dicere quae Cato illè Censorius de disciplina militari scripsit, quae Cornelius Celsus, quae Frontinus perstringenda* (treated of more briefly) *duxerunt.* Lydus de mag. 1, 47 *μάρτυρες* Κέλσος etc. Cf. ib. 3, 33 *καὶ συγγραφὴν περὶ τούτου* (on the recent war with the Parthians) *μονήρη* Κέλσος, *ὁ ῥωμαῖος τακτικός, ἀπολέλοιπε.* 34 *ὥστε ἀρμόδιον, φησὶν ὁ* Κέλσος, *ἀδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν. . . . ὅθεν ἀφόρητος αὐτοῖς ὁ* Κορβουλὼν *ἐπὶ τοῦ* Νέρωνος *ἐφάνη* (61 A.D.). This tactical pamphlet appears, therefore, to have been written at a later period than his encyclopaedia; cf. above n. 1. Schwabe l.l. 391.

6. Quint. 3, 1, 21 *scripsit de eadem materia* (Rhetoric) . . . *nonnihil pater Gallio* (§ 268, 7), *accuratius vero priores* [*Gallione*] *Celsus et Laenas* (§ 268, 11), *et aetatis nostrae Verginius, Plinius, Tutilius. Gallione* (wrong in point of fact) is evidently a gloss, the more so as the relative estimate of Gallio is already given by *accuratius.* FRitter, JJ. 38, 54. Quintilian often quarrels with his predecessor Celsus, e.g. 2, 15, 22. 32. 3, 6, 13. 8, 3, 47 (*si quidem Celsus κακέμφατον apud Vergilium* ⟨ge. 1, 357⟩ *putat*). 9, 1, 18 *Cornelius tamen Celsus adicit* ⟨to the *σχήματα διανοίας*, and *λέξεως*) *figuras colorum, nimia profecto novitatis cupiditate ductus. nam quis ignorasse eruditum alioqui virum credat* etc. Even where he agrees with him, he expresses himself with coldness and reserve, as 7, 1, 10 *non plane dissentio a Celso, qui sine dubio Ciceronem secutus instat tamen huic parti vehementius.* Cf. 10, 1, 124 (below

n. 7). It may be that Quintilian was vexed that a subject to which he had devoted an entire life was so cursorily treated by Celsus; moreover the encyclopaedic writer may easily have laid himself open to the censure of the specialist. At all events Celsus' rhetorical manual (perhaps in 7 books; see below schol. Iuv.) was obscured by that of Quintilian. It is mentioned only in FORTUNATIAN. 3, 2 (p. 121, 10 H.). It is doubtful whether IUV. 6, 245 *componunt ipsae* (the litigious wives) *per se formantque libellos principium atque locos Celso dictare paratae* refers to Celsus or Iuventius Celsus (§ 342, 2). Still there is some probability that the SCHOL. IUV. ad loc. *Celso oratori illius temporis* (?), *qui septem libros institutionum reliquit* alludes to our Celsus and his rhetoric.

7. AUGUSTIN. de haeres. prol.: *opiniones omnium philosophorum qui sectas varias condiderunt usque ad tempora sua* (*neque enim plus poterat*) *sex non parvis voluminibus quidam Celsus absolvit; nec redarguit aliquem, sed tantum quid sentirent aperuit ea brevitate sermonis ut tantum adhiberet eloquii quantum rei nec laudandae nec vituperandae nec affirmandae aut defendendae sed aperiendae indicandaeque sufficeret, cum ferme centum philosophos nominasset: quorum non omnes instituerunt haereses proprias, quoniam nec illos tacendos putavit qui suos magistros sine ulla dissensione secuti sunt.* No doubt Celsus did not himself collect these δόξαι, but took them from some Greek *συναγωγὴ περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφοις* and incorporated them in his encyclopaedia. Cf. HDIELS, doxogr. gr. 183. This systematic and impartial collection of the principal doctrines of Greek philosophy—in six books—tallies very well with the encyclopaedia. MSCHANZ l.l. wrongly questions the authorship of Cornelius Celsus (in reference to the opiniones) and refers the passage to an (otherwise unknown) Christian heresiologer. For the contrary view cf. LSCHWABE, Herm. 19, 385. QUINT. 12, 11, 17 perhaps alludes to the title opiniones philosophorum.—QUINTILIAN 10, 1, 24: *scripsit non parum multa* (on philosophy) *Cornelius Celsus, Sextios* (§ 266, 5) *secutus, non sine cultu ac nitore*, cannot refer to these opiniones philosophorum, but must mean single treatises on practical philosophy after the method of the Sextii, see n. 5 ad fin.

8. OJAHN, Lpz. SBer. 1850, 273. CLBIANCONI, lettere sopra Celso, Rome 1779 and frequently. HPALDAMUS, de Cornelio Celso, Greifs. 1842, compare FRITTER in JJ. 38, 52. CKISSEL, Celsus, eine hist. Monogr. I, Giessen 1844. MSCHANZ, RhM. 36, 362, compare LSCHWABE, Herm. 19, 385. BÜCHELER, RhM. 37, 324.—CABROLÉN, de elocutione Celsi, Upsala 1872.

281. Among the Jurists of this time a prominent position was held by Capito's pupil Masurius Sabinus, from whom the school of the Sabinians takes its name; the author especially of libri III iuris civilis, which subsequently became the subject of voluminous commentaries and thus influenced the Digest. M. Cocceius Nerva on the other hand was a pupil of Labeo, and himself the precursor of Proculus, from whom the Proculians obtained their name.

1. The Digest writes *Massurius;* elsewhere the MSS. fluctuate between *Massurius* and *Masurius*. The inscriptions give the name as *Masurius*. POMPON. dig. 1, 2, 2, 48 *Ateio Capitoni* (§ 265, 3) *Massurius Sabinus successit, Labeoni Nerva, qui adhuc eas dissensiones auxerunt. . . . Massurius Sabinus in equestri ordine fuit et* (MOMMSEN erases *fuit et*) *publice primus respondit, posteaquam* (*posteaque*

Flor.) *hoc coepit beneficium dari; a Tiberio Caesare hoc tamen* (*tandem* Mommsen) *illi concessum erat. . . . 50 ergo Sabino concessum est a Tiberio Caesare ut populo responderet; qui in equestri ordine iam grandis natu et fere annorum quinquaginta receptus est; huic nec amplae facultates fuerunt, sed plurimum a suis auditoribus sustentatus est.* He was living as late as Nero; Gai. 2, 218 *ut Sabinus existimaverit ne quidem ex SC. Neroniano posse convalescere.* That he was born at Verona, was the conjecture of BBorghesi oeuvr. 7, 171 founded on an inscr. (CIL. 5, 3924 Or. 5990) discovered there: *C. Masurius C. f. Sabinus.* Gell. 4, 1, 21. 4, 2, 15 (*Masurii Sabini ex libro iuris civilis secundo*, cf. 11, 18, 12. 20). 5, 13, 5 (*M. S. in libro i. c. tertio*). Pers. 5, 90 (*Masuri rubrica*). Arrian. Epict. 4, 3 (Μασουρίου νόμοι). On the plan, which was founded on that of Labeo's work: MVoigt, Abh. d. sächs. G. d. Wiss. 7, 351. Krüger l.l. This manual was commented on by Pomponius in at least 36, by Ulpian in at least 51, by Paulus in at least 17 books, three commentaries (*ad Sabinum* or *ex Sabino*) which form the substance of the Sabinian third (on civil law) of the Digest. Notes on Sabinus were also written by Aristo. Other works of Masurius Sabinus: *liber de furtis* (Gell. 11, 18, 11, usually considered to form part of the ius civile), *libri responsorum* in at least two books (dig. 14, 2, 4 pr. u. 1. fragm. Vat. 75), *libri ad edictum praetoris urbani* in at least five (dig. 38, 1, 18), *libri ad Vitellium* (ib. 32, 45. 33, 7, 8 pr. 33, 7, 12, 27. 33, 9, 3 pr. also annotated by Aristo), likewise an *assessorium* (ib. 47, 10, 5, 8 *Sabinus in assessorio* cf. 2, 14, 12 *Puteolanus libro primo adsessorium*), *commentarii de indigenis* (Gell. 4, 9, 8, see § 174, 4) *memoralium libri*, at least 11 (Gell. 5, 6, 13; cf. 4, 20, 11. 7, 7, 8. Macrob. 3, 6, 11. dig. 50, 16, 144 et al.), *fasti* in at least two books Macrob. 1, 4, 6. 15. 1, 10, 8). Plin. mentions Masurius NH. ind. auct. b. 7. 10. 14–16. 18. 21. 22 and quotes him (without mention of the works, probably the memorialia) 7, 40. 10, 20. 15, 126. 135. 16, 75. 236. 28, 142. Gellius 3, 16, 23. 5, 19, 11. 10, 15, 17. Huschke, iurispr. anteiust.[5] 123. PNArntzen, de Mas. Sab., Utr. 1768=Oelrich's Thesaur. nov. 3, 2, 1. Zimmern, Gesch. d. PR. 1, 1, 312. Rudorff, röm. RGesch. 1, 168. 237. PKrüger, Gesch. d. Quellen d. röm. Rechts 150.—LMercklin, de Varrone coron. militar. interpr., Dorp. 1859, p. 10. MHouques-Fourcade, Mass. Sab., sa vie, son oeuvre etc., Bord. 1889.

2. Frontin. de aq. 100 *M. Cocceius Nerva, divi Nervae* (§ 336, 1; cf. § 298, 2) *avus, scientia etiam iuris illustris.* Pompon. l.l. (n. 1) 48 *hic etiam Nerva Caesari* (i.e. Tiberius) *familiarissimus fuit.* Tac. a. 4, 58 *profectio* (of Tiberius to Campania) *arto comitatu fuit: unus senator consulatu functus* (cf. CIL. 6, 1539. 9005; he was cos. suff., in what year is not known), *Cocceius Nerva, continuus principis, omnis divini humanique iuris sciens, . . . moriendi consilium cepit* etc. Dio 58, 21. He is quoted by many of the later jurists, though without mention of any special work, OLenel, palingenesia 1, 798. Krüger l.l. 153.—Dig. 28, 5, 69 Proculus: *Cartilio assentio et . . . puto.* Cf. Ulp. ib. 13, 6, 5, 13 *Cartilius ait.* On Proculus § 298, 1.

282. The principal grammarians of this period are Julius Modestus who, like his master Hyginus, embraced the real as well as the linguistic side of the study, the pedantic M. Pomponius Marcellus, and the talented, but frivolous and dissolute Q. Remmius Palaemon of Vicenza, the author of a famous and widely used grammar (Ars). The grammarian Nisus taught and wrote in this period or soon afterwards.

1. Suet. gr. 20 *huius* (i.e. Hyginus, § 262) *libertus fuit Iulius Modestus, in studiis atque doctrina vestigia patroni secutus.* Gell. 3, 9, 1 *Gavius Bassus* (§ 211, 6) *in commentariis suis, item Iulius Modestus in secundo quaestionum confusarum historiam de equo Seiano tradunt.* Macr. 1, 4, 7 (cf. 1, 10, 9. 1, 16, 28) *Iulius Modestus de feriis.* The quotations in Quint. 1, 6, 36. Charis. GL. 1, 73. 75. 101. 103. 125. 204 (cf. Baeda GL. 7, 277). Diomed. GL. 1, 365 refer to grammar (orthography, linguistic usage, etymology). It is doubtful whether this Julius Modestus wrote commentaries on Horace and Vergil (§ 231, 6. 240, 3). The commentator on Vergil at least is named by Philarg. on georg. 2, 497 (3, 53) *Aufidius Modestus*, and Plut. quaestt. sympos. 2, 1, 5 p. 632 A. probably alludes to this same Αὐφίδιος Μόδεστος (though without designating him as a grammarian) as his contemporary. He must also be the grammarian who is mentioned Mart. 10, 21, 1 (*scribere te quae vix intellegat ipse Modestus*) together with Claranus (§ 328, 4). Cf. SHeynemann, de interpolat. Hor. (Bonn 1871) 67. MHertz, anall. ad Hor. hist. 1, 11. WGilbert, JJ. 135, 148.—In gen. see Bunte in his ed. of Hyg. fab. p. 6. ORibbeck, prolegg. Verg. p. 121.

2. Suet. gr. 22 *M. Pomponius Marcellus, sermonis latini exactor molestissimus, in advocatione quadam—nam interdum et causas agebat—soloecismum* etc. *hic idem, cum ex oratione Tiberium reprehendisset, . . . tu* (*inquit*) *Caesar civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbis non potes. pugilem olim fuisse Asinius Gallus hoc in eum epigrammate ostendit* etc.

3. Suet. gr. 23 *Q. Remmius* (not *Fannius*, see WChrist, RhM. 20, 69) *Palaemon Vicetinus mulieris verna primo . . . textrinum, deinde, erilem filium dum comitatur in scholam, litteras didicit. postea manumissus docuit Romae ac principem locum inter grammaticos tenuit, quamquam infamis omnibus vitiis palamque et Tiberio et mox Claudio praedicantibus, nemini minus institutionem . . . iuvenum committendam. sed capiebat homines cum memoria rerum tum facilitate sermonis; nec non etiam poemata faciebat ex tempore. scripsit vero variis nec volgaribus metris.* In reference to these metrical feats (cf. AKiessling in his and Wilamowitz' phil. Unterss. 2, 65) he is mentioned by Mart. 2, 86, 11 (Mart. here declines to trouble himself with elaborate metres, versus supini, echoici [§ 26, 3, 4], galliambi): *scribat carmina circulis Palaemon: me raris iuvat auribus placere.* Only Palaemon must have been already dead at the time, which Friedländer ad loc. considers possible as Plin. NH. 14, 49 sqq. speaks of him as deceased. Again Suet. l.l. *arrogantia fuit tanta ut M. Varronem porcum appellaret* etc. *luxuriae ita indulsit ut* etc. *sed maxime flagrabat libidinibus in mulieres* etc. Plin. NH. 14, 49 *Remmio Palaemoni, alias grammatica arte celebri, in hisce XX annis mercato rus* etc. ib. 50 *vanitate, quae nota mire in illo fuit.* 51 *inviso alias* (to Seneca). Iuv. 7, 215 (*docti Palaemonis*). Hieron. chron. ad a. Abr. 2064=48 a.d. *Palaemon Vicetinus insignis grammaticus Romae habetur, qui quondam interrogatus quid inter stillam et guttam interesset, 'gutta' inquit 'stat, stilla cadit,'* and *M. Antonius Liberalis* (§ 297, 10), *latinus rhetor, gravissimas inimicitias cum Palaemone exercet.* Vita Persii: *studuit Flaccus . . . Romae apud grammaticum Remmium Palaemonem.* Schol. Iuv. 6, 452 [*Palaemonis artem*] *grammatici, magistri Quintiliani oratoris.* Quint. 1, 4, 20 *ut . . . aetate nostra Palaemon.* Gellius does not mention him, but Charisius quotes him repeatedly (GL. 1, 187. 225 sq. 231 sq. 238) and has taken from him his own chapters on conjunctions, prepositions, interjections, adverbs and the endings of the nomina (in part) etc. Keil, GL. 1, xlix. CvMorawski, Herm. 11, 339. The excerpta Bobiensia (GL. 1, 553) and Dositheus' grammar also contain much that is derived from Palaemon (WChrist, Phil. 18, 136. Marschall l.l. 76. 78), and so do Diomedes (GL. 1, 403, 415), Consentius (GL. 5, 375) Phocas and

others. His instances are derived from only a few authors, e.g. Terence, Vergil (whom he also calls p. 233, 12. 20 *κατ' ἐξοχὴν poeta* FSchöll, RhM. 34, 630), Horace and Cicero, and always introduced by *velut* (ASchottmüller, de Plini libr. gramm. p. 8). P. also frequently uses *efferri* (=to conclude with), see Morawski l.l. 348. Against Schottmüller, who (l.l. 26) would remove the Palaemon whom Charisius used to the fourth century, see Christ l.l. p. 125. Keil, GL. 5, 334. Morawski l.l. 352. JVahlen, Berl. ind. lect. 1877/78, p. 8.—KMarschall, de Remm. Palaemonis libris grammaticis, Lpz. 1887 (compare HKeil, deutsche Litt.-Ztg. 1888 p. 592).—His name is wrongly prefixed (Keil, GL. 5, 523) to a trivial Ars, preserved in very late MSS., GL. 5, 533. The assignation to him of other works, e.g. the versified treatise de ponderibus et mensuris (§ 451, 2), the differentiae sermonum (e.g. in Roth's ed. of Suet. p. 306, cf. p. xcv), de potestate literarum, has no safe foundation. Reifferscheid's Suetonius p. 274, cf. 450. JWBeck, de differentiarum scriptoribus, Gron. 1883, 9. Brambach, latin Orthogr. 29.

4. Donat. (=Sueton.) vita Vergil. 42 (60) *Nisus grammaticus audisse se a senioribus* (the contemporaries of Varius, § 223), *aiebat Varium duorum librorum* (of Vergil's Aeneid) *ordinem commutasse* etc. Cf. Ribbeck, prolegg. vergil. p. 90. Velius Longus also quotes him repeatedly GL. 7, 76, 7. 12. 77, 18 (cf. Cassiod. GL. 7, 155, 17). 78, 6. 79, 8. 20, also Charis. GL. 1, 28, 9 (*Nisus elegantur . . . ait*), Prisc. GL. 2, 503, 16 (*Nisus et Papirianus et Probus . . . dicunt*), Arnob. adv. nat. 1, 59 (above § 41, 4). Cf. Macr. 1, 12, 30 *Nisus in commentariis fastorum dicit* etc. EBährens, JJ. 127, 795.

283. In this period wrote also the botanists Caepio and Antonius Castor, also the gourmand Apicius, under whose name we possess a work on cookery, which is, however, of the third century of the Christian era. Julius Atticus and Julius Graecinus, who wrote on the culture of the vine, also belong to the time of Tiberius.

1. Plin. NH. 21, 18 *Caepio Tiberi Caesaris principatu negavit* etc., and ind. auct. to b. 21 and 22. He was probably a Servilius.—Plin. NH. 25, 9 *nobis certe contigit reliquas* (plants) *contemplari scientia Antoni Castoris, cui summa auctoritas erat in ea arte* (botany) *nostro aevo, visendo hortulo eius, in quo plurimas alebat, centesimum aetatis annum excedens, nullum corporis malum expertus ac ne aetate quidem memoria aut vigore concussis.* He also wrote on botany, and Pliny mentions him as his authority for b. 20–27; cf. 20, 174. 244. 261. 23, 166. 26, 51. He was, perhaps, the freedman of some Antonia (or of M. Antonius).—On Asellius Sabinus see above § 274, 1; on Petronius Musa § 263, 7.

2. The prodigal M. Apicius under Tiberius (Tac. a. 4, 1. Dio 57, 19. Athen. 1, p. 7 A., PRE. $1^2$, 1241, 2) put in writing his culinary experience. Sen. cons. ad Helv. 10, 8 *Apicius nostra memoria vixit, qui . . . scientiam popinae professus disciplina sua saeculum infecit.* Schol. Iuv. 4, 23 *Apicius auctor praecipiendarum cenarum, qui scripsit de iuscellis.* Isid. or. 20, 1, 1 *coquinae apparatum Apicius quidam primus composuit.* There is also an allusion to Apicius traceable in the corrupt passage in Spart. Hel. 5, 9 *atque idem Ovidii ab aliis relata, idem Apicii libros amorum* (we should perhaps read: *Ovidii libros amorum et Apicii ab aliis relata*) *in lecto semper habuisse* (*dicitur*). But what Pliny (NH. 8, 209. 9, 66. 10, 133. 19, 137. 143) says of the culinary achievements of M. Apicius (*Apiciana coctura* 19, 143, *Apicius docuit* 10, 133) does not apply to the work de re coquinaria

which passes under the name of Caelius Apicius (probably *Caelii Apicius*, so that *Ap.* was the title of the work, like *Ciceronis Laelius*). This work contains a collection of culinary receipts arranged according to their subjects. Each of the ten books has a Greek heading (Epimeles, Sarcoptes, Cepuros etc.), and the numerous Greek words and phrases also prove that the work was founded on Greek originals (*ὀψαρτυτικά*). The mention of a *Varianus pullus* (249) seems to prove that the work was republished after Elagabalus (=Varius); cf. also the *conchicla Commodiana* (205). Several of the receipts are named after Apicius (134. 173. 203. 266). Various periods have furnished contributions to this collection. Especially important among the MSS. are Vatic. 1146 s. X, Paris 6167, Laur. 73, 20. In the Paris. 10318 (Salmasianus, see § 476) s. VII/VIII we find '*Apici excerpta a Vinidario vir inlut.*' (see SCHUCH's ed. p. 21. MHAUPT, op. 3, 150), but the receipts do not agree with those of de re coquinaria and the termini technici are also different (OKELLER).—Editions e.g. by GHUMELBERG (Turic. 1542), MLISTER (Lond. 1705), THJALMELOVEEN (Amsterd. 1709), JMBERNHOLD (Markbreit 1787) and CHRTHSCHUCH (auxit, emend. explanavit etc., Heidelb. 1867). FHDIERBACH, Flora Apiciana, Heidelb. 1831. EMEYER, Gesch. d. Botanik 2 (Königsb. 1855), 236.

3. COLUM. 1, 1, 14 *nec minorem laudem meruerunt nostrorum temporum viri, Cornelius Celsus et Iulius Atticus. quippe Cornelius* etc. (§ 280, 3); *hic* (Atticus) *de una specie culturae pertinentis ad vites singularem librum edidit. cuius velut discipulus duo volumina similium praeceptorum de vineis Iulius Graecinus, composita facetius et eruditius, posteritati tradenda curavit.* Quotations from Atticus are given by COLUMELLA 3, 3, 11. 3, 11, 9. 3, 16, 3. 3, 17, 4 (above § 280, 1). 3, 18, 1. 4, 1, 1. 6. 4, 2, 2. 4, 8, 1 (above § 280, 1). 4, 10, 1 (*Celsus et Atticus*). 4, 13, 1. 4, 28, 2 (*Celsus quoque et Atticus consentiunt*). 4, 29, 1. 4. 4, 30, 1. 4, 33, 4. He is mentioned by Pliny in his ind. auct. to b. 14. 15. 17. RREITZENSTEIN, de scriptorum R. R. libris deperditis, Berl. 1884, 27. 54.

4. Julius Graecinus, see n. 3. He is frequently quoted by COLUMELLA e.g. 4, 3, 6 (*Graecinus eo libro quem de vineis scripsit*), by PLINY 14, 33 (*Graecinus, qui alioqui Cornelium Celsum transscripsit*). 16, 241, also in the ind. auct. to b. 14–48. He is probably the son of the Graecinus to whom OVID addressed amor. 2, 10 and Pont. 1, 6 (§ 247, 2) and no doubt the same as Julius Graecinus who was the father of Julius Agricola (§ 335) and was executed under Caligula, perhaps A.D. 39; see TAC. Agr. 4 *Cn. Iulius Agricola, vetere et illustri Forciuliensium colonia ortus . . . pater illi Iulius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus.* SEN. de benef. 2, 21, 5. epist. 29, 6. HENZEN, act. arv. p. 190. MOMMSEN, ephem. epigr. 1872, 60. HIRSCHFELD, Wiener Studd. 5, 120. The father probably gave his son the name of Agricola in allusion to his taste for farming; OHIRSCHFELD l.l.—RREITZENSTEIN l.l. 41. 56.

5. PLIN. NH. 10, 134 *visam in Alpibus ab se . . . ibim Egnatius Calvinus praefectus earum* (therefore at the earliest under Augustus) *prodidit.* Pliny likewise speaks in a preceding passage of Alpine birds, probably following here Egnatius' work (on natural history?). See also RPEIPER, Phil. 33, 737.

284. Partly under Tiberius and partly under his successor the freedman Phaedrus of Pieria published his books of Aesopean fables in well-constructed iambic senarii. To his fables he also added anecdotes of his own or the immediately preceding period.

The various persecutions which he suffered served to foster his self-confidence. His style is fluent, his tone lively and sometimes coarse, his diction correct, his verse skilful. The work has not, however, come down to us in its complete form.—A contemporary of Phaedrus is the tragic writer P. Pomponius Secundus, whose works seem to have been published after the death of Tiberius.

1. Title: *Phaedri, Augusti liberti, fabularum aesopiarum libri.* His patron appears to have been Augustus (*div. Aug.*, PHAEDR. 3, 10, 39), as Tiberius is called *Caesar Tiberius* 2, 5, 7. The circumstances of his life are known to us only from his poems. 3, prol. 1 *Phaedri libellos.* 17 *ego, quem Pierio mater enixa est iugo . . .* (20) *quamvis in ipsa paene natus sim schola.* (52) *si Phryx Aesopus potuit, si Anacharsis Scytha aeternam famam condere ingenio suo: ego litteratae qui sum propior Graeciae, cur somno inerti deseram patriae decus? Threissa cum gens numeret auctores suos Linoque Apollo sit parens, Musa Orpheo, qui saxa cantu movit* etc. From this it appears that Phaedrus was actually born in Thrace, perhaps in Pieria (see LSCHWABE, RhM. 39, 476. ARIESE pref. to his ed.). The wording and context preclude the supposition (e.g. of EWÖLFFLIN, RhM. 39, 157. JMÄHLY, WschfklPh. 1884, 945. WHARTEL, Wien. Studd. 7, 151) that the passage *quem Pierio mater enixa est iugo* meant only 'I who have grown up in an Hellenic, poetical atmosphere.' Phaedrus came at an early age to Italy. 3, epil. 33 *ego quondam legi quam puer sententiam 'palam mutire plebeio piaculumst'* (ENNIUS trag. 376 V.) etc. He suffered persecution: 3, prol. 34 *servitus obnoxia, quia quae volebat non audebat dicere, adfectus proprios in fabellas transtulit, calumniamque fictis elusit iocis. ego porro illius* (i.e. Aesop) *semita feci viam et cogitavi plura quam reliquerat, in calamitatem deligens quaedam meam. quod si accusator alius Seiano foret, . . . dignum faterer esse me tantis malis.* Some passages of the first two books, if not the anecdote of Tiberius (2, 5, 7) yet possibly 1, 1, 15 (*qui fictis causis innocentes opprimunt*) and 1, 2, 30 (*vos quoque, o cives, . . . hoc sustinete, maius ne veniat malum*) and others would seem to have been charged against him as malicious allusions to contemporary events. It is not known what the *mala* (perhaps a menace of persecution? or exile?) were. He frequently mentions detractors: 2, epil. 7. 10. 3, prol. 23. 3, 9, 4. 4, prol. 15. 4. 21, 1; cf. 3, epil. 29 *difficulter continetur spiritus integritatis qui sincerae conscius a noxiorum premitur insolentiis.* On the passage in SEN. consol. ad Polyb. 8, 27 see § 27, 2; but see on this BÜCHELER, RhM. 37, 335. He was poor: 3, prol. 21 (*quamvis . . . curamque habendi penitus corde eraserim*). The poet's consciousness of his own worth appears 2, epil. 7. 3, 1 and 12; 4, epil.

2. For his relation to Aesop see 1, prol. 1 *Aesopus auctor quam materiam repperit, hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.* 4 prol. 11 *fabulis, quas aesopias, non Aesopi, nomino, quia paucas ille ostendit, ego plures fero* etc. 4, 21. 5, prol. Though the accounts of Simonides (4. 22. 25), Sokrates (3, 9), Menander (5, 1) may be derived from some later Attic collection (cf. also OCRUSIUS, RhM. 39, 605), this cannot apply to the fable on Cn. Pompeius (App. 8), or those of the time of Augustus and Tiberius (3, 10 and 5, 7. 2, 5, 7), and Phaedrus 2, prol. 9. 3, prol. 38 expressly alludes to his own additions. Cf. 3, 3. 4, 7. 4, 11. The *tibicen Princeps* derisively spoken of at 5, 7 is mentioned in an inscription: KELLERMANN, specim. epigr. 138 *L. Cassi Principis tibicinis.* BÜCHELER, RhM. 37, 332.—The first two books seem to have been published conjointly (under Tiberius), as the first has no separate epilogue (see however below) and as the fate (prol. 38. 3, 10, 59; cf. 4, 7, 1)

and reception of the work are mentioned in the third book. At a later time, after the death of Tiberius (cf. 3, prol. 33 and *dulcis libertas* 3, 7, 1), he published the third book with prologue and epilogue, dedicated to Eutychus (perhaps the charioteer of the Greens, who was a great personage under Caligula; BÜCHELER, RhM. 37, 333) and intended to finish his collection (cf. epil. and 4, prol.). There followed, however, a fourth book, addressed to Particulo, who is in the prologue mentioned as an author (17 *mihi parta laus est, quod tu, quod similes tui vestras in chartas verba transfertis mea*) and in the epilogue called *vir sanctissimus*; and when the poet had already grown old (see 5, 10) there followed a fifth book, in which (10, 10) Philetes is addressed. The epilogue of the Appendix (n. 4) might belong to the first or fifth book.

3. Phaedrus delights the reader by his appropriate, terse and graceful style and his simple, natural diction, which wisely eschews the rhetorical bombast of the period (cf. the ridicule of the *cothurni . . . novi* 4, 7). He specially aims at brevity (2, prol. 12; cf. 3, epil. 8. 4, epil.). The most elaborate fable (3, 10) concludes (v. 59 sq.): *haec exsecutus sum propterea pluribus, brevitate nimia quoniam quosdam offendimus.* MART. 3, 20, 5 *an aemulatur improbi iocos Phaedri?* This epithet may denote the various rude expressions and vulgarisms (e.g. 1, 18. 1, 29. 3, 3. 4, 15. 4, 18) which occur in this collection. FRIEDLÄNDER ad loc. Mart. supposes (against all probability) that the writer here mentioned is some (otherwise entirely unknown) mimograph. Phaedrus himself repeatedly calls his fables *ioci*: 1, prol. 7. 3, prol. 37. 4, 2, 1. 4, 7, 2. THSTANGL explains the epithet *improbus* as an allusion to his special fondness for this word (which he uses 13 times). Several abstract turns of language e.g. 1, 13, 12 *ingemuit corvi deceptus stupor*, 2, 6, 23 *iocata est tanta maiestas ducis* remind us of Valerius Maximus. He personifies *sancta religio* 4, 11, 4. CCAUSERET, de Phaedri sermone, Par. 1886.—In choosing senarii the poet was probably influenced by the example of Publilius Syrus (LMÜLLER, ed. mai. p. IX). In admitting spondees in the second and fourth foot Phaedrus agrees with him and with the earlier poets. In all other respects his verse is polished in careful observance of metrical laws; see LMÜLLER, de re metr. 411; Phaedr. praef. p. IX ed. mai.; RhM. 30, 618. PLANGEN, RhM. 13, 197. ADRAHEIM, JJ. 135, 429. That he could manage a higher style, appears from 4, 7, 6. App. 6. Seneca (see n. 1 in fin.) does not know Phaedrus or persists in ignoring him, and though Quintilian (1, 9, 2) speaks of versified Aesopian fables, he does not mention his name. Besides Martial, only Avianus mentions him (epist. ad Theodos.: *Phaedrus etiam partem aliquam quinque in libellos resolvit*). An allusion to PHAEDR. 4, 6, 10 occurs in PRUDENT. cath. 7, 115. The inscription which contains PHAEDR. 3, 17, 12 is modern, see CIL. 3, p. 8*, 58*. RITSCHL, op. 4, 251.

4. The only manuscript of Phaedrus now extant is the one used by PPithou and which was called after him, i.e. the cod. s. IX/X, now in possession of the Marquis de Rosanbo at du Mesnil near Mantes. It was last and most accurately collated by JBERGER (n. 5). Nearly related to this and perhaps of the same age was the Remensis, which was burnt in 1774. To Berger we are also indebted for the most careful collation of this made in 1769 by ICVINCENT (it was at one time in the Paris library, but is now lost). A list of numerous readings from the Remensis made in 1665 (now in the Univ.-Bibl. in Paris) was published by ECHATELAIN, rev. de philol. 11, 81. In a MS. of the Vatican Regin. 1616 s. XII (charta Danielis) we find 8 fables from the first book (AMAI, class. auct. 3, 307. DURIEU, schedae Vaticanae p. 137, a new collation in LMÜLLER). The P(ithoeanus) and R(emensis) are copied from a text, which was itself an abridgment of a larger collection. The fragmentary state of the extant collection

appears from the unequal number of fables (and lines) in each book (I : 31 ; II : 8 ; III : 19 ; IV : 25 ; V : 10), from the absence of fables in which *arbores loquuntur* (cf. 1, prol. 6 ; see however a fable in which *quercus fraxino ait* etc. in the Voss. Riese p. 71), from the gap 4, 13 and so forth. Cf. also ThBirt, d. antike Buchwesen, Berl. 1882, 385.—Another abridgment of the original collection which, at least in part, contained more than PR, was used by NPerotti, when about 1450 he compiled a collection of fables from Aesop, Avianus and Phaedrus with a few additions. This collection of Perotti is contained in MSS. in Naples—published by IA Cassitti, Naples 1809 and CJanelli, Naples 1811—and Rome (Vatic. Urbin. 368, see AMai, class. auct. 3, 278 and a new collation by LMüller). By means of this we have recovered thirty fables which are not transmitted in the PR (the so-called Appendix, reproduced also in AL. 799–830). Lastly a complete text of Phaedrus is presupposed by the fable-paraphrases (in prose) of 'anonymus Nilanti' (=collection of the Leid. Voss. O. 15 s. XIII ; printed : Fabulae antiquae ; acced. Romuli fab. Aesopiae, ed. IFNilant, Leid. 1709 and in Hervieux, n. 6 ; see LMüller, RhM. 22, 507. EGrosse, JJ. 81, 781), of Romulus (§ 27) and of a Weissenburg MS. (Gud. 148) in Wolfenbüttel s. X. They furnish about twenty new fables, which it has been attempted (e.g. by Dressler and LMüller) to put back into their original metre. In addition there is the fable (which according to Gregor. Tur. hist. Franc. 4, 9 p. 146 Arndt was quoted by King Theodobaldus about a. 550) of the snake which, swollen with drink, stuck in the wine-jar ; it is quite in the manner of Phaedrus, and still shows traces of the metre. Bücheler, RhM. 41, 3. Cf. in general above § 27, 4.

5. Ed. princeps by PPithoeus, Autun 1596. Editions by NRigaltius 1617, in the mythologia aesopica of JNevelet (Frankf. 1610), by PBurman (Amsterd. 1698. Hag. 1718 ; cum novo comm., Leid. 1727). RBentley (with Terence 1726). JGS Schwabe (cum comm. perp., Halle 1779–81 III, and Brunswick 1806 II. NTitze (Prague 1813), JBerger de Xivrey (Paris, 1830), JCOrelli (Turic. 1831 ; supplementum ib. 1832), CGDressler (recogn., Bautzen 1838 and Lps. 1850), FEyssenhardt (recogn., Berl. 1867), LMüller (recogn. et praef. est, Lps. 1868 ; with a lexicon by ASchaubach, ib.[3] 1888). A larger crit. ed. by the same author emend. adnot. suppl., Lps. 1877 (on which see ANauck, bull. de l'acad. de St. Petersb. 32, 434). Ed. ARiese, Lps. 1885.

School editions e.g. by JSiebelis (Lps.[5] 1874 by FAEckstein), FERaschig (Berl.[3] 1871 by RRichter), CWNauck (Berl. 1855), OEichert (Hanover 1865), SKunkel (Utrecht 1874), FRamorino, Turin 1884.—Lexicons to Phaedr. by J Billerbeck, Lpz.[5] 1859. ASchaubach, ib.[3] 1888, OEichert, ib.[2] 1877. Collmann, index Phaedrianus, Marb. 1841.—Translated e.g. by HJKerler (Stuttg. 1838), ARvB. (with the Latin text, Lpz. 1857).

6. LHervieux, les fabulistes latins etc. (§ 27, 4), contains remarks on Phaedrus, MSS. edd., the text etc., cf. thereon GParis, journ. des savants 1884, 670. 1885, 37. FJacobs, Nachträge zu Sulzer 6, 34. LPreller in Ersch and Gruber's Encykl. 3, 21, 363. ACEGlasewald, de Ph. fabulis, Greifsw. 1828. LMüller, de Phaedri et Aviani fabulis, Lps. 1875. SConcato, Fedro, Bologna 1884. JMähly, ZföG. 22. 809. FZorn, BlfdbayrG. 11, 1. ASpengel, Phil. 33, 722. MHaupt, op. 3, 365. ThBergk, Phil. 16, 619. WHartel, Wiener Studd. 7. 140. ANauck, Mél. gr.-rom. 4 (1880), 579 ; bull. de l'acad. de St. Petersb. 32 (1888), 434.—Notices by EHeydenreich, JB. 1884 2, 1. 205. 1885 2, 103. JHartman, de Ph. fabb., Leiden 1890.

7. Tac. a. 5, 8 *relatum* (a. 784/31 a.d.) *inde de . . . Pomponio Secundo . . . huic obiectabatur Aelii Galli* (the son of Sejanus) *amicitia . . . Pomponius*,

*multa morum elegantia et ingenio inlustri, . . . Tiberio superstes fuit* (after an imprisonment of several years in his brother's house, during which time he occupied himself with literary pursuits). 11, 13 *Claudius* (a. 800/47) . . . *theatralem populi lasciviam severis edictis increpuit, quod in Publium* (the praenomen Q. or L. is wrongly given in Dio 59, 6, and Tac. a. 12, 27) *Pomponium consularem* (cos. suff. 797/44? see Mommsen, ind. Plin. p. 423)—*is carmina scenae dabat— . . probra iecerat.* 12, 28 *apud posteros . . . carminum gloria praecellit.* Cf. dial. 13. Plin. NH. 7, 80 *in Pomponio consulari poeta;* and 13, 83 *apud Pomponium Secundum, vatem civemque clarissimum, vidi.* 14, 56 *referentes (nos) vitam Pomponi Secundi vatis.* Plin. ep. 7, 17, 11 *Pomponius Secundus (hic scriptor tragoediarum) . . . dicere solebat.* Quint, 10, 1, 98 *eorum* (writers of tragedies) *quos viderim longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem scenes quidem parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore praestare confitebantur.* There are also traces of reflections on language; Charis. GL. 137, 23 *Pomponius Secundus poeta, ut refert Plinius* (in his life of Pomp. Sec. see § 312, 2), (preferred *omneis* to *omnes*). He may have treated of these matters in his letters; ib. 125, 23 *cetariis Pomponius Secundus ad Thraseam* (§ 299, 7). Other intentional peculiarities of his style are mentioned by Diom. GL. 1, 371 and Prisc. ib. 2, 538 (*Pomponius Secundus ad Thraseam: sancierat ius*). On Quint. 8, 3, 31 see § 290, 5. Terentian. Maur. 2135 (GL. 6, 389) *in tragicis iunxere choris hunc* (the dactylic tetrameter) *saepe diserti Annaeus Seneca et Pomponius ante Secundus*, and 1965 (GL. 6, 384) *inserit haec aeque Pomponius in choricis sic* etc. Cf. Mar. Victorin. GL. 6, 115. 121. As a title only Aeneas is known (Charis. GL. 1, 132, *P. S. in Aenea*), which would appear to have been a praetexta (cf. Acro above § 17, 4). On the other hand Non. 144, 20 *Pomponius Atreo* is doubtless a corruption, and the *Armorum iudicium* (Lactant. on Stat. Theb. 10, 841) is probably by Pacuvius or L. Accius (or perhaps by Pomponius Bononiensis), see BSchmidt, RhM. 16, 588. MHertz, de Scaevo, Bresl. 1869 p. 4. Cf. Ribbeck, Trag. lat.[2] p. 231. 286. Welcker, RhM. Suppl. 2, 3 (1841), 1440. PRE. 6, 1879.

## b. The reigns of Caligula, Claudius and Nero, A.D. 37–68.

285. While in the reign of Tiberius the prevailing tone was that of oppression caused by the strangeness of the unmasked despotism and the forbidding character of the ruler, we notice under his successors of the Julian dynasty a morbid gaiety, nay, sometimes joviality. A succession of the most stirring scenes was enacted before the eyes of the age: rulers and their minions were seen to rise and then to close a wildly profligate career by a precipitate fall. Extreme vicissitudes of fortune and enormities of conduct became usual, and were witnessed with the same intense curiosity which is excited by a fascinating drama, and something of this apathy was maintained even when the spectator himself was personally concerned in the exhibition. Reason lost its control everywhere; all changes were wrought by intrigue, cunning, baseness, or brute force; the consequence was that all

gave themselves up to a kind of nihilistic resignation which greedily exhausted the present, was prepared for anything and everything on the morrow and, at the best, sought comfort in the distant future. The typical character of this age is Seneca; but even Persius, Lucan, and Petronius represent only different products of the same causes. Men of a more serious temper, e.g. Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus, clung to Stoicism and sought in the self-sufficiency of that system some compensation for the cheerless conditions of their time. The characteristics of the period are most faithfully reflected in the philosophical literature, such as the writings of Seneca. The age was not very favourable to impartial historical composition. Claudius, however, evinced personal interest in history, and accordingly we find in his reign historians with rhetorical tendencies, e.g. Servilius Nonianus and Curtius Rufus, and likewise sober investigators such as Cornelius Bocchus, Columella, Asconius, and Pomponius Mela. Nero, on the other hand, favoured poetry, which offered opportunities of satisfying the thirst for applause in the public recitals and also held out a hope of posthumous fame. Hence the most different kinds of poetry were cultivated, tragedy by Seneca and Curiatius Maternus, the historical epos by Lucan, the idyl by Calpurnius Siculus, didactic poetry by the author of Aetna, satire by Persius, lyric poetry by Bassus. Comedy only was supplanted by the Mimus and Pantomimus, but Petronius attained the first rank as a master of the ethical romance in its light ironical form. Scholastic rhetoric continued to be actively studied, but gradually lost all vitality through its unvarying monotony and the dearth of wholesome nutriment. Jurisprudence was steadily prosecuted, and grammar was excellently represented by Valerius Probus.

1. To this period belongs the mimus Laureolus of a certain Catullus. Tertull. adv. Valentin. 14 *nullum Catulli Laureolum fuerit exercitata.* Iuv. 13, 111 (with the schol.) *mimum agit ille, urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli.* Suet. Calig. 57 *in Laureolo mimo . . . cruore scena abundavit.* Joseph. antiq. 19, 1, 13 μῖμος εἰσάγεται (shortly before Caligula's assassination) καθ' ὃν σταυροῦται λῃστῶν ἡγεμών. Mart. de spect. 7. Iuv. 8, 186 with the schol. Cf. besides Mart. 5, 30, 3 *facundi scaena Catulli.* See further § 8, 1.—On Pers. 1, 134 *his mane edictum, post prandia Calliroen do* (judging from the context, an erotic poem) a scholiast remarks (p. 278 Jahn): *Calliroe, quam Paris ante Helenae raptum habebat, quae deserta multum dicitur rupti amoris dulce flevisse consortium: hanc comoediam scripsit Atines Celer pueriliter.* It is quite doubtful whether this notice is worthy of credence: the name is certainly corrupt and in its place FBücheler, RhM. 34, 346, conjectures Asinius Celer (a friend of the Emperor Claudius, but executed during his reign, PRE. 1², 1867).

2. SUIDAS 1, p. 626 Bernh. Εὔοδος Ῥόδιος ἐποποιός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, ὁ θαυμαζόμενος εἰς ῥωμαϊκὴν ποίησιν. τούτου τὰ βιβλία οὐ φαίνεται. Perhaps the author of Anth. Planud. epigr. 116 and 155.

3. Already under Claudius we find a 'literary department' at the Imperial court: the office *a studiis*. Polybius (§ 289, 4) filled it under this Emperor: perhaps also Callistus? § 294, 3. Under Hadrian L. Iulius Vestinus was ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μουσείου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βιβλιοθηκῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς παιδείας (= *a studiis*) Ἀδριανοῦ, ἐπιστολεὺς τοῦ αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορος (CIG. 3, 5900). We often find in inscriptions officials *a studiis Augg.*, *magistri a studiis Augg.*, *magistri studiorum*. FRIEDLÄNDER, SG. 1⁶, 109. We have no information concerning the functions of this department; these may have included the supervision of the Imperial libraries, supplying the literary requirements of the Emperors and forming a connecting link between the court and the literary world.—DDIDEROT, essai sur les règnes de Claude et de Néron et sur les moeurs et les écrits de Sénèque, Par. 1772 and subsequently. HLEHMANN, Claudius u. Nero u. ihre Zeit. I Claudius u. s. Zeit, Gotha 1858. HSCHILLER, Gesch. des röm. Kaiserreichs unter Nero, Berl. 1872. On the literature of this period, ib. p. 608.

286. Of the Emperors of this period, C. Caesar (Caligula, born a. 765/12, † 794/41) was the only one who did not publish works of his own. Claudius (a. 744/10 B.C.–807/54 A.D.) wrote much, both before and after his accession to the throne, especially on history, and attempted to reform the Latin alphabet. But his exceeding weakness of mind and character lay as a blight on so much as was rational in his undertakings, whether practical or literary, and consigned all his own writings to oblivion. We possess only in inscriptions some specimens of his performances. Nero (a. 790/37–821/68 A.D.) was little trained in oratory, but was given to writing verses in epic (Troica) and melic metres, the public recitation of which was one of the more innocent phases of his madness. His mother Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, wrote Memoirs, no doubt as a means of promoting the purposes of her ambition.

1. SUETON. Caligula 53 *ex disciplinis liberalibus minimum eruditioni, eloquentiae plurimum attendit, quantumvis facundus et promptus, utique si perorandum in aliquem esset. irato et verba et sententiae suppetebant. . . . lenius comptiusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens ut Senecam tum maxime placentem commissiones meras componere et arenam esse sine calce diceret. solebat etiam prosperis oratorum actionibus rescribere et magnorum in senatu reorum accusationes defensionesque meditari ac, prout stilus cesserat, vel onerare sententia quemque vel sublevare, equestri quoque ordine ad audiendum invitato per edicta.* 34 *cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis. . . sed et Vergilii ac Titi Livi scripta et imagines paulum afuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoveret, quorum alterum ut nullius ingenii minimaeque* (CPETER: *nimiaeque*) *doctrinae, alterum ut verbosum in historia neglegentemque carpebat. de iuris quoque consultis, quasi scientiae eorum omnem usum aboliturus, saepe iactavit se machinulas effecturum ne quid respondere possint praeter eum.* No doubt the statement

of Suid. (1, 1, 1059) Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Καλλιγόλας ῥητορικὴν τέχνην Ρωμαϊκῶς, arose out of a confusion with C. Julius Caesar, to whom Suet. attributes s.v. Καῖσαρ (cf. s.v. Γάιος) τέχνην γραμματικὴν Ῥωμαϊκῶς (=de analogia, § 195, 4).

2. Dio 60, 2, 1 Κλαύδιος . . . ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν παιδείᾳ ἤσκητο ὥστε καὶ συγγράψαι τινά. Suet. Claud. 11 *ad fratris* (of Germanicus) *memoriam comoediam quoque graecam Neapolitano certamine docuit ac de sententia iudicum coronavit* (cf. Sen. apocol. 12—in the lament for the death of Claudius—*vosque poetae lugete novi*). 33 *aleam studiosissime lusit, de cuius arte librum quoque emisit.* 40 *principi neque infacundo neque indocto, immo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis dedito.* 41 *historiam in adulescentia, hortante T. Livio, Sulpicio vero Flavo etiam adiuvante, scribere adgressus est. et cum primum frequenti auditorio commisisset aegre perlegit, refrigeratus saepe a semet ipso. in principatu quoque et scripsit plurimum et assidue recitavit per lectorem. initium autem sumpsit historiae post caedem Caesaris dictatoris, sed et transiit ad inferiora tempora coepitque a pace civili* etc. (above § 219, 5). *prioris materiae duo volumina, posterioris XXXXI reliquit. composuit et de vita sua VIII volumina, magis inepte quam ineleganter; item Ciceronis defensionem adversus Asini Galli libros* (§ 276, 3) *satis eruditam.* 42 *nec minore cura graeca studia secutus est, amorem praestantiamque linguae occasione omni professus. . . . denique et graecas scripsit historias, Τυρρηνικῶν XX, Καρχηδονιακῶν VIII.* Cf. Sen. apocol. 5 *Claudius gaudet esse illic philologos homines, sperat futurum aliquem historiis suis locum.* Suet. Claud. 21 *quamvis ipse in historiis suis prodit.* Plin. NH. 12, 78 *historiis Claudii Caesaris*, he is also quoted by Pliny 5, 63. 6, 27. 6, 31. 6, 128. 7, 35; in the ind. auct. he is mentioned for b. 5. 6. 12. 13. HPeter, hist. fragm. 295.—The *lex agrorum ex commentario Claudi Caesaris* is mentioned in the liber coloniarum, writings of the Roman Gromatics, 1, p. 211, 23 L., instead of which Mommsen (ib. 2, 160) reads *C. Iuli Caesaris.* Diaries (commentarii) of Claud. are mentioned by Tac. a. 13, 43 (cf. hist. 4, 40 *commentarii principales*).

3. Suet. Claud. 41 *novas etiam commentus est literas tres ac numero veterum quasi maxime necessarias addidit; de quarum ratione cum privatus adhuc volumen edidisset, mox princeps* (but not till the close of 800/47 a. d. as censor, Tac. a. 11, 13) *non difficulter optinuit ut in usu quoque promiscuo essent. extat talis scriptura in plerisque libris ac diurnis titulisque operum.* Tac. a. 11, 13 *novas litterarum formas addidit volgavitque.* 14 *Claudius tres literas adiecit, quae usui imperitante eo, post obliteratae, aspiciuntur etiam nunc in aere publico per fora ac templa fixo.* These are the three letters ⅎ (digamma inversum) for consonant v, Ↄ (antisigma) to denote ps, and ⊦ (the left half of H) to denote a sound between i and u (y). He also reintroduced AI instead of the diphthong AE. This increase of the Latin alphabet, which was in itself of doubtful necessity or utility (only of the first innovation Quint. says 1, 7, 26 *nec inutiliter Claudius . . . illam . . . litteram adiecerat*, and Prisc. GL. 2, 15, *quod quamvis illi recte visum est, tamen consuetudo antiqua superavit*), would hardly have established itself, even if it had been started by a more respected emperor; it seems also that Claudius merely recommended it. Even in his life-time it was hardly ever used in the distant parts of the Empire or on coins, and not uniformly even near the Capital. The antisigma can be produced on only one inscription and even there without absolute certainty. On the whole subject see FBücheler, de Ti. Claudio Caesare grammatico, Elberf. 1856, where the inscriptions are collected. Cf. RhM. 13, 155. Ephem. epigr. 1, 80. Herm. 2, 63. Corssen, Aussprache $1^2$, 26.

4. We possess of Claudius, on a bronze tablet, which was dug up at Lyons a. 1524, part of a speech which he delivered a. 801/48 a.d. in the Senate in favour of

the admission of the Gallic nobility to Roman offices, and from which Tacitus a. 11, 24 gives an extract. Did Claudius when writing this speech avail himself of that of Canuleius in Liv. 4, 3? AZingerle, ZföG. 37, 255.—This curious relic is printed in many editions of the Annals of Tacitus, e. g. in those of KNipperdey, Orelli-Baiter, and also frequently by itself. ABoissieu, inscript. de Lyon (Lyons 1846) p. 136. Bruns, fontes 5, 177 (after a renewed examination of the tablet). Niebuhr, kl. Schr. 2, 26. AComarmond, description . . . des tables de Claude, Lyons 1847. JBMonfalcon, la table de Claude, Par. 1853. LdelaSaussaye, les tables claudiennes, Lyons 1873.

5. In 1869 an edict of Claudius concerning the citizenship of the Anaunians, of 15 March 799/46 a.d., was discovered in the southern Tyrol. This is printed CIL. 5, 5050. Bruns[5] 224. Cf. FKenner, ein Edict des K. Cl., Vienna 1869, and esp. Mommsen, Herm. 4, 99, p. 107: 'the beginning (of the edict) with its confused relative sentences and the awkward relegation of the principal subject to a secondary sentence, and above all with its unheard-of anacoluthiae, is highly characteristic of the crazy crowned pedant.'

6. Tac. a. 4, 53 *id ego . . . repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit.* Plin. NH. 7, 46 *Neronem . . . pedibus genitum scribit parens eius Agrippina*, and in the ind. auct. of b. 7, *Agrippina Claudi.* She died a. 59, and was born a. 15 (14?) a.d. (see Mommsen, Herm. 13, 254. JFroitzheim, Phil. 31, 185; de Tac. fontibus [Bonn 1873] 40; RhM. 32, 340; also HDüntzer, Monatsschr. f. d. Gesch. Westdeutschl. 6 [1880], 23). In gen. cf. PRE. 1², 613. AStahr, Agrippina, die Mutter des Nero, Berl. 1867. As the historians never appeal to these very important Memoirs for a single fact of Nero's reign, they seem to have been written and published before her son's accession to the throne. Cf. Lehmann, Claudius p. 5.

7. Suet. Nero 52 *liberales disciplinas omnes fere puer attigit. sed a philosophia eum mater avertit, monens imperaturo contrariam esse, a cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca praeceptor, quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret.* (But Tac. a. 14, 55 makes Nero say to Seneca: *quod meditatae orationi statim occurram, id primum tui muneris habeo, qui me . . . subita expedire docuisti.* Cf. n. 11) *itaque ad poeticam pronus carmina libenter ac sine labore composuit. . . . venere in manus meas pugillares libellique cum quibusdam notissimis versibus, ipsius chirographo scriptis, ut facile appareret non tralatos aut dictante aliquo exceptos, sed plane quasi a cogitante atque generante exaratos; ita multa et deleta et inducta et superscripta inerant.* ib. 10 *declamavit saepius publice. recitavit et carmina, non modo domi sed et in theatro, tanta universorum laetitia* (at the beginning of his reign) *ut ob recitationem supplicatio decreta sit eaque pars carminum aureis litteris Iovi Capitolino dicata.* Tac. a. 13, 3 *Nero . . . aliquando carminibus pangendis inesse sibi elementa doctrinae ostendebat.* 14, 16 *carminum quoque studium adfectavit, contractis quibus aliqua pangendi facultas necdum insignis erat. hi cenati considere simul et adlatos vel ibidem repertos versus conectere atque ipsius verba quoquo modo prolata supplere. quod species ipsa carminum docet, non impetu et instinctu nec ore uno fluens.*

8. Dio 62, 29 ἐν πανδήμῳ τινὶ θέᾳ (on the quinquennalia of a. 818/65). . . . ἀνέγνω Τρωϊκά τινα ἑαυτοῦ ποιήματα. Cf. Iuv. 8, 221. Schol. Pers. 1, 121. AL. 725, 38 PLM. 3, 62. Quotations from this epic poem by Serv. georg. 3, 36. Aen. 5, 370. To the same probably belonged the three hexameters quoted by Schol. Lucan. 3, 261 (*de hoc ait Nero in primo libro: Quique* etc.), the hexameter in Sen.

nat. qu. 1, 5, 6 (*ut ait Nero Caesar disertissime*), the *hemistichium Neronis* in Suet. vita Lucani (p. 51, 10 Rff.), and also the polished, but utterly unmeaning hexameters in Persius 1, 93–95. 99–102, on which the Schol.: *dicit hos versus Neronis* (p. 269 J.), and: *hi versus Neronis sunt* (p. 271, 1 sq. J.), cf. OJahn's Pers. p lxxviii. WTeuffel, Translation of Persius (Stuttg. 1857) p. 44. But in these Troica was probably contained the Ἅλωσις Ἰλίου recited by Nero to the accompaniment of the cithara on the occasion of the conflagration of Rome (a.d. 64). Dio 62, 18 *τὴν σκευὴν τὴν κιθαρῳδικὴν λαβὼν ᾖσεν ἅλωσιν . . Ἰλίου.* Suet. Ner. 38 *halosin Ilii in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit*, cf. § 305, 4 and Tac. a. 15, 39.—Dio 61, 20 *ἐκιθαρῴδησέ τε Ἄττιν τινὰ ἢ Βάκχας.* Suet. Ner. 21 *Niobam se cantaturum.* Suet. Vitell. 11 *Neroniana cantica.* Cf. n. 9.—Dio 62, 29 *παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὡς καὶ τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράξεις ἁπάσας συγγράψων ἐν ἔπεσιν καὶ περί γε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βιβλίων, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν αὐτῶν συνθεῖναι, ἐσκέψατο.*

9. Recitation of monologues either from tragedies or in the tragic style, the speaker wearing the costume of the personage represented (§ 13, 6): Suet. Ner. 21 *tragoedias quoque cantavit personatus heroum deorumque item heroidum ac dearum personis effictis ad similitudinem oris sui et feminae, prout quamque diligeret. inter cetera cantavit Canacem parturientem, Orestem matricidam, Oedipodem excaecatum* (cf. ib. 46), *Herculem insanum.* Cf. ib. 24 (*in tragico quodam actu*). Philostrat. vit. Apoll. 4, 39 *ᾄδων τὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος μέλη. . . . ἐπῆγε μέλη τὰ μὲν ἐξ Ὀρεστείας, τὰ δὲ ἐξ Ἀντιγόνης, τὰ δ' ὁποθενοῦν τῶν τραγῳδουμένων αὐτῷ, καὶ ᾠδὰς ἔκαμπτεν ὁπόσας Νέρων ἐλύγιζέ τε καὶ κακῶς ἔστρεφεν.* Cf. ib. 5, 7.

10. Plin. NH. 37, 50 *Domitius Nero . . . quodam carmine.* Poems (elegies?) on lascivious subjects, Mart. 9, 26, 9 (*Nero . . . lascivum iuvenis cum tibi lusit opus*); cf. 8, 70, 8. Plin. epp. 5, 3, 6 (above § 31, 1). Satire: Suet. Domit. 1 *Clodium Pollionem praetorium virum in quem est Neronis quod inscribitur Luscio,* and against Quintianus (*mollitia corporis infamis et a Nerone probroso carmine diffamatus*, Tac. a. 15, 49). Suet. Ner. 24 *quamvis id ipsum in rege Mithridate carmine quodam suo reprehendisset.* On account of such attacks he is called in Iuv. 4, 106 *cinaedus saturam scribens.*—OJahn's Prolegg. to Pers. p. lxxv. AHaakh, PRE. 5, 579. HSchiller, Nero 610. 611. 619. KFriedländer, Sittengesch. Roms $2^5$, 404.

11. Tac. a. 13, 3 *adnotabant seniores . . . primum ex eis qui rerum potiti essent Neronem alienae facundiae eguisse.* Cf. n. 7 and § 287, 2. Dio 61 3 *τοσαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, πρὸς τοῦ Σενέκου καὶ αὐτὰ γραφέντα, ἀνέγνω.* The speeches mentioned by Suet. Ner. 7, the gratiarum actio in the Senate, *pro Bononiensibus latine, pro Rhodiis atque Iliensibus graece,* were probably also written by Seneca. Suet. Nero 24 *quae beneficia* (liberty for Achaia, etc.) *e medio stadio Isthmiorum die sua ipsa voce pronuntiavit.* The bombastic and tasteless oration, which Nero delivered on this occasion, has lately been discovered in an inscription at Akraiphia in Boeotia (cf. e.g. Berl. WschrfklPhil. 1889, 106).—Fronto ad Ver. p. 124 says inaccurately respecting the Emperors from Tiberius to Vespasian: *quis eorum oratione sua populum aut senatum adfari, quis edictum, quis epistulam suismet verbis componere potuit?* Cf. above n. 1. 4. 5. 7.—Schol. Iuv. 6, 434 *Statilia Messalina post Neronem* (she was his third wife) *interemptum et opibus et forma et ingenio plurimum viguit. consectata est usum eloquentiae usque ad studium declamandi.*

287. Over the reigns of all these three Emperors extends the literary career of L. Annaeus Seneca (c. 750/4 b.c. to 818/65 a.d.). He was a senator under Gaius (Caligula) and Claudius;

he was exiled to Corsica soon after the accession of the latter (owing to Messalina) (a. 41), but was recalled eight years afterwards through the influence of Agrippina (a. 49), who entrusted him with the education of her son Nero and appointed him praetor; under Nero he was consul and for some time the actual ruler of the State. Finally, however, (a. 65) he was forced to commit suicide, having fallen into disfavour on account of alleged participation in the conspiracy of Piso. Seneca is the most brilliant figure of this time. In point of literary skill he is only comparable with Ovid, to whom he was vastly superior in intellect. At the same time he was keenly conscious of his talents, and he did not always resist the temptations springing from his opportunities and power, nor the suggestions of the moment. It can, however, but rarely be shown that he put his great abilities and high position to perverse use; and though his life frequently exhibited wisdom degenerated into mere cleverness, his death attested his resolute renunciation of worldly goods.

1. Seneca was born at Corduba (see § 269, 1. *Cordubenses nostri*, SEN. 3, p. 434 Hse.), the second of three brothers (§ 269, 2 ad fin.). His mother's name was Helvia; see the consolatio addressed to her and § 269, 1. Of her sister (subsequently the wife of a man who was prefect of Egypt for 16 years, probably Vitrasius Pollio) he says cons. ad Helv. 19, 2 *illius manibus in urbem perlatus sum, illius pio maternoque nutricio per longum tempus aeger convalui; illa pro quaestura mea gratiam suam extendit.* Seneca's health was still bad at a later time, epp. 54, 1 *mala valitudo repente me invasit. 'quo genere?' inquis. prorsus merito interrogas: adeo nullum mihi ignotum est*; cf. MARX, das Leiden des Philos. Sen. (a chronic weakness of the heart), Abh. der Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. 1872. His instructors in Rome were Fabianus (§ 266, 10), Attalus (PRE. $1^2$, 2055) and Sotion (ep. 49, 2. 108, 17; HIERON. ad Eus. chron. ad ann. Abrah. 2029 = 13 A.D. *Sotio philosophus Alexandrinus, praeceptor Senecae, clarus habetur;* cf. FNIETZSCHE, RhM. 23, 639, HDIELS, doxogr. gr. 256). Following the counsel of Attalos Seneca abjured many of the enjoyments of life (epp. 108, 13–16), and after the example of Pythagoras and Sextius (§ 266, 5) he, at Sotion's suggestion, abstained for a year from the use of meat. He was an admirer of the Cynic Demetrios (of Sunium, cf. below § 299, 7. 311, 2): epp. 62, 1 *Demetrium virum optimum mecum circumfero et relictis conchyliatis cum illo seminudo loquor, illum admiror* and other passages. Seneca remembered also Asinius Pollio († 758/5, § 221, 1): see de tranquill. 17, 1. epist. 49, 2 *quid non 'modo' est si recorderis? modo apud Sotionem puer sedi, modo causas agere coepi, modo desii velle agere, modo desii posse.* ib. 108, 22 *in Tiberii Caesaris principatum iuventae tempus inciderat.* Dio 59, 19, 7 (a. 39) ὁ Σενέκας ὁ Ἄννιος ὁ Λούκιος . . διεφθάρη παρ' ὀλίγον . . ὅτι δίκην τινὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντος αὐτοῦ (Caligula) καλῶς εἶπεν. When a. 41 the youngest daughter (born a. 18) of Germanicus and sister of Caligula, Julia Livilla, was exiled through the influence of Messalina, Seneca, being her lover, shared her fate. (TAC. a. 13, 42. Dio 61, 10. SCHOL. IUV. 5, 109; see FGLÖCKNER, RhM. 35, 485). Caesonius Maximus perhaps followed him to Corsica (MART. 7, 44 sq., and on this passage FRIEDLÄNDER; cf. SEN. ep. 87,

2). Tac. a. 12, 8 (a. 49) *Agrippina . . . veniam exilii pro Annaeo Seneca, simu praeturam impetrat, . . . ut Domitii pueritia tali magistro adolesceret et consiliis eiusdem ad spem dominationis uterentur, quia Seneca fidus in Agrippinam memoria beneficii et infensus Claudio dolore iniuriae credebatur.* Suet. Nero 7 *undecimo aetatis anno a Claudio adoptatus est Annaeoque Senecae iam tunc senatori in disciplinam traditus.* Schol. Iuv. l.l. (p. 254 J.) *revocatus . . . etsi magno desiderio Athenas intenderet ab Agrippina tamen erudiendo Neroni in palatium adductus.* Dio suspects even his relations with Agrippina, 61, 10 *οὐ γὰρ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰουλίαν μοιχεῦσαι, οὐδὲ βελτίων ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ . . . ἐπλησίαζεν.* But in this case it is possible that he was seduced by the lady. Cos. suff. a. 809/56? cf. Mommsen, Herm. 12, 127. BBorghesi, oeuvr. 4, 391. WHenzen, Herm. 2, 45. Seneca avows in several passages his view of the conduct to be adopted in a difficult time, e.g. de otio 3, 3 *si resp. corruptior est quam ut adiuvari possit, si occupata est malis, non nitetur sapiens in supervacuum nec se nihil profuturus impendet.* Cf. § 333, 8 in fin.—A bust of Seneca (in a double-headed hermes combined with the bust of Sokrates, both names inscribed) in Berlin, reproduced in the Arch. Zeit. 38 (1880), pl. 5. Cf. JJBernoulli, röm. Ikonogr. 1, 276.

2. Seneca influenced Nero in the good beginning of his reign, an influence maintained partly by dangerous means. Dio 61, 4 *αὐτοὶ* (Seneca and Burrus) *τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν παρέλαβον καὶ διῴκησαν ἐφ' ὅσον ἠδυνήθησαν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα.* Tac. a. 13, 2 *ibatur in caedes nisi Afranius Burrus et Annaeus Seneca obviam issent. hi rectores imperatoriae iuventae et . . . concordes diversa arte ex aequo pollebant, . . . Seneca praeceptis eloquentiae et comitate honesta, iuvantes invicem, quo facilius lubricam principis aetatem, si virtutem aspernaretur, voluptatibus concessis retinerent* (against the latter see Dio 61, 4). ib. 11 *clementiam suam obstringens* (Nero) *crebris orationibus, quas Seneca, testificando quam honesta praeciperet vel iactandi ingenii, voce principis vulgabat.* 13 *donec . . . exueret obsequium in matrem seque Senecae permitteret, ex cuius familiaribus Annaeus Serenus simulatione amoris adversus eandem libertam* (Akte) *primas adolescentis* (Nero) *cupidines velaverat.* Plin. NH. 14, 51 *Annaeo Seneca, principe tum eruditorum ac potentia, quae postremo nimia ruit super ipsum, minime utique miratore inanium.* Seneca knew how to make use of profitable opportunities. Tac. a. 13, 42 *qua sapientia, quibus philosophorum praeceptis intra quadriennium regiae amicitiae ter millies sestertium paravisset* (Seneca)? *Romae testamenta et orbos velut indagine eius capi, Italiam et provincias immenso fenore hauriri.* An instance of such speculations is given by Dio 62, 2. Cf. ib. 61, 10 *καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα οἷς ἐφιλοσόφει ποιῶν ἠλέγχθη. καὶ γὰρ τυραννίδος κατηγορῶν . . . οὐκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ παλατίου . . . τοῖς τε πλουτοῦσιν ἐγκαλῶν* (? cf. Sen. vit. beat. 17) *οὐσίαν ἑπτακισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιώμενος πεντακοσίους τρίποδας . . . εἶχε . . . τὰς ἀσελγείας ἃς πράττων γάμον τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἔγημε* (with Pompeia Paulina, Tac. a. 15, 60) *καὶ μειρακίοις ἐξώροις ἔχαιρε καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα ποιεῖν ἐδίδαξε.* But in Tac. a. 14, 53 Seneca says to Nero: *tantum honorum atque opum in me cumulasti ut nihil felicitati meae desit nisi moderatio eius.* Cf. ib. 14, 52 *variis criminationibus Senecam adoriuntur, tamquam ingentes et privatum modum evectas opes adhuc augeret, . . . hortorum quoque amoenitate et villarum* (e.g. Nomentana ep. 104, 1. 110, 1; Albana ep. 123, 1) *magnitudine quasi principem supergrederetur.* Tacitus understood Seneca much better than Dio, who frequently merely reproduces the jealous gossip of the city and even (62, 25) attempts to depreciate his death. In comparing himself with others and reconsidering his actions and omissions, Seneca could afford to look back on his life with satisfaction. Tac. a. 15, 62 affectingly describes Seneca's death. It is true that there is a certain study of effect

even in the manner of his death (he intended to die like a second Sokrates, see n. 1 ad fin.), but this scarcely decreases the real merit of the act.

3. DDIDEROT, see § 285, 3. ZELLER, Philos. d. Gr. $3^3$, 1, 693. EFGELPKE, de Sen. vita et moribus, Berne 1848. AMARTENS, de Senecae vitae et de tempore quo scripta eius philosophica etc., Altona 1871. AIMDIEPENBROCK, Sen. philos. vita, Amsterd. 1888. PHOCHART, études sur la vie de S., Par. 1885. IAHEIKEL, Sen.s Charakter und politische Tätigkeit (Acta soc. scient. fenn. b. 16), Helsingf. 1886.

288. Seneca is as a writer also a faithful image of his period, in which brilliancy was placed above simplicity and genuineness; he purposely wrote in harmony with the prevailing taste and successfully courted the applause of his contemporaries. In respect of his subjects, he was most varied; yet he was at all times and at last exclusively devoted to contemplative meditations on nature and human life. He started from the Stoic system, but in him its barren austerity was toned down, its harshness softened, its crotchets left aside; nor did he disdain additions from other systems. His paramount purpose is the forcible and eloquent presentation and advocacy of moral principles conducive to the benefit of the individual and of society. These philosophical writings, designed for a wide sphere of influence, charm the reader by their breadth of view, their large and fine observation, their abundance of knowledge unalloyed with pedantry, their nobility of thought and warmth of feeling, and their gorgeous style enlivened with all the resources of rhetoric. But the constant repetition of the same mannerisms is tiresome; we are annoyed by the author's persistent efforts to please and to extort admiration, and even serious passages raise involuntary suspicion of the writer's sincerity. This manner, retained by Seneca throughout his life, had become part and parcel of his being and appears equally in all his works, both in prose and poetry, though in the latter the rhetorical verbiage has entirely overpowered the substance.

1. TAC. 13, 3 *fuit illi viro* (Seneca) *ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accommodatum.* Even Caligula criticised Seneca's style acutely § 226, 1 l. 4. As a thorough-going modern writer, Seneca was peculiarly obnoxious to those later authors who strove to invigorate the style of their own period by a return to the ancients. QUINT. 10, 1, 128 *ex industria Senecam in omni genere eloquentiae distuli, propter vulgatam falso de me opinionem qua damnare eum et invisum quoque habere sum creditus. quod accidit mihi dum corruptum et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad severiora iudicia contendo.* 126 *tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adulescentium fuit. quem. . . potioribus* (especially Cicero) *praeferri non sinebam, quos ille non destiterat incessere. . . .* 127 *placebat propter sola vitia. . . .* 128 *cuius et multae alioqui et magnae virtutes fuerunt, ingenium facile et copiosum, plurimum*

*studii, multa rerum cognitio. . . . tractavit etiam omnem fere studiorum materiam.* 129 *nam et orationes eius et poemata et epistolae et dialogi feruntur. in philosophia parum diligens, egregius tamen vitiorum insectator fuit. multae in eo claraeque sententiae, multa etiam morum gratia legenda; sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque atque eo perniciosissima quod abundant dulcibus vitiis.* (130) . . . *si non omnia sua amasset, si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur.* 131 . . . *multa . . . probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt: eligere modo curae sit; quod utinam ipse fecisset.* Even stronger are the expressions used by Seneca's antipodes in mannerism, Fronto and his adherents. E.g. Fronto p. 155 *eloquentiam . . . Senecae mollibus et febriculosis prunuleis insitam subvertendam censeo radicitus.* 156 . . . *neque ignoro copiosum sententiis et redundantem hominem esse: verum sententias eius . . . video nusquam pugnare* etc. 157 *at eandem sententiam miliens alio atque alio amictu indutam referunt.* 158 . . . *quid ego verborum sordes et illuvies, quid verba modulate collocata et effeminate fluentia?* Gellius 12, 2, 1 *de Annaeo Seneca partim existimant ut de scriptore minime utili, cuius libros attingere nullum pretium operae sit, quod oratio eius vulgaris videatur et protrita, res atque sententiae aut inepto inanique impetu sint aut levi et quasi dicaci argutia, eruditio autem vernacula et plebeia nihilque ex veterum scriptis habens neque gratiae neque dignitatis. alii vero elegantiae in verbis parum esse non infitias eunt, sed et rerum quas dicat scientiam doctrinamque ei non deesse dicunt et in vitiis morum obiurgandis severitatem gravitatemque non invenustam.* After this, Seneca's depreciatory criticisms on Ennius, Cicero and Vergil are quoted from epist. b. 22 and indignantly rejected. Cf. § 290, 3 ad fin.

2. The dates of the composition of Seneca's works. Previous to his exile (a. 41) he probably wrote, besides speeches (§ 287, 1), the works on Egypt and India, and also the consolatio ad Marciam (Buresch, Lpz. Studd. 9, 110). During the time of his exile he composed epigrams, perhaps also part of his tragedies, and the consolatio to his mother Helvia and that to Polybius (a. 43 or 44), also the panegyric on Messalina, which he subsequently withdrew, Dio 61, 10. Soon after his recall he appears to have published the works de tranquillitate animi (Lehmann, Claud. p. 321, de ira (Lehmann ib. p. 315) and de brevitate vitae (cf. 13, 8). After the death of Claudius (a. 54) he composed the ἀποκολοκύντωσις; in the first years of Nero's reign the books de clementia (which are also addressed to the Emperor), the work de vita beata, addressed to Novatus, who had meanwhile changed his name to Gallio, the books de beneficiis and de constantia sapientis. At this period he seems to have composed another part of his tragedies (see § 290, 2). After Seneca had retired from the Court and from public life (a. 62), he wrote de otio ad Serenum, and probably also the works addressed to Lucilius de providentia, the quaestiones naturales and the letters (a. 62–65). HLehmann, Phil. 8 p. 309 = Claudius u. s. Zeit, p. 8. FJonas, de ordine librorum Senecae philosophi, Berl. 1870. AMartens (§ 287, 3). Cf. FSchultess l.l. p. 46.

3. RVolkmann, Seneca, lit.-pädag. Skizze, in Mager's Revue 1857, 259. FBöhm, Sen. u. s. Wert. f. unsere Zeit, Berl. 1856. Holzherr, d. Philos. Sen., Rastatt 1858 sq. II. HSchiller, Nero 612, 626. EProbst, Sen. aus. s. Schriften, Basle 1879. BBauer, Nero u. Sen., Vierteljahrsschrift f. Volkswirtsch. 46 (1875), 40; 47, 19.— KFHMarx, d. medizinischen Aussprüche des Sen., Abhh. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. xxii.

4. De Sen. philosophia EFWerner, Bresl. 1825, BtenBrink, Ghent 1827, GHerzog, Bernb. 1828. Brolén, Ups. 1880, HDörgens, Senecae disciplinae moralis cum Antoniniana comparatio, Lps. 1857. FChrBaur, Seneca u. Paulus; das Verhältn. d. Stoicism. z. Christentum in his Abhh. z. alten Philos. (Lpz. 1876) 377. CMartha,

les moralistes sous l'empire romain (Par. 1865) p. 20. GBoissier, la religion Romaine 2 (Paris 1874), 19. 52. OWeissenfels, de Sen. Epicureo, Berl. 1886. WRibbeck, Sen. d. Philosoph u. s. Verh. zu Epikur, Plato etc., Hanover 1817. CCorsi, lo stoicismo rom. in S., Prato 1885. JPit, la mort et la vie future dans S., Montauban 1884.

Baarts, Seneca de deo, Marienwerder 1848. CRFickert, Sen. de natura deorum, Bresl. 1857. HWunder, Sen. de deis, Grimma 1879. LLévy-Brühl, Sen. de deo, Paris 1884. HSiedler, die religiös-sittl. Weltanschauung des S., Fraustadt 1863; de S. philosophia morali, Fraust. 1877. RBurgmann. S.s Theologie im Verh. zum Stoicism. u. z. Christentum, Berl. 1872. WBernhardt, die Anschauung des S. vom Universum, Wittenb. 1861. ANehring (see § 289, 6). GHRWetzstein, Sen. de natura humana, Lpz. 1881. Binde, Sen. de rerum natura et de vita humana, Glogau 1883. AFiegl, de Sen. paedagogo, Botzen 1886.

5. AFRosengren, de elocutione Sen., Upsala 1849 sq. De latinitate Senecae Böhmer (Oels 1840), EOpitz (Naumb. 1871), ORauschning (Königsb. 1876). BLarisch, de Sen. usu part. fut. in periodis condicional. apodosis loco positis in the miscell. philol. lib., Bresl. 1863. AHoppe, d. Sprache des Ph. Sen., Lauban 1873. 1880. CNägler, de particularum usu apud Sen. ph., I Halle 1873; II Nordhaus. 77. II. HKlammer, animadvv. Annaeanae gramm., Bonn 1878; lectt. Ann. in the Festgabe f. WCrecelius, Elberf. 1882, 54. FGlöckner (§ 289. 3 in fin., cap. 2: de infinitivo loco subiecti fungente). OWaldästel, de enuntiatis tempp. ap. Sen., Halle 1888. HRieger, quaestt. Annaeanae (on quod, quia, quoniam, quando), Frieb. 1889.

289. Many of the prose works of Seneca are known only in fragments or from quotations. Among those extant the most important is the collection of letters addressed to Lucilius, the fullest reflection of the writer's idiosyncrasy. The researches in natural science give evidence of more technical knowledge and judgment than we find at a later period in the elder Pliny. The lampoon on the defunct Emperor Claudius is remarkable as an instance of the satira menippea. The estimation in which the writings of Seneca were held caused them to be frequently copied and abridged, but also produced at an early time such forgeries as the fictitious correspondence with the Apostle Paul.

1. Lost prose works of Seneca. a) On natural science. De motu terrarum (*volumen edidi iuvenis*, nat. quaest. 6, 4, 2), de lapidum natura, perhaps also de piscium natura. Monographs de situ Indiae and de situ et sacris Aegyptiorum (perhaps rather de situ et sacris Aegypti; there is little to recommend the suggestion of FOsann l.l. 1, 3 and FGlöckner, RhM. 33, 156, that we should read *de ritu et s. Aeg.* and that only a section of the work de superstitione is referred to), both works being probably the outcome of Seneca's sojourn with the husband of his aunt (§ 287, 1 l. 3; cf. ep. 77, 3); de forma mundi. b) On moral philosophy. Exhortationes, de officiis, de immatura morte, de superstitione dialogus, de matrimonio (very interesting and piquant), quo modo amicitia continenda sit, of which and of the treatise de vita patris (see below c) there are a few fragments in the Vatic. Palat. 24 s. V/VI (§ 180, 2), first edited by Niebuhr, Cic. p. Font. etc., Rome 1820, last by WStudemund in ORossbach, de Sen. philos. libr. recensione, Bresl. 1887: then mo-

ralis philosophiae libri; de paupertate, and perhaps de misericordia. Of the treatise de remediis fortuitorum ad Gallionem (cf. TERTULL. apolog. 50 *Seneca in fortuitis*) there is extant an abridgment subsequently disfigured by additions. HAASE's ed. 3, XVI; ind. lect. Vratisl. 1859 sq. p. 6. Cf. AHORTIS, le Additiones al de Rem. Fort. di Sen. dimostrate cosa del Petrarca, Archeogr. Triestrino NS. 6, 267. Best MS. Paris. 10318 (Salmasianus, cf. § 476) s. VII. A new text in ORossbach, de Sen. libr. recens. 97 and in JLoth, un nouv. texte du traité de Sen. de remed. fortuit., rev. de philol. 12, 118. MBonnet, rev. de phil. 13, 25. The short treatise by Bishop Martinus Dumiensis (§ 494, 2) de formula honestae vitae (or de quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus or de verborum copia; cf. Ps. SEN. ad Paulum [n. 9] ep. 9 *misi tibi librum de verborum copia;* cf. GSchepss, sechs Mayhinger Hss., Dinkelsbühl 1879, 15) is in all probability derived from a work of Seneca (de officiis? exhortationes?). The best MS. is Monac. 144 s. IX. Edited e.g. in HAASE 3, 468 and rec. AWeidner, Magdeb. Progr. 1872. Cf. HAURÉAU, acad. des inscr. 16 Nov. 1888. Recent collation of the MSS. in ORossbach, de Sen. libr. recens. 88. c) Historical work, de vita patris; a fragment from this in the Vatic. Palat. 24 (see above b and § 269, 3) bears the heading: *incipit eiusdem Annaei Senecae de vita patris feliciter scribente me Niciano die et loco supra scriptis.* See on this ORossbach l.l. 161. d) Speeches written for Nero; TAC. a. 11, 3. 11. 14, 10 sq. QUINT. 8. 5, 18. DIO 61, 3. Cf. § 286, 11. e) A panegyric on Messalina, § 288, 2. f) Epistles: *in decimo epistolarum ad Novatum* (PRISC. GL. 2, 410, 6). MART. 7, 45, 3 (to Caesonius Maximus, § 287, 1).—The best collection of the fragments of the lost works in HAASE's edition 3, p. 419, cf. p. XV. FOsann, de Sen. scriptis quibusdam deperditis, Giessen 1846–48 III.

2. There are indeed many MSS. of the prose works of Seneca in existence, but most of them are late. See for details under the various works. LvJan, symbolae ad notitiam codd. epist. Senecae, Schweinfurt 1839. CRFickert, prolegg. in novam Sen. editionem, Naumburg 1839. See also the praefationes by FICKERT and HAASE (esp. 3, p. VI), GERTZ, stud. critica (1874) p. 8 and ORossbach, de Sen. philos. ll. recensione et emendatione, Bresl. 1887 (who especially insists on the value of the later MSS., by no means convincingly, see GERTZ, BerlphWschr. 1889, 372. 402).

3. Complete editions of the prose works e.g. by DERASMUS, Bas. 1515. 1529. AMuretus, Rome 1585. JGruter (ad mss. Palat. rec.), Heidelb. 1593. JLipsius, Antw. 1605. Variorum ed. (c. nott. JFGronovii [first at Leid. 1649] et aliorum), Amst. 1672 II. Recogn. et illustr. FERuhkopf, Lps. 1797–1811 V. Recensuit, comm. adiecit etc. CRFickert, Lps. 1842–45 III. Text by FHAASE, Lps. 1852 sq. III.

FHAASE, adnott. critt. ad Sen., Bresl. 1852 sq. 1859. KSchenkl, WienerSBer. 44, 3. MHaupt, op. 3, 267. 313. CFWMüller, zu beiden Seneca, JJ. 93, 483. Obss. crit. in Sen. by OMatthiae (Berl. 1865) and HAKoch (Naumb. 1874 Gratulationsschrift p. 11). EBährens, lect. lat. (Bonn 1870) p. 40. JJCornelissen, coniectanea lat., Daventr. 1870. NMadvig, adv. 2, 335. 3, 207. FGlöckner, quaestt. Annaeanae, Halle 1877. ThMatthias, commentatt. Ribbeck. 173. ORossbach, de Sen. libr. recens. et emend. 134. MCGertz, mélanges Graux, Par. 1884, 353. J Müller, Studd. z. den Kleineren Schrr. d. Philos. Sen., Wien. SBer. 118, 1. HIlgen, animadvv. ad Sen. philos. scrr., Jena, 1889. — Translated by JMMoser, APauly andAHaakh, Stuttg. 1828 sqq.

4. The works which in the most important Milan MS. Ambros. C 90 inf. s. X/XI are called *dialogorum libri XII* owe this name to the frequent introduction (with *inquis, inquit, dicet aliquis* etc.) of a second speaker. Cf. ORossbach, Herm. 17, 365 (who, however, without any sufficient reason, assumes the existence of an

original collection of Seneca's dialogues, which besides the twelve numbers of the cod. Mediol. included de clem., benef., nat. quaestt., de forma mundi and the treatises mentioned in n. 1, b).—Our collection contains 1) ad Lucilium: quare aliqua incommoda bonis viris accidant cum providentia sit. Separate ed. by BANauta, Leid. 1825. Criticism: LCMAubert, RhM. 36, 178. JvdVliet, Rev. de philol. 7, 61; Mnemos. 10, 129. 2) ad Serenum (§ 287, 2): nec iniuriam nec contumeliam accipere sapientem. 3–5) Three books de ira (Seneca's master Sotion had also written περὶ ὀργῆς, KBuresch, Lpz. Studd. 9, 128) ad Novatum (§ 269, 2 ad fin.), evidently written after Caligula's death, see 1, 16, 29. 2, 33, 3. 3, 18, 3. 3, 22, 1. WAllers, Gött. 1881. RPfennig, Greifsw. 1887. 6) ad Marciam (the daughter of Cremutius Cordus, § 277, 1) de consolatione, on the death of her son, which had however taken place more than three years previously. See a pamphlet on this by FHeidbreede, Bielef. 1839. Consol. ad Marc., de provid. udgiv. af MCGertz, Copenh. 1889. HTKarsten, Mnem. 17, 151. JFSchinnerer, Sen.'s Schrift an Marcia, Hof 1889. CHaeberlin (de benef.), RhM. 45, 21. Edited by HCMichaelis, Harlem 1840. JMähly, z. Krit. latt. Texte, Bas. 1886, 29. 7) ad Gallionem de vita beata. Prolegomena to this by CFSchulze, Lps. 797. 8) ad Serenum de otio. 9) ad Serenum de tranquillitate animi. A treatise by AHirschig, Leid. 1825. Cf. HMGemzoe, Nord. Tidskr. f. filol. 1 (1874), 110. 10) ad Paulinum (the father-in-law of Seneca?) de brevitate vitae, before a. 49. Adnotationes to this by Clumper Leid. 1835. 11) ad Polybium (§ 23, 5. 285, 3. 320, 7 ad fin.) de consolatione. A consolatio addressed to an influential upstart who was attached to the Imperial service under Claudius a libellis and a studiis, concerning the loss of his brother, full of exaggerated and unworthy flattery of him and of Claudius, with a view to obtain Seneca's own recall; Volkmann in Mager's Revue 1858, 104. Buresch l.l. 114 with others erroneously disputes Seneca's authorship of this epistle. DDetlefsen, einige Quellenschriftst. des Plin., Glückst. 1881, 4, takes this Polybius to be the similarly named Latin author of works on medicine, who is mentioned in Plin. NH. ind. auct. b. 31 and quoted 31, 131. The consolatio ad Polybium is not extant in the Mediol. 12) ad Helviam matrem de consolatione, intended to console her about the writer's exile, but likewise calculated to promote his recall. An essay on this by CHMichaelis, Harlem 1841.—Senecae dialogorum libri XII, ex rec. et cum appar. crit. HAKoch, Jena 1879. ad cod. praecipue Ambros. rec. MCGertz, Copenhagen 1886. Critical works on the Dialogues: MCGertz, stud. crit. in Sen. dial., Copenhag. 1874. HAKoch, RhM. 30, 79. 340. FPauly, ZföG. 26, 253. 811. WGemoll, adnott. in Sen. dialogos, Ohlau 1377. HJMüller, Festschr. d. Friedr.-Werd. Gymn., Berl. 1881, 46. HTKarsten, Mnem. 17, 77.

Of similar contents, but not included in the collection of dialogi, are the two (originally three) books de clementia addressed to Nero a. 55–56 (incompletely preserved; a fragment is to be found in Hildebertus Cenomanensis [c. a. 1100] in Migne, Patrol. 171, 145; cf. ORossbach, disquiss. de Sen., Rost. 1882, 33; de Sen. recens. 112) and the seven books de beneficiis, addressed to Aebutius Liberalis of Lugdunum. On Seneca's use of Hekaton περὶ καθήκοντος, see HNFowler, Panaetii et Hecatonis fragm., Bonn 1885, 24; Americ. philol. associat. 17 (1887), 24. The best MS. is the Laureshamensis SNazarii, now Vaticano-Palatinus 1547 s. VIII/IX. Besides the complete work de benef. abridgments of it (beginning with s. XII) are to be found in manyMSS., ORossbach, de Sen. recens. 86. Sen. de benef. et de clem. ad cod. Nazar. rec.MCGertz, Berl. 1876. Criticism by AWeidner, critt. scriptionum spec. (Cologne 1864) p. 23. FSchultess, RhM. 33, 221. JFeldmann, obss. crit. in Sen., Ostrowo 1887.

5. The letters (epistulae morales) to his young friend Lucilius the procurator of

Sicily (§ 307, 2) were commenced c. 810/57, and written from the very first with the intention of being published; the first three books also appear to have been published by Seneca himself (Jonas). The rest were not, as it seems, quite complete or ready for publication by the time of Seneca's death and were therefore published from his papers (perhaps by Lucilius) in general accordance with the order in which they were composed (Haase's praef. p. III. RPeiper, praef. suppl. p. 14; for the contrary view see J. Bartsch, Anclam 1870 and FSchultess p. 26).—We possess 124 letters, divided into 20 books; but Gellius 12, 2, 3 sqq. gives several literary criticisms of Seneca *ex libro XXII epistularum moralium quas ad Lucilium composuit* (288, 1 ad fin.). It is only in late MSS. (e.g. Abrincensis 239 s. XII, Montepess. H 445 s. XIII, Cantabrig. 1768 s. XIII) that the extant letters are collected so as to form a single whole; in the better version they fall into two parts (ep. 1–88=lib. I–XIII and ep. 89–124=lib. XIV–XX). For the first part the best MSS. are Paris 8540 s. X, Laur. 76, 40 s. IX/X (a new collation of the first MS., and for the gaps in it the Parisini 8658 A s. X and 8539 s. XI by EChatelain, rev. de philol. 1 [1877], 101; on the second MS., the same writer ib. 4, 125) and a MS. in Metz no. 300 s. XI; PWolters, in the exercitationis gramm. spec., Bonn 1881, 32; on the second part Bamberg. s. IX/X and the Argentor. (which was burnt in 1870, but had been previously collated by FBücheler) s. IX/X (specimens of the writing of both are given by Bücheler l.l.). In general see ORossbach, de Sen. libr. recens. 31 sqq. An edition of the letters by GSchweighäuser, Strasb. 1809 II. Senecae epistulae aliquot (i.e. b. 14 and 15 and b. 20, 3), ex codd. Argentor. et Bamberg. ed. FBücheler, Bonn 1879. HWindhaus, varietas lectionis ad Sen. epp. e cod. Bambergensi enotata, Darmst. 1879. FSchultess, de Sen. quaest. nat. et epistulis, Bonn 1872. Textual criticism by JBartsch (RhM. 24, 271), Madvig (see n. 3 in fin.), RVolkmann (obss. miscellae, Jauer 1872, no. 20 sqq.), FSchultess (l.l. p. 43–48 and in the Comment. in honorem Bücheleri, Bonn 1873, p. 1–11; Ann. studd., Hamb. 1888 [also on the diall. and quaestt. nat.]). AHermes, quaestt. critt. in Sen. epp., Mörs 1874. 76 II. HA Koch, JJ. 111, 715. ORibbeck, RhM. 35, 105. SLinde, quaestt. crit. in S. epp. mor., Lund 1885 (Univ. Aarskr. b. 21). WGemoll, adnott. crit. in S. epp. mor., Kreuzb. 1886. PWolters l.l, JvdVliet, Mnemos. 10, 240. GHess, quaestt. Ann. I, Altona 1887.—EHermes, Krit. Beitr. z. d. Briefen des Sen., Moers 1882. Translated by JWOlshausen, Kiel 1811 II.

6. The seven (or eight, as book 4 must be divided into two) books *naturalium quaestionum*, likewise dedicated to Lucilius, chiefly from Stoic sources, especially Poseidonios (Zeller, Philos. d. Gr. 3 [3], 1, 191, HDiels, doxogr. 225. 229), with the addition of moral meditations, were used in the Middle Ages as a text-book of physical science. Manuscripts (besides the Memmianus and Bongarsianus, which are now lost): Berol. s. XIII (and copied from this the Wirceburg. s. XV), Leid. Voss. 69, Bamberg. s. XIII, Prague s. XII/XIII and others. Edited by GDKöler, Gött. 1819. JFGronovii notae in S. n. q. ed. Fickert, Bresl. 1846. 48. HCMichaelis, Sen. n. q. . . . coll. cum cod. Vossiano, Phil. 8, 445. 9, 324. LCrouslé, de Sen. n. q., Versailles 1863. BLarisch, de Sen. Q. N. codice Leid. Voss. et locis illorum librr. a Vincentio Bellovacensi excerptis, I Bresl. 1865; criticism on b. 1, Sagan 1870 and Patschkau 1874; on b. 2, Patschkau 1879. GMüller, de Sen. quaestt. natur., Bonn 1886. HSchiller, Nero 629. FJonas p. 52. ANehring, die geologischen Anschauungen des Sen., Wolfenbüttel 1873. 76 II.—Against Vincentius Bellov. and Haase's (ind. lect. Bresl. 1859 sq.) transposition of the books (4[b], 5, 6, 7, 1, 2, 3, 4[a]) cf. FSchultess (n. 5 in fin.) p. 5–25.

7. Dio 60, 35 Λούκιος Ἰούνιος Γαλλίων ὁ τοῦ Σενέκα ἀδελφὸς ἀστειότατόν τι ἀπεφθέγξατο (on the apotheosis of Claudius) ·συνέθηκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας σύγγραμμα

ἀποκολοκύντωσιν αὐτὸ ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀπαθανάτασιν ὀνομάσας; cf. on the meaning of the name BSchmidt, RhM. 33, 627. The extant work does not, however, bear this title, but in the St. Gall MS.: *Divi Claudii* ΑΠΟΘΗΟΣΙΣ *Annaei Senecae per saturam*, perhaps because the original title (given by Dio) was no longer understood. Nor does the work contain anything of Claudius' transformation into a gourd (κολοκύντη), this witticism being limited to the title. It is a venomous political satire, written in vivid recollection of Claudius' person and reign and with deep hatred against him. The official lie concerning his death is adopted outright, Agrippina strangely spared and the new Emperor glorified. Hence there is no doubt that the work belongs to this time and to the Court circles, and the tradition as to Seneca's authorship is the less open to question, as the metrical treatment of the lines interspersed is certainly in agreement with his manner. The old objections to that tradition were revived, but not strengthened, by AStahr, Agrippina (Berl. 1867) 330. Cf. ARiese, Phil. 27, 321. The absence of mention in other writers proves at the most that the work was originally published without Seneca's name and added to his writings from his papers. ThBirt, de Sen. apocolocyntosi et apotheosi, Marb. 1888. Regarding the mixture of prose and verse see § 28 and 28, 3.—Best MS. Sangallensis 569 s. X/XI; see Bücheler l.l. 72. A quotation from s. IX in Mabillon's Acta S. O. B. 4ª, 457: see Herm. 6, 126. On the cod. Valenciennensis 393 s. IX/X see ORossbach, de Sen. librr. recensione 25. Separate edition by OESchusler (Utr. 1844) and especially by FBücheler, in the symbola philol. Bonn. p. 31, and in his smaller ed. of Petronius[3] 1882, p. 225. Contributions to criticism and explanation by FLindemann (Zittau 1832), ABaumstark (Phil. 18, 543), KSchenkl (WienerSBer. 44, 3). LFriedländer, in Sen. sat. Menipp., Königsb. 1873. JAsbach, RhM. 35, 183. JMähly, z. Krit. lat. Texte, Bas. 1886, 24. MCGertz, JJ. 137, 843. CWachsmuth, Lpz. Studd 11, 337. Translated e.g. by Güthling (Minden 1861), AStahr (Agrippina p. 307). Cf. also DHeinsius, oratt. p. 526. EKlebs in Sybel's hist. Zeitschr. NF. 25, 215.

8. Seneca was also supposed to have a share in the notae Tironianae, see § 191, 4 and WSchmitz, symb. philol. Bonn. p. 538; Beitr. z. lat. Sprachk. 193; Verh. d. Trierer Philol.-Vers. 61. To him as the typical wise man even this form of wisdom was attributed, though in fact it was repugnant to him; see ep. 90, 25 (it is not the sage, as Poseidonios supposes, but the man who has need of them who invents the contrivances necessary for human life, e.g.) . . . *verborum notas, quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio et celeritatem linguae manus sequitur. vilissimorum mancipiorum ista commenta sunt. sapientia altius sedet nec manus edocet; animorum magistra est.*

9. Spurious works. The observation that, in his opposition to the popular belief and in many details of moral doctrine, Seneca approached the Christian doctrine, led to the assumption that he was actually a Christian, and occasioned the invention of a correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul, which was known to St. Jerome and considered genuine by him (de vir. ill. 12 *quem non ponerem in catalogo sanctorum nisi me epistolae illae provocarent quae leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam et Senecae ad Paulum*). Cf. Augustin. ep. 153 (ad Maced. 14) *Seneca, . . cuius etiam quaedam ad Paulum apostolum leguntur epistolae.* These fourteen shallow and insignificant letters (perhaps translated from the Greek? see AHarnack, theolog. Lit. Ztg. 1881, 441) have been printed e.g. in Haase's edition 3, 476, cf. p. xxii, and (after the best MSS., Mediol. n. 4 and Argentor. n. 5—the letters are also given in the Metz MS. n. 5) in EWesterburg, d. Ursprung der Sage dass Sen. ein Christ gewesen, Berl. 1881, 41.—Cf. CWachsmuth, RhM. 16, 301, and FXKraus, Tüb. Quartalschr. 49, 609. AFleury, St. Paul et Sénèque, Par.

1853 II. FCBaur, Abh. z. Gesch. d. alt. Philos. (Lpz. 1876) 377. CAubertin, les rapports supposés entre Sénèque et St. Paul, Par. 1857 and Sénèque et St. Paul, Par. 1869. JBLightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (Lond. 1868) 260. EWesterburg l.l. JKreyher, Sen. u. s. Beziehungen zu d. Urchristentum, Berl. 1887 (this writer unsuccessfully attempts to prove that Sen. was acquainted with the Bible, etc.).

10. Tac. a. 15, 63 *et novissimo quoque momento suppeditante eloquentia advocatis scriptoribus pleraque tradidit* (Seneca before his death) *quae in vulgus edita eius verbis invertere supersedeo* (cf. ib. 67). EWölfflin surmises that these last words of S. are to be found in a few apophthegms with a short epilogue, which are extant under the title of *sententiae Rufi* in ORossbach, de Sen. libr. recens. 85). Wölfflin supposes that Seneca addressed these parting words to Faenius Rufus, praef. praet. In the epilogue Rufus is addressed: *Habes, mi Rufe, iam congesta praecepta in quibus dilatandis floribus philosophia versatur.* Similarly Wölfflin detects in the collection of apophthegms in this Paris. and in Par. 16318 (Salmasianus, § 476) a work supposed to have been composed by Seneca shortly before his death (Dio Cass. 62, 25) and calls it (following a suggestion in the Salmas.) Monita. Both from the diction and the substance it appears certain that these apophthegms (about 200 in number) are derived in great part from Seneca; but it is quite improbable that in these *sent. Rufi* we have the publication alluded to by Tac., and that these monita formed an independent work: it is more probable that they are extracts from Seneca and other writers strung together and arranged by a compiler. L. Annaei Senecae monita et eiusdem morientis extremae voces, primus edidit EWölfflin, Erlang. 1878. JHaas, de L. Ann. Senecae monitis, Würzb. 1878. WBrunco, zwei lat. Spruchsammlungen, Bayr. 1885. JMähly, z. Krit. lat. Texte, Bas. 1886, 36.—We possess another widely different version of the so-called Monita with various abridgments and additions (some by Christian writers, cf. e.g. 55 *eleemosyna non tam accipientibus quam dantibus prodest*) in the liber de moribus to which Seneca's name is prefixed in the MSS.; it is printed in JCOrelli's op. sent. 1, 269, in Haase 3, 462, in Wölfflin's Publil. Syr. p. 136 and in a metrical form (!) in OFriedrich's Publilius (Berl. 1880) p. 87, in all 145 maxims (no. 35 was quoted under Seneca's name as early as a. 567, see Haase 3, xx). Cf. EWölfflin, Phil. 8, 184. 9, 680. KSchenkl, Beiträge (see n. 7 ad fin.) 33. EHeydenreich, JJ. 127, 142.—Of a similar nature are the *Proverbia Senecae per ordinem alphabeti*, which have crept into the MSS. of Publilius (§ 212, 5), all likewise versified in OFriedrich's Publil. p. 92); also the gnomic excerpts from S.'s letters (Haase 3, 458).

290. We possess of Seneca in verse both epigrams and tragedies. There are nine of the latter: Hercules (furens), Troades (or Hecuba), Phoenissae (or Thebais, two scenes which do not belong together, taken from the Theban cycle of legends), Medea, Phaedra (or Hippolytus), Oedipus, Agamemnon, Thyestes and Hercules (Oetaeus). The praetexta entitled Octavia is certainly not by Seneca. These tragedies agree in their chief peculiarities both with one another and with the prose works of Seneca. There is throughout the same abundance of words, rhetorical figures and apophthegms, but in the tragedies it is often exaggerated to an unbearable extent, and here, owing to

the nature of the subject-matter, which is treated merely as the vehicle of rhetoric and declamation, it is rarely compensated by the intrinsic value of the thoughts. The metrical treatment is strict, but wanting in variety.

1. QUINT. 10, 1, 129 (above § 288, 1) *nam . . . eius* (Senecae) *et poemata . . . feruntur*. PLIN. ep. 5, 3 (§ 31, 1). Two (or three) epigrams have come down to us under the name of Seneca in the MSS. of the so-called Latin Anthology (§ 31, 4), viz. AL. 232 PLM. 4, 55 (*Senecae de qualitate temporis*), AL. 236 (237) PLM. 4, 55 (*Senecae*, 56). Moreover the facts and domestic circumstances mentioned AL. 441 PLM. 4, 77 and AL. 409 PLM. 4, 62 accord in a remarkable degree with what is known of Seneca (FGLÖCKNER, RhM. 34, 140). Lastly both the epigrams on Passienus Crispus (§ 268, 5 ad fin.) may well be by Seneca (cf. AL. 405 PLM. 4, 60, 11 *incultae iaceo saxis telluris adhaerens*). On this foundation an attempt has been made (since Scaliger and Pithoeus) to attribute to Seneca other epigrams of the Latin Anthology. Cf. HAASE's ed. 1, 261, and for the widest application EBÄHRENS, RhM. 31, 256; PLM. 4, 34. 55 and OROSSBACH, disquiss. de Sen. fil. scriptis, Rost. 1882, who suppose that a whole section of Leid. Voss. 86 s. IX (§ 309, 1), to which belong the above-mentioned epigrams (except AL. 232), that is to say AL. 236. 237. 397–463 PLM. 4, 56–87, is taken from Seneca's poems. These attributions are based on plausible but very uncertain conjectures. Cf. further ARIESE, JJ. 99, 279. THBIRT, ad hist. hexam. lat. (Bonn 1876) 65.

2. The time when Seneca wrote his tragedies cannot be fixed with certainty. See various conjectures in PEIPER, praef. suppl. p. 11. 32. LEO, ed. 1, 133. In Corsica Seneca would be most likely to have leisure and inclination for works of this kind, cf. consol. ad Helv. 20, 1 sq. TAC. a. 14, 52 (*obiciebant . . . carmina crebrius factitare postquam Neroni amor eorum venisset*), anno 62, points to occupation of this kind, as Nero also handled subjects taken from Greek tragedy; see § 286, 9. The Medea is mentioned by QUINT. 9, 2, 8 (*ut Medea apud Senecam*), also DIOM. GL. 1, 511, 23 (*anapaesticum choricum habemus in Seneca*=Med. 301); the Phaedra by PRISC. GL. 2, 253, 7 (*Seneca in Phaedra*), the Hecuba (Troades) by Ps.-PROBUS GL. 4, 224, 22. 246, 19 (*Seneca in Hecuba*), the Herc. fur. by TERENT. MAUR. 2672 (GL. 6, 404 *exemplum et Senecae dabo*, then follows Herc. fur. 877 sqq.); *Seneca in Thyeste* ap. LACTANT. on Stat. Theb. 4, 530. STATIUS and QUINT. decl. 12 imitate Sen. Oed. and Herc. furens (RPEIPER, praef. suppl. p. 4; cf. p. 35). APOLL. SIDONIUS carm. 9, 229 (*quorum unus colit hispidum Platona, . . . orchestram quatit alter Euripidis*), perhaps misled by MART. 1, 61, 7 *duosque Senecas* (father and son) *unicumque Lucanum*, wrongly makes a distinction between the tragic poet Seneca and the philosopher. The identity of manner and thought, as well as of numerous characteristic phrases, which can be proved, admits of no doubt on this point; FGCKLOTZSCH, de Seneca uno tragoediarum omnium auctore, Wittenb. 1802. GRICHTER, de Seneca tragg. auctore, Bonn 1862, p. 1. 32. Doubts were formerly urged, and that very generally, against the genuineness both of the collection as a whole and of particular portions, but sober investigation, especially in regard to style and metre, has gradually established affinity and connection between the pieces and set narrower limits to such criticism. Peiper's and Richter's view that the Agam. and Herc. Oet. at least were not by Seneca, has rightly been negatived (in LMÜLLER, BSCHMIDT and others), especially as regards the Agam., which bears every mark of genuineness. On the other hand the Herc. Oet., which comes last in both recensions (n. 8), can hardly be considered genuine, particularly the second part. HABRUCKER LL. 22. FLEO, ed. 1, 39. THBIRT,

RhM. 34, 509. The Phoenissae (so entitled in E; Thebais in A) consists of two irreconcilable parts: vs. 1–362 the blind Oedipus and his conductress on their way to Cithaeron, and on Cithaeron; 363–664 Jocasta and Antigone in Thebes while it is besieged by the Seven. For explanation of these circumstances see RICHTER, de Sen. tragg. auct. 20. HABRUCKER l.l. 22. LEO's ed. 1, 75. THBIRT's view (RhM. 34, 516) that the scenes in question are taken from one and the same tragedy is very improbable.

3. The tragedies also show considerable literary skill, fertility and vivacity of fancy, and sagacity in psychological observation, though these qualities are mostly smothered by rhetorical verbiage. RMSMITH, de arte rhetorica in Sen. trag. perspicua, Lps. 1885. There is no attempt to delineate character, the persons of the drama being merely vehicles for delivering speeches and reciting descriptions. On account of the want of artistic restraint and moderation, the poet's fertility degenerates into tiresome verbosity and repetition, and his inventive facility, without artistic perception and tact to guide it, often strays into breaches of taste and absurdities. The metrical treatment is superior to the style; it follows the strictest writers of the Augustan age, especially in the senarii. Besides these, anapaestic and sapphic lines, glyconeans and asclepiadeans are especially frequent. But there are few traces of intelligent handling or harmonising of the metre with its dramatic significance. This blemish would be enormously aggravated, if Richter and Peiper were right in assuming strophic arrangement throughout the tragedies of Seneca: see however against this mistaken theory, which is carried out by the usual violent methods, BSCHMIDT, JJ. 97, 797. MADVIG, adv. 2, 110. FLEO, ed. 1, 135. An attempted defence by GRICHTER, JJ. 99, 769. The diction of the tragedies shows many points of resemblance to the poet's predecessors, especially Vergil, Horace and Ovid. TERHAARROMENY, de auctore tragoediarum quae sub Senecae nomine feruntur Vergilii imitatore, Leid. 1887. AZINGERLE, zu späteren lat. Dichtern, Innsbr. 1873, 12. FLEO, ed. 1, 156. 166. Seneca was especially attracted to Ovid, who was most akin to him in genius: he calls him *poetarum ingeniosissimus* nat. qu. 3, 27, 13. Cf. PRISC. GL. 2, 333, 14 *Seneca Ovidium sequens 'gausapa si sumpsit'* etc. (the verse quoted is like Ov. a. a. 2, 300). Seneca is fond of quoting from memory especially Vergil and Ovid. Later authors made use of Seneca's tragedies: RPEIPER, RhM. 32, 532.

4. On the character of these tragedies: FJACOBS, Nachtr. zu Sulzer 4, 343. FGWELCKER, RhM. Suppl. 2, 3, 1447. LMÜLLER, JJ. 89, 409. RPEIPER, praefat. in Sen. tr. suppl. (Bresl. 1870) p. 8. CESANDSTRÖM, de Sen. tragg., Ups. 1872. FGPHABRUCKER, quaestt. Annaeanae, Königsb. 1873. FLEO's ed. b. 1. KSCHULTE, zur Senecatragödie, Rheine 1886. FSTRAUSS, de ratione inter Sen. et antiq. fabb. rom., Rost. 1887.—On the metres of Seneca: FALANGE, quaestt. metricae (Bonn 1851) p. 23. BSCHMIDT, de Sen. tragg. rationibus prosod. et metr., Berl. 1860. MHOCHE, d. Metra d. Trag. Sen., Halle 1862; cf. LMÜLLER, JJ. 89, 473 and de re metr. p. 118. GRICHTER, die Compos. d. Chorlieder in d. Tragg. d. Sen., RhM. 19, 360. 521. RPEIPER, ZfGW. 18, 694. LVRANKE, sämtl. Werke 51/52, 19.

5. It may be asked whether Seneca's tragedies were intended for the stage or merely for recitation. The former supposition is not proved by the fact that Seneca keeps within the number of three actors (HWEIL, Rev. archéol. 1865, 1, 21), for this may merely result from his imitation of Greek tragedy, and the Roman stage did not in general observe this limitation (§ 16, 4). But on the other hand, the period of Nero does not entirely exclude the idea of public performance, and several scenic hints (e.g. Phaedr. 392) might relate to this. What the author

could, however, safely count on was recitation and private reading, and the theatrical public could not well have been treated to such lengthy speeches. GBoissier, les tragédies de Sénèque ont-elles été représentées? Par. 1861. RPeiper, praef. suppl. p. 6. There is an allusion to theoretic and polemical debates between the two contemporary writers of tragedy in Quint. 8, 3, 31 *memini iuvenis admodum* (about a. 55) *inter Pomponium* (§ 284, 7) *ac Senecam etiam praefationibus* (before the edd. of their tragedies) *esse tractatum an 'gradus eliminat' in tragoedia dici oportuisset.* This expression was probably used by Pomponius, as we do not meet with it in Seneca. These praefationes are in themselves characteristic of literary dramas.

6. Most of the Greek plays (by Sophokles, Euripides, Aischylos) from which Seneca's tragedies are derived being still extant, we are enabled to trace the gross exaggeration on the part of the Roman rhetorician. The Medea has suffered least; here we find indications that Ovid has been employed in addition to Euripides (perhaps his Medea; see § 248, 8). WBraun, RhM. 32, 68. FLeo l.l. 1, 163. See also KDilthey, ann. dell' inst. arch. 41, 68. The Phaedra appears to be specially imitated from the now lost Ἱππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος of Euripides. Sophokles' Oedipus Rex has been turned by Seneca into monotonous horror, a play devoid of all refinement but enriched with abundant declamation. On the originals of the tragedies FLeo, ed. 1, 160. AWidal, études sur trois tragédies de Sén. (Troad. Phaedr. Med.) imitées d'Euripide, Par. 1854. WBraun, RhM. 20, 271 (Phoen.). 22, 245 (Oed.). 32, 68 (Med.); de Sen. Troad., Wesel 1870. APais, quibus exemplaribus Sen. in fab. Troad. usus sit, Riv. di filol. 16, 277. CWSwahn, de Hipp. Sen. fab. I, Holm 1857. EHiller, de Soph. Phaedra et de Eur. Hippol. priore in the liber miscellan. (Bonn 1864) p. 47. JKöhler, Sen. Oed. cum Soph. O. R. compar., Neuss 1865. RGrimm, Herc. Oet. in s. Bezieh. zu Soph. Trach., Petersb. 1876. RWerner, de Sen. Herc. Troad. Phoen., Lpz. 1888.

7. Octavia, a play which describes the death, a. 62, of Nero's wife who bore that name; Seneca himself appears in it. This play cannot be by Seneca, because in it Nero's downfall is mentioned (630), an event posterior to Seneca's death by three years. But all attempts at discovering the author (e.g. Curiatius Maternus § 318, 1, or the author of recensio A, see n. 8) have proved inconclusive, and even the time of its composition is uncertain. The play occurs only in recensio A (see n. 8). It is first quoted by Vinc. Bellov. spec. hist. 9, 113. This circumstance alone would prevent our assigning its composition (with WBraun, die Trag. Octavia u. die Zeit ihrer Entstehung, Kiel 1863; cf. JJ. 99, 875) to the close of the Middle Ages, against which there are also other reasons (GRichter, JJ. 95, 260; ed. p. xii). FVater p. 613 places it incerta post Traianum aetate; Richter, ed. p. xii and ThBirt, RhM. 34, 559 assign it to the fourth century. The opinion is gradually gaining ground, and deservedly, that the Octavia was composed soon after Nero's death. Cf. Bücheler, RhM. 27, 474. FLeo, ed. 1, 1. EBährens l.l. EMeiser, histor. Dramen d. Röm., Munich 1887, 118. Seneca de clementia has been used as a source for the subject-matter. It is not as pompous and bombastic in diction as the tragedies of Seneca, nor is the action confined to three actors, besides which it also differs from him in style and metrical peculiarities. FGC Klotzsch, de Octavia Senecae, Wittenb. 1804. Octavia praetexta, Curiatio Materno vindicatam, recog. adnot. FRitter, Bonn 1843. FVater in Jahn's Arch. 19, 565. GRichter, de Sen. tragg. auctore (1862) p. 2. An analysis of this play is given by AStahr, Agrippina (Berlin 1867) p. 271. EMeiser l.l. 7. Criticism of the text, Bücheler, RhM. 27, 474. EBährens, miscell. crit. 114.

8. The text of the tragedies of Seneca has come down to us in two recensions. The better one (E) is represented by the principal MS. Laur. 37, 13 (Etruscus) s. XI/XII, then by the fragments from Med. and Oed. (see WStudemund in Leo's ed. 2, xiii) preserved in the Milan palimpsest of Plautus (§ 99, 9) and by the extracts from Troad. Med. Oed. in Paris. 8071 (Thuaneus) s. IX/X; see Peiper-Richter p. xxiii, Leo's ed. 2, ix. All the other MSS., none of which is older than the middle of s. XIV, belong to the inferior and very corrupt recension (A). An intermediate position between E and A is occupied by an Ambros. D 276 inf. and Vatic. 1769, both s. XIV, which are derived from an E text corrected throughout from A. In the E recension the Octavia is missing (n. 7), and E and A also differ from each other in the order of succession of the plays (E: Herc. [fur.] Troad. Phoen. Med. Phaedr. Oed. Agam. Thyest. Herc. [Oet.].—A: Herc. f. Thyest. Thebais [=Phoen.] Hippolytus [=Phaedr.] Oed. Troad. Med. Agam. Octav. Herc. Oet.). Even A reaches back to a comparatively early period (perhaps s. IV): Lactantius (§ 321, 10 and above n. 2) quotes from A, and even in the Milan palimpsest we find traces of the same text among others. Usener, RhM. 28, 391. Cf. in gen. the praefatio of the ed. of Peiper-Richter p. xiv and Leo's ed. b. 1. Habrucker (n. 4) p. 3.—On a mediaeval collection of maxims from Sen. trag. (based on the inferior recension) see FLeo, commentatt. in honor. FBuecheleri etc., Bonn 1873, 29.

9. Editions e.g. by MADelrio (Antw. 1576 and in part II of the Syntagma tragg. latt., Antw. 1594. Par. 1620), JLipsius (Leid. 1588), JGruter (Heidelb. 1601), PScriverius (Leid. 1621. 1651) and especially JFGronovius (Leid. 1661. Amsterd. 1682). A collective edition by JCSchröder (Delft 1728 II). Subsequent editions by FHBothe (Lps. 1819. Halberst. 1822), TBaden (Lps. 1821 II), JPierrot (Par. 1829 III), Sen. Med. et Troad. c. adnot. Gronov. ed. AMatthiä, Lpz. 1828; especially rec. RPeiper et GRichter, Lps. 1867 (cf. BSchmidt, JJ. 97, 781. 855) and rec. et emend. FLeo, Berl. 1878. 79 II.—Criticism e.g. RBentley (JJ. 125, 481), JHWithof (praemetium crucium crit., Leid. 1749), AHenneberger (ad Sen. Med. et Troad., Mein. 1862), RPeiper (obss. in Sen. Tragg., Bresl. 1863; praef. suppl. p. 33), GRichter (RhM. 18, 29; symb. phil. Bonn. 557), BSchmidt (obss. crit. in Sen. tragg., Jena 1865; RhM. 16, 589), Madvig (adv. 2, 111), FLeo (comment. in hon. Buecheleri, 1873 p. 29), JJCornelissen, Mnemos. NS. 5, 175, ThBirt, RhM. 34, 509, HTKarsten, spicil. crit., Leid. 1881, 45.—RWerner, de Sen. Herc. Troad. Phoen. quaestt., Lpz. 1889. LTachau, die Arbeiten über die Seneca-Tragg. in d. letzten Jahrzehnten, Phil. 48, 340. Translated and explained by WASwoboda, Prague 1828–30 III.

291. The historians of this age were for the most part deeply imbued with rhetoric and, as a rule, were actually rhetoricians or orators. Such was Servilius Nonianus under Claudius, who took his subjects from the history of his own and the preceding generation, and perhaps Cornelius Bocchus, who besides chronological works wrote on admiranda in Spain. Domitius Corbulo described his personal adventures and observations in Asia, C. Suetonius Paulinus his experience in Mauretania, Ti. Claudius Balbillus in Egypt, L. Antistius Vetus in Germany. It is not certain whether Gaetulicus (put to death by Caligula), who is often mentioned as a poet, wrote history also.

1. SUET. Calig. 8 *Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus Tiburi genitum scribit* (of Caligula). . . . *Gaetulicum refellit Plinius quasi mentitum per adulationem* etc. Cos. 779/26 (TAC. a. 4. 46 cf. 42 and 6, 30), killed by Caligula a. 792/39 (according to the Fasti Arvales; cf. HENZEN, act. Arv. fragm. p. XLIX, cf. DIO 59, 22. SUET. Claud. 9). Mentioned as an erotic poet by PLIN. ep. 5, 3, 5 (above § 31, 1) before Seneca, and by MARTIAL praef. (§ 243, 2), cf. APOLL. SIDON. epp. 2, 10 (*saepe versum . . . complevit . . . Caesennia cum Gaetulico*). carm. 9, 256 (*non Gaetulicus hic tibi legetur, non Marsus, Pedo, Silius, Tibullus*). PROBUS on georg. 1, 227 (p. 38, 12 K.) *cuius rei testis est Gaetulicus, cum ait de Britannis: 'non aries'* etc. (three hexameters). And as Gaetulicus governed Germany for ten years (DIO l.l. cf. SUET. Galb. 6), OJAHN (on Persius p. CXLII) conjectures that Gaetulicus did not compose an historical work, but a poem on the expeditions against the Germans and Britons, perhaps those of Germanicus. On the nine epigrams Γαιτουλίκου (Γαιτουλλίου) in the Greek Anthology (5, 17. 6, 190. 331. 7, 71. 244. 245. 275. 354. 11, 409) see FJACOB's Anth. gr. 13, p. 896.

2. PLIN. NH. 28, 29 *M. Servilius Nonianus, princeps civitatis* (employed a superstitious remedy against lippitudo). 37, 81 *avus Servilii Noniani, quem consulem* (a. 788/35, TAC. a. 6, 31) *vidimus*. Was he an adopted son of the cos. 756/3 (PRE. 6, 1122, 78)? † 812/59 A.D., TAC. a. 14, 19 (§ 276, 5). QUINT. 10, 1, 102 *Servilius Nonianus, . . . qui et ipse a nobis auditus est, clari vir ingenii et sententiis creber, sed minus pressus quam historiae auctoritas postulat.* He is also cited there and in CHARIS. GL. 1, 145, 29 (BÜCHELER, RhM. 42, 473). Cf. TAC. dial. 23 (*eloquentia . . . Servilii Noniani*). PLIN. ep. 1, 13, 3 *memoria parentum Claudium Caesarem ferunt, cum in palatio spatiaretur audissetque clamorem, causam requisisse, cumque dictum esset recitare Nonianum, subitum recitanti inopinatumque venisse.* On his relation to Persius see § 302, 2.

3. TAC. a. 15, 16 *prodiderit Corbulo* etc. This may have been in the memoirs composed by Cn. Domitius Corbulo (cos. suff. under Caligula a. 792/39, executed by Nero a. 820/67). Cf. PLIN. NH. 5, 83 *oritur* (Euphrates) etc., *ut prodidere ex iis qui proxime viderant Domitius Corbulo.* 6, 23 *anxia perquisita cura rebus nuper in eo situ gestis a Domitio Corbulone.* 2, 180 *Corbulo dux in Armenia . . . prodidit.* HELD, de Cn. Dom. Corb., Schweidnitz 1862. EEGLI in MBüdinger's Unters. z. röm. Kaisergesch. 1 (1868), 336. FWOLFFGRAMM, Cn. D. Corb., Prenzlau 1874; Phil. 44, 371. HPETER, hist. fragm. 304. Portraits: JJBERNOULLI, röm. Ikonogr. 1, 271.

4. PLIN. NH. ind. auct. to b. 5 (geography) *ex . . . Suetonio Paulino;* cf. 5, 14 *Suetonius Paulinus, quem consulem* (soon after 795/42; iterum 819/66) *vidimus, primus Romanorum ducum* (as leg. pro pr. in Mauretania 795/42) *transgressus quoque Atlantem prodidit* etc. Cf. PRE. 6, 1476.

5. *L.* (*Antistius*) *Vetus*, cos. 808/55 A.D., who commanded in Germany a. 58 (PRE. 1 [2], 1165); he is mentioned by PLINY NH. ind. auct. b. 3–6 (*ex L. Vetere*) as one of his authorities (probably on German matters). See also EWÖLFFLIN, JB. 1874/75 1, 772.

6. Cornelius Bocchus is mentioned by PLINY NH. in his ind. auct. in b. 16. 33. 34. 37, also 16, 216. 37, 24. 97. 127 in statements concerning Spain, perhaps from a work de admirandis Hispaniae (MOMMSEN). SOLINUS p. 27, 3 M. (*ut Bocchus auctor est*) and p. 38, 22 (*Bocchus autumat*), cf. p. 37, 8, quotes him in chronological statements which are not found in Pliny himself; whence MOMMSEN, Solin. p. XVII, supposes that Solinus' authority (cf. § 389, 4) employed also a chronicle by Bocchus (of the time of Claudius). Cf. GFUNGER, RhM. 35, 15. EHÜBNER Herm. 1 p. 397 is probably right in identifying him with *L. Cornelius C.* (*L?*) *f. Bocchus, flamen*

*prov., trib. mil.* (of leg. III Aug.), CIL. 2, 35; cf. ephem. ep. 1, 182, no. 291.—HPeter, hist. rom. fragm. 297.—Kiessling p. 533 attempted to identify him with *Broccus quidam non malus rhetor* Sen. contr. 2, 1, 23: but the name *Broccus* (*Brocchus*) is not rare, CIL. indd. PRE. 1 [2], 2495 and Scribon. Larg. 146 (*Milonis Brocchi*). —Sen. nat. qu. 4, 2, 13 (Ti. Claudius) Balbillus (cf. CIG. 4699. 4730. 4957, 28) *virorum optimus profectusque in omni litterarum genere rarissimi auctor est* (a most extraordinary fight between dolphins and crocodiles), *cum ipse praefectus obtineret Aegyptum* (a. 808/55; Tac. ann. 13, 22. Plin. NH. 19, 3).

7. Plin. NH. 35, 70 *pinxit* (Parrhasius) *et archigallum, quam picturam amavit Tiberius princeps atque, ut auctor est Deculo* (perhaps in a life of Tiberius), . . . *cubiculo suo inclusit.* Cf. Plin. NH. ind. auct. b. 10. 35 *ex* . . . *Deculone.* L Urlichs, Chrestom. Plin. p. 351; ind. auct. of Plin. 13. For the name cf. the cos. 673/81 M. Tullius Decula (and CIL. 3, 4377 *Deculus*).

292. Q. Curtius Rufus, who wrote under Claudius ten books historiarum Alexandri Magni (of which, however, the first two have not come down to us), was also a rhetorician. His subject is happily chosen and treated rhetorically in close imitation of Greek models. The work bears small traces of historical criticism, and shows a strong predilection for speeches and general reflections. His style is chiefly imitated from Livy, but bears a certain resemblance to that of his contemporary Seneca: short and antithetically pointed sentences, a sparing use of particles, rhetorical disposition of words, and numerous phrases of a poetical colour.

1. Suetonius had noticed a Q. Curtius Rufus among his rhetores after M. Porcius Latro and before L. Valerius Primanus, Verginius Flavus and others; see Reifferscheid's edition p. 99. 128. Exactly the same name is given in the MSS. to Alexander's historiographer, but he is never cited as such, nor is his work quoted in antiquity. The above-mentioned notice bears out the ascription of the work to the reign of Claudius, which rests upon Curt. 10, 9, 3–6 *quod imperium sub uno stare potuisset, dum a pluribus sustinetur, ruit. proinde iure meritoque populus rom. salutem se principi suo debere profitetur, qui noctis quam paene supremam habuimus novum sidus induxit.* (4) *huius, hercule, non solis ortus lucem caliganti* (according to Schultess de Sen. qu. nat., Bonn 1872, thesis 11, and OHirschfeld, Herm. 8, 472 an allusion to the name of Caligula) *reddidit mundo, cum sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent.* (5) *quot ille tum extinxit faces, quot condidit gladios! quantam tempestatem subita serenitate discussit; non ergo revirescit solum sed etiam floret imperium.* (6) *absit modo invidia, excipiet huius saeculi tempora eiusdem domus utinam perpetua, certe diuturna, posteritas.* (7) *ceterum, ut ad ordinem a quo me contemplatio publicae felicitatis averterat redeam, Perdicca* etc. This passage is most conveniently understood (as many have rightly recognised after JLipsius on Tac. a. 11, 21) of the events in the night of 24–25 January, 41, when Caligula was assassinated, his German guard raged about the city, and the Senate meditated the resuscitation of the Republic, until Claudius' elevation to the throne reestablished everything on the old basis. Mützell's ed. 1, xlvii. Teuffel, Studien and Charakt. 387. ThWiedemann, Phil. 30, 241. 441. 31, 342. 551. 756 (who renders it very probable that Curt. 8, 10, 27 sqq. was the source of Sen. ep. 6, 7 [59], 12),

AEussner, Phil. 32, 157. SDosson, étude sur Quinte Curce, sa vie et son oeuvre, Par. 1887, 23. Are there in Lucan traces of his having read Curtius? Cf. Curt. 4, 4, 7 with Luc. 3, 564. Curt. 9, 6, 6 with Luc. 5, 682. Curt. 7, 5, 12 with Luc. 9, 506. Is there in Quintilian 6, 1, 27 an allusion to Curt. 5, 5, 11?

2. Of the other theories concerning the age of Curtius only two are deserving of consideration, viz. those which place him under Augustus (AManutius, AHirt, d. Leben des Curt., Berl. 1820, CGZumpt, RKlotz) or under Vespasian (Rutgers, Freinsheim, PhButtmann, d. Leben des Curt., Berl. 1820, GPinzger, Seebode's Arch. 1 [1824], 91. FKritz, Hall. allg. Lit.-Z. 1844, 326. 733. WBerger, de Curtii aetate, Heidelb. 1860. GSchmid, JJ. 113, 704). But the former location is incompatible with the style of Curtius which, though it does indeed resemble that of Livy owing to his elaborate imitation of that writer's manner, yet in its affected, poetical and rhetorical manner clearly points to the Silver age. Again, Curtius' political notions are based on hereditary monarchy. He repeatedly mentions (5, 7, 9. 6, 3, 12) the Parthian Empire without speaking of Augustus' successes over the Parthians, as the Augustan writers invariably do. Last of all, it would on this assumption be impossible to explain the full purport of the important passage 10, 9, 3 (see n. 1). If we were to understand that passage of Vespasian, we should have to refer it to combats on the Capitol, but *subita* would then be left unexplained. Another passage also, 4, 4, 21 on Tyrus, is scarcely favourable to this assumption: *nunc tandem, longa pace cuncta refovente, sub tutela romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit.* JCastelli, l' età et la patria di Curzio I, Ascoli 1888, places him under Marcus Aurelius, Niebuhr, kl. Schr. 1, 305, and Ranke, Weltgesch. 3, 2, 83 even under Septimius Severus.

3. The positive results of recent researches as to the sources of Curtius are in inverse proportion to the great labour expended thereon. One of Curtius' principal authorities is Kleitarchos (cf. 9, 5, 21. 9, 8, 15), whom however he appears to have used only at second hand (through Timagenes? cf. 9, 5, 21). JGDroysen, Gesch. Alex. d. Gr. 2 ², 406. AEussner, Phil. 32, 161; BlfbayrGW. 9, 339; JB. 1880 2, 84. Cf. ASchöne, anal. philol.-hist. 1 (Lps. 1870), 50. CRaun, see § 258, 4. RPetersdorff, Diod. Curt. Arrian. quibus ex fontt. expeditiones Alexandr. hauserint, Königsb. 1870; eine neue Hauptquelle des Curt. Ruf. (i.e. Pompeius Trogus), Hanover 1884. CFLaudien, d. Quellen z. Gesch. Alex. d. Gr. im Diod. Curt. u. Plut., Königsb. 1874. JKaerst, Beitr. z. Quellenkritik des C., Tüb. 1878; Forsch. z. Gesch. Alex. d. Gr., Stuttg. 1887. RKöhler, Quellenkritik z. Gesch. Alex. d. Gr. in Diod. Curt. u. Justin., Lpz. 1880. AFränkel, d. Quellen der Alexanderhistoriker, Bresl. 1883. Dosson, étude 101. Curtius does not lay claim to historical criticism; see 7, 8, 11 *utcumque sunt tradita incorrupta perferemus.* 9, 1, 34 *equidem plura transscribo quam credo; nam nec adfirmare sustineo de quibus dubito, nec subducere quae accepi.* A feeble attempt at criticism is made 9, 5, 21. Alexander's campaign is looked upon as a brilliant adventure. His numerical statistics etc. are closely copied from the Greek original; the events are grouped very effectively. The less interesting portions are rapidly disposed of, while he dilates with zest on the picturesque incidents. The speeches are carefully worked up, but without individualisation. Abundance of descriptive pieces and sententious reflections. AChassang, histoire du roman (Par. 1862) 313. AEussner, Phil. 32, 557. His descriptions of battles manifest small technical knowledge, whence it appears improbable that the author was identical with that Curtius Rufus who (under Claudius or Nero?) died while procos. Africae, Tac. a. 11, 20 sq. It would be impossible to reconcile the loyal imperialism of the latter with the historian's relative independence, which frequently (e.g. 8, 10, 12) finds strong and bold ex-

pression. 8, 5, 6 *adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes saepius adsentatio quam hostis evertit.* He speaks against *superstitio*, magic etc. 4, 3, 23. 4, 6, 12. 4, 7, 26. 29. 5, 4, 1. 7, 4, 8. 7, 7, 8. His positive belief is the usual fatalism (*inevitabile fatum* 4, 6, 17).

4. The diction of Curtius, so far as regards etymological, lexical, and syntactical treatment, and excepting a few insignificant peculiarities, retains the character of classicality, as Livy is intentionally imitated; but its rhetorical mannerism plainly betrays the influence of the depraved taste of his time. JMütZELL, de translationum ap. Curt. usu, Berl. 1842. See the comparison with Quintilian's diction in BONNELL's lex. Quintil. p. LXV. LXVIII. On the peculiarities shared by Curtius and Tacitus with Livy (in both cases due to imitation) see ThWIEDEMANN, Phil. 31, 342. 551. 756. Hence there are also resemblances to Sallust (ib. 756. AEUSSNER, ib. 38, 549). In general see also VOGEL's German ed. 1 [3], p. 9. EKRAH, Beitr. z. Synt. des Curt., Insterb. 1886. 87 II. ISTEINHOEF, de usu nominum urb. insul. terr. Curtiano, Freib. 1883. WADAMS, de ablat. absol. ap. C., Marb. 1886. FKUPFER, d. Gebr. des Particip. (praesentis) bei C., Cöslin 1877; Gebr. d. Participia auf -URUS bei C., Cöslin 1887. ThEGER, de infinitivo Curtiano, Giessen 1885. JHERNESTI, Curtii in particulis latinitas, Lps. 1719. RGRÜNDLER, d. Gebr. einzelner Präpositionen (PROPTER OB APUD AD) bei C., Tarnowitz 1874. WIGNATIUS: § 198, 12. MCPSCHMIDT, ZfGW. 36, Jahresber. 260; 39, Jahresber. 219; AC und ATQUE bei C., JJ. 137, 711.—OEICHERT, Wörterbuch zu Curt., Hanover [2] 1880. RAUCH, Gerundium u. Gerundivum bei Curt., Mein. 1889.

5. In the Middle Ages we find traces of Curtius having been used from Einhard († 840) and Lupus of Ferrieres (†c. 862) downwards. DOSSON, étude 360. The numerous MSS. of Curtius (a list of the same in DOSSON l.l. 315) are divided into two classes: the older class (saec. IX–XI), based on an archetype which was both defective and corrupt, is represented on the one hand by Paris. 5716 s. IX/X (together with a few fragments in Zürich (Rheinau), Darmstadt, Vienna and Würzburg), on the other hand by Vatic. Regin. 971 s. XII, Leid. 137, Voss. Q. 20, Laur. 64, 35 and Bern. 451; EHEDICKE, quaestt. Curtian. (Berl. 1862); praef. to his ed.; de codd. Curtii, Bernb. 1870; also JJ. 109, 639; AEUSSNER, specimen crit. (Würzb. 1868) p. 4; d. Textkritik d. Curt., Verhandl. of the Würzb. Philol.-Vers. (Lpz. 1869) 158. CFKINCH (n. 7), STANGL, WschrfklPhil. 1884, 1468. The second class embraces the large number of late (saec. XIV. sq.) corrected and interpolated MSS., which are however derived from an archetype independent of the first class. Besides the absence of b. 1 and 2 we have also other gaps in the extant text, e.g. at the end of b. 5 and beginning of 6, also 10, 3 sq. MRING, die (two worthless) Curtius-hss. des ungar. Nationalmus., Pesth 1873. OSCHÜSSLER, de Curtii codice oxoniensi A (which MODIUS used for his edition and which, although it belongs to the interpolated MSS., yet often confirms the readings of the Paris.), Ilfeld 1874. ALINSMAYER, de Curt. cod. Monac. 15739 (see XV), Munich 1875. Fragments of b. 10 are contained in Pseudo-Kallisthenes; see JEEP, JJ. 71, 125. On the Einsiedeln fragment see AHUG, Phil. 31, 334. Cf. AEUSSNER, ib. 32, 162 (on C. in the Middle Ages) and 165.—On extracts from Curtius in Vatic. 1869 s. XII, which were originally held to be fragments of Trogus (§ 258, 6 ad fin.), see ATHOMAS, rev. crit. 1880 no. 30 p. 75.

6. Editions e.g. by DERASMUS (1518), HJUNIUS (Antw. 1546), FMODIUS (Colon. 1579), JFREINSHEIM (cum comm. et suppl., Strassb. 1648. 1670), HSNAKENBURG (complete edition, Delft 1724), FSCHMIEDER (cum comm., Gött. 1803), JMÜTZELL (with crit. and exeget. notes, Berl. 1841 II) and by CGZUMPT (ad fidem codd. rec. et comm.

instr., Brunswick 1849, and an earlier incomplete edition, Berl. 1826). A new revision by EHedicke, Berl. 1867 (with a short crit. apparatus). Revision by ThVogel, Lps. 1881.—School editions by JMützell (Berl. 1843), CGZumpt (Brunswick 1849. 1864), ThVogel, Lpz.[3] 1885. JDosson, Par.[3] 1887, ECocchia, Torino 1885, MCPSchmidt, Prague 1886. WEHeitland and TERaven (bks. 8 and 9), Cambridge 1879.—Translations by JFWagner, Lemgo 1854, AHChristian, Stuttg. 1855, and JSiebelis, Stuttg. 1865.

7. Contributions to the criticism of the text by VAcidalius, animadvers., Frankf. 1594. HEFoss, ep. crit. ad Mützell., Altenb., 1846; quaestt. Curt., Altenb. 1852. AHug (in the Beiträge z. Kritik. lat. Prosaiker, Bas. 1864: RhM. 20, 117; quaestt. Curt. I, Zür. 1870); JB. 1873, 499. UKöhler, RhM. 19, 184. JJeep, JJ. 91, 189. 107, 127. 109, 745. 125, 791. EHedicke, see n. 5. EGrunauer, Frauenfeld 1870. ThVogel, JJ. 101, 547. AEussner, Phil. 32, 172. 543; see also n. 5. Madvig, adv. 2, 330. JCornelissen, Mnemos. NS. 4. 58. CWagener, JJ. 117, 817. CFKinch, quaestt. Curt. crit., Copenhag. 1883. ECocchia, studj lat., Naples 1883, 89. KMeiser, Münch. SBer. 1887 2, 1. FWalter, Studd. z. Tac. u. Curt., Munich 1887.

293. The contemporary and compatriot of Seneca, L. Junius Moderatus Columella of Gades, is known to us by his twelve books De re rustica. They are his second and more elaborate work on this subject-matter, while of the first we still possess a book de arboribus. Columella is an enthusiast for his subject and complains of its being neglected by his age, which had deserted nature. Hence he employed his utmost diligence and treated his subject thoroughly and carefully, in a refined and appropriate style. He has thus become a classic in his own department. The tenth book, on horticulture, he has actually written in verse in imitation of Vergil, whom he much admired; his well-constructed hexameters do not, however, nearly approach his model as regards the artistic working-up of the materials.

1. An inscription from Tarentum: CIL. 9, 235 (=Or. 5598) *L. Iunio L. f. Gal. Moderato Columellae, trib. mil. leg. VI ferratae.* And indeed Columella's native town, Gades (Col. 10, 185 *mea quam generant Tartessi littore Gades*, cf. 7, 2, 4), belonged to the tribus Galeria, and the legio VI ferrata was stationed in Syria (PRE. 4, 883), where Columella stayed for some time (2, 10, 18 *hoc quidem semen Ciliciae Syriaeque regionibus ipse vidi mense Iunio Iulioque conseri et per autumnum . . . tolli*). CLGrotefend, ZfAW. 1835, 179. His *patruus* was *M. Columella, doctissimus et diligentissimus agricola* (2, 16, 4), *vir illustribus disciplinis eruditus ac diligentissimus agricola Baeticae provinciae* (5, 5, 15), *acris vir ingenii atque illustris agricola* in the municipium Gaditanum (7, 2, 4). Cf. 12, 21, 4. 12, 40, 2. 12, 43, 5. Another relative (perhaps of the same age as our Columella) was most probably the philosopher Moderatus of Gades, who wrote Πυθαγορικαὶ σχολαί (Plut. qu. sympos. 8, 7, 1. Steph. Byz. s. v. Γάδειρα. Porphyr. v. Plot. 48). Bücheler, RhM. 37, 335. He was a contemporary of Seneca; 3, 3, 3 *Nomentana regio* (cf. § 287, 2), . . . *quam possidet Seneca, vir excellentis ingenii atque doctrinae.* Hence this was written by Columella before the death of Seneca (a. 65). EMeyer, Gesch. d. Botan. 2, 59. Columella completed his work at an advanced age (b. 12 conclusion). At all

events, Columella wrote after Celsus and Graecinus, both of whom he quotes (see § 280, 1 and 283, 4), and before Pliny the Elder (n. 6). Cf. also Colum. 1, praef. 15 *sicut M. Varro iam temporibus avorum conquestus est.* 1, 7, 3 *ipse nostra memoria veterem consularem* (A.D. 3) *virumque opulentissimum L. Volusium* († 56 A.D.) *asseverantem audivi.* 5, 1, 2 *cum M. Trebellius noster a me requireret* (in Tac. a. 6, 41?). 9, 16, 2 *Gallioni nostro* († 65 A.D., see § 268, 7 in fin.). P. Silvinus, to whom the work is dedicated, seems to have been a countryman and neighbour of Columella; 3, 3, 3 (*in nostris Ceretanis*, cf. CIL. 2, 986). 3, 9, 6 (*a me . . . ex una vite quam in Ceretano tuo possides . . . consummata*). Columella possessed estates in Italy 3, 9, 2 *cum et in Ardeatino agro, quem multis temporibus ipsi ante possedimus et in Carseolano itemque in Albano . . . vites . . . habuerimus.* Columella moreover always pays special attention (e.g. 3, 2, 30 *in hac ipsa Italia*) to what concerns Italy.

2. His works. 11, 1, 31 *in iis libris quos adversus astrologos composueram.* 2, 22, 5 *docendi curam* (concerning the *lustrationes ceteraque sacrificia quae pro frugibus sunt*) . . . *differo in eum librum quem componere in animo est cum agricolationis totam disciplinan perscripsero.* We do not know whether this intention was carried out. At all events we should not connect with it the mistake *XVI* instead of *XII* in Cassiod. div. lect. 28 (see n. 4). Colum. 2, 11, 1 (*excepta cytiso, de qua dicemus in iis libris quos de generibus surculorum conscripsimus*) relates to b. 3–5 (especially 5, 12), which in the Florent. (Medic.) MS. bear the heading: *Surcularis I II III.*

3. *De arboribus* is treated of both in b. 3 (3, 1, 1 *sequitur arborum cura* etc.) and also in a book specially so entitled and which is designated as the second (*quoniam de cultu agrorum abunde primo volumine praecepisse videmur, non intempestiva erit arborum . . . cura*) but contains in a shorter form the same matter as the books 3–5, and is not dedicated to P. Silvinus. That it does not belong to the twelve books appears, moreover, from the consistent and precise numeration given in the latter, e.g. 8, 1, 1 (*quae . . . exigebat ratio, septem memoravimus libris*). 10 praef. 1 *superioribus novem libris.* 11, 1, 2 *hoc undecimum praeceptum rusticationis tradidi.* 12, 13, 1 *cui septimo libro praecepta dedimus* (=7, 8). The more extensive work was no doubt intended to fill the place of the shorter one, and it is a mere accident that we possess also part of the latter. It is no doubt the *singularis liber ad Eprium Marcellum* (Schneider 2, 1. p. 19 and 2, 2. p. 673). Cf. § 297, 3.

4. The twelve books have come down to us in their complete form and in the order chosen by the author himself, as appears from the regular prefaces; see n. 3 and the closing words 12, 57, 6 (*clausulam peracti operis mei*). The work was at first intended to comprise only ten books, which corresponded perhaps to four of the first edition (n. 3), and they were to culminate in the tenth (poetical) book (see b. 9 conclusion and b. 10 praef.). But books 11 and 12 were added for personal reasons; 11, 1, 2 *quod nunc aggredior . . . primo rei rusticae libro* (1, 8 sq.) *videbar aliquatenus executus; . . . tamen . . . numerum quem iam quasi consummaveram voluminum excessi* etc. 12, 1, 1 *ut institutum ordinem teneamus quem priore volumine* (b. 11) *incohavimus.* But the preceding books also would seem to have been sent to P. Silvinus one after the other, as the prefaces prefixed to b. 2, 4 and 5 relate to observations made on the former books. The author does not consider his subject exhausted; 5, 1, 1 *neque infitior aliqua me praeteriisse, quamvis inquirentem sedulo quae nostri saeculi cultores quaeque veteres litterarum monumentis prodiderunt. . . .* (2) *nobis satis abundeque est tam diffusae materiae . . . maximam partem tradidisse.* 12, 57, 6 *nihil dubitasse me paene infinita esse quae potuerint huic inseri materiae, verum ea quae maxime videbantur necessaria memoriae tradenda*

*censuisse.* But he also takes a very comprehensive view of his task; 1, praef. 21 *ego cum aut magnitudinem totius rei . . . aut partium eius . . . numerum recenseo vereor ne supremus ante me dies occupet quam universam disciplinam ruris possim cognoscere. nam qui se in hac scientia perfectum volet profiteri sit oportet rerum naturae sagacissimus* etc. (32) *ille quem nos perfectum esse volumus agricolam . . . multum tamen profecerit si usu Tremellios Sasernasque et Stolones* (§ 160, 3) *nostros aequaverit.* (33) *. . . illud procul vero est . . . facillimam esse nec ullius acuminis rusticationem.* Quite in the true Roman style is 9, 2, 5 *haec et his similia magis scrutantium rerum naturae latebras quam rusticorum est inquirere. studiosis quoque litterarum gratiora sunt ista in otio legentibus quam negotiosis agricolis, quoniam neque in opere neque in re familiari quidquam iuvant.* But Columella appears throughout as a well-educated and philosophical writer, who feels enthusiasm for his subject, has mastered it, and on the strength of his own rich experience and a comprehensive knowledge of his literary predecessors is fully capable of treating it in a dignified manner. VEGET. de mulomedic. praef. *licet Columellae abundaverit dicendi facultas.* CASSIOD. divin. lectt. 28 (cf. § 54, 2) *. . . sed Columella XVI* (see n. 2) *libris per diversas agriculturae species eloquens ac facundus illabitur, disertis potius quam imperitis accommodus, ut operis eius studiosi non solum communi fructu, sed etiam gratissimis epulis expleantur.* ISIDOR. orig. 17, 1, 1, see above § 54, 2. He is also fully alive to its moral bearing. He repeatedly lauds the simple life of old Rome and deplores the spread of artificiality (1, praef. 14. 10, praef. 2. 12, praef. 8). The deterioration of the soil is, in his opinion, the fault of man himself (2, 1, 7 *non fatigatione . . . nec senio, sed nostra inertia minus benigne nobis arva respondent*). Columella's work is skilful and well written, and rises far above the average of technical compositions. FPRIX, Sprachliches zu Columella, Baden i/Östr. 1883. Zur Alliteration bei Colum. GHELMREICH BlfdbayrGW. 18, 193.

5. COLUM. 9, 16, 2 *quae reliqua nobis rusticarum rerum pars superest, de cultu hortorum, P. Silvine, deinceps ita ut et tibi et Gallioni nostro complacuerat in carmen conferemus.* 10, praef. 3 *postulatio tua . . . pervicit ut poeticis numeris explerem georgici carminis omissas partes* (on gardening), *quas tamen et ipse Vergilius significaverat* (georg. 4, 148) *posteris post se memorandas relinquere. neque enim aliter istud nobis fuerat audendum quam ex voluntate vatis maxime venerandi.* (4) *cuius quasi numine instigante . . . aggressi sumus tenuem admodum . . . materiam.* 10, 433 *hactenus arvorum cultus, Silvine, docebam, siderei vatis referens praecepta Maronis.* WSCHROETER, de Columella Vergilii imitatore, Jena 1882.

6. Columella's work is comparatively little cited, even by PLINY NH., who mentions him among his authorities for b. 8. 11. 14. 15. 17–19 and quotes him 8, 153. 15, 66. 17, 51. 52. 17, 137. 17, 162. 18, 70 (*in tantum fallitur Columella qui* etc.). 18, 303. 19, 68. It was copied by Palladius (§ 410), whose work was more suited to the rough taste of a later time.

7. The MSS. are all late, except the best, the cod. Sangermanensis s. IX, now in Petersburg (Imp. libr. 207); cf. JCSCHMITT, de cod. Sangerm. Columellae in the Festschr. f. LUrlichs (Würzb. 1880) 139. Editions in the collections of the scriptores rei rusticae; see § 54, 7. A separate edition by JHRESS, Flensb. 1795. B. X also in WERNSDORF's PLM. 6, 31.—OGÜNTHER, de corruptelis in Colum. codd. in genethl. Gotting. 1888 p. 12.—JHÄUSSNER, d. hs. überlief. d. Colum. (particularly the Ambros. L 85 sup. s. IX/X together with the SGerm.), Carlsruhe 1889.—Translated by MCCURTIUS, Hamb. 1769.—On Columella cf. EHMEYER, Gesch. der Botanik 2, 58. VBARBERET, de Columellae vita et scriptis, Nancy 1888.

294. Famous physicians in the reign of Claudius were

Stertinius and Vettius Valens. As a writer on medicine we know Scribonius Largus, who was court-physician to the above-named Emperor, and who, though not free from the general superstition of the period, is still on the whole sensible and honestly bent on the pursuit of truth. He drew up, about the year 47, a collection of prescriptions (compositiones) tested by himself, which is extant.

1. Plin. NH. 29, 7 *multos praetereo medicos, celeberrimosque ex his Cassios Calpetanos, Arruntios, Rubrios. ducena quinquagena HS annua his mercedes fuere apud principes. Q. Stertinius imputavit principibus quod sestertiis quingenis annuis contentus esset, sescena enim sibi quaestu urbis fuisse enumeratis domibus ostendebat.* (8) *par et fratri eius merces a Claudio Caesare infusa est. . . . exortus deinde est Vettius Valens, adulterio Messalinae Claudii Caesaris nobilitatus pariterque eloquentia. adsectatores et potentiam nanctus novam instituit sectam.* Cf. Tac. a. 11, 31. 35 (*Vettium Valentem confessum . . . tradi ad supplicium iubet,* a.d. 48). Sen. apocol. 13, 4 (*Vettius Valens, Fabius, eq. rom., quos Narcissus duci iusserat*). Cf. n. 2. He was without doubt a native of Ariminum; cf. PRE. 6, 2533, 24. Cael. Aurel. 3, 1 *Valens Physicus libro III curationum.* Other physicians of this period: Crito, Symmachus, Alcon, Dasius, Heras in Martial; Archigenes, Heliodorus, Themiso, Philippus in Juvenal.

2. Scribon. Larg. 97 (*compositio*) *Tiberio Caesari per libellum scriptum . . data et bibliothecis publicis posita venit in manus nostras* etc. cf. 120. 163 *vidi* (*herbam*) . . . *cum Britanniam peteremus* (a. 43) *cum deo nostro Caesare.* 60 *Messalina dei nostri Caesaris hoc utitur* († 48). 94 *hoc medicamentum Apulei Celsi fuit praeceptoris Valentis* (n. 1 l. 6) *et nostri, et numquam ulli se vivo compositionem eius dedit.* 171 *antidotus Apulei Celsi praeceptoris, quam . . . mittebat Centuripas, unde ortus erat* (cf. EMeyer, Gesch. d. Botanik 2, 21. 28). Was Scribonius also a native of Sicily? Bücheler, RhM. 37, 321. 175 *accepimus a Tryphone praeceptore nostro* (Bücheler, l.l.).—The agnomen of Designatianus rests on an erroneous combination (cf. § 446, 3).

3. Scrib. Larg. praef. . . . *Herophilus, Gai Iuli Calliste* (cf. 151 *Gai Iuli* and 271 *mi Calliste*), *fertur dixisse* etc. Therefore the treatise is addressed to the powerful freedman of Caligula and Claudius, who perhaps also held the office (§ 285, 3) *a studiis* (Bücheler, RhM. 37, 328). Concerning him e.g. Friedländer SGesch. 1⁶, 177. Scrib. 22 . . . *a me compositiones quasdam petiisti. . . . cupio medius fidius . . . tuae in me . . . benevolentiae respondere, adiutus omni tempore a te, praecipue vero his diebus . . . tradendo scripta mea latina medicinalia deo nostro Caesari. quorum potestatem tibi feceram, ut ipse prior legeres simpliciterque iudicares mihi quid sentires . . . tu . . . diligentiam meam sub tanti nominis editione* (according to this the work was brought out with a dedication to the Emperor) *non verbis sed re probasti periculumque non minus tu iudicii quam ego stili propter me adisti quo tempore divinis manibus laudando consecrasti. . . .* (25) *ignosces autem si paucae visae tibi fuerint compositiones et non ad omnia vitia scriptae. sumus enim, ut scis, peregre nec sequitur nos nisi necessarius admodum numerus libellorum* (cf. Catull. 68, 33. Scribonius therefore was, like Callistus, in the personal service of the Emperor and accompanied him out of Rome as well) . . . *initium a capite faciemus, . . . dantes operam ut simplicia primo ponamus . . . deinde medicamentorum quibus compositiones constant nomina et pondera vitiis*

*subiunximus.* 38 *neque illud dico novas et non aliquibus notas me in hoc libro congesturum compositiones, verum etiam quasdam divulgatas.* 271 (Epilogue) *harum compositionum . . . ipse composui plurimas, et ad ea quae scripta sunt facientes scio. paucas, sed valde paucas, ab amicis. . . . illud autem te meminisse oportet, mi Calliste, . . . eadem medicamenta in iisdem vitiis interim melius deteriusve respondere, propter corporum varietatem differentiamque aetatum, temporum aut locorum.* Divisions of the work corresponding with the parts of the body, see § 55, 4.

4. Characterisation. SCRIB. LARG. praef. *ego certe aliquotiens magnum scientiae consecutus sum titulum ex usu prospere datorum medicamentorum . . . medicis, in quibus nisi plenus misericordiae et humanitatis animus est . . . diis et hominibus invisi esse debent. . . . quia medicina . . . aequaliter omnibus implorantibus auxilia sua succursuram se pollicetur. . . . nos vero ab initio . . . nihil prius totius artis perceptione . . . iudicavimus, quia ex hac omnia commoda nos consecuturos existimabamus, non medius fidius tam ducti pecuniae aut gloriae cupiditate quam ipsius artis scientia. . . . percipiebamus in dies ex usu profectus eius* (pharmacy), *quos interdum supra fidem atque opinionem plurimorum exhibebamus.* Scribonius is acquainted with the Greek masters of the healing art (Hippokrates, Herophilos, Asklepiades; see the praef.) and quotes as authorities for his recipes among contemporary or nearly contemporary physicians both Greeks (Ambrosios in Puteoli, Andron, Aristos, Dionysios, Euelpistos, Glykon, Meges, Philonides in Catina, Thrasea, Tryphon, Zopyros in Gortys) and Romans (Antonius Musa, Apuleius Celsus, Julius Bassus, Marcianus, Paccius Antiochus, Vettius Valens). Some peculiarities of popular superstition are also mentioned by him; cf. 17 *item ex iecinore gladiatoris iugulati particulam aliquam novies datam consumant* (epileptic patients). *quaeque eiusdem generis sunt extra medicinae professionem caduni, quamvis profuisse quibusdam visa sunt.* 122 *hoc medicamento muliercula quaedam Romae ex Africa multos remediavit. postea nos . . . compositionem accepimus, pretio dato quod desideraverat, et aliquot non ignotos sanavimus.* 172 *hoc ego cum quaererem ab hospite meo, legato inde* (from Crete) *misso, nomine Zopyro, Gortynense medico, quid esset pro magno munere accepi.* 105 *stomachi vitium quod . . . inrequiebili, ut ita dicam, et inextinguibili siti consistit ἄτονον Graeci vocant.* One of his regular phrases is *facit bene* (cf. ποιεῖν in PLAT. Phaedr. p. 117 B.). We possess 271 prescriptions, but the text is in a corrupt condition with many gaps. The diction is technical, devoid of ornament, and does not eschew popular idioms. GHELMREICH, praef. p. IV. V.

5. The manuscript from which JRUELLIUS published Scribonius has disappeared and no others are known. We possess a partial equivalent in Marcellus Empiricus (§ 446, 1), who incorporated the greater part of Scribonius in his own work.—Ed. princ. by JRUELLIUS, Par. 1528. Next ALDUS and STEPHANUS (see § 55, 5), JRHODIUS (rec. nott. ill.; lexic. Scribon. adi.), Patav. 1655, JMBERNHOLD, Strassb. 1786 and esp. GHELMREICH, Lps. 1887.—Specimens from a commentary by OSPERLING (MS. in Copenhagen) in three progr. by CGKÜHN, Lps. 1825 sq.—Cf. CHOULANT, Handb. der. med. Bücherk.[2] 180. EMEYER, Gesch. d. Botan. 2, 26. GHELMREICH, BlfdbayrGW. 18, 385. 460 and esp. BÜCHELER, RhM. 37, 321.

295. Q. Asconius Pedianus (c. 756/3–841/88 A.D.) devoted his studies to the classical writers of the past, especially Cicero and Vergil. We still possess, though in a somewhat impaired condition, his historical commentaries on five speeches of Cicero; they are written in a simple and pure style, and are the product

of careful and patient industry, a model of temperate, thorough, honest research, and highly valuable for the explanation of details. The superficial scholia on Cicero's Verrinae are falsely ascribed to Asconius.

1. Hieron. on Eus. chron. ad a. Abr. 2092=829/76 A.D. (Freher. as early as 2091) *Q. Asconius Pedianus scriptor historicus* (Suetonius had treated of him among the *historici* between Fenestella and the elder Pliny, Sueton. p. 91 Rffsch.) *clarus habetur, qui LXXIII aetatis suae anno captus luminibus XII postea annis in summo omnium honore consenescit.* This date can only apply to the loss of his eyesight, but Asconius must have flourished under Claudius and Nero. In Suidas, v. Ἀπίκιος Μάρκος, Ἀσκώνιος Πεδιανός appears as early as a. 781/28 A.D., together with Q. Junius Blaesus who was then consul (PRE. 4, 530, 9); cf. Ascon. p. 27 *possidet* (Scaurus' house) *nunc Largus Caecina* († before Oct. 810/57), *qui cos. fuit cum Claudio* (a. 795/42 A.D.). Ascon. p. 68 *inter quos Tuditanus* (§ 138/1) *et Pomponius Atticus* (§ 172, 1), *Livius quoque noster:* hence A. was probably likewise a native of Padua, where other Asconii are found in inscriptions (CIL. 5, ind. s. v.). It may have been in honour of our A. that Sil. Ital. 12, 212 introduced a youth from Padua of the name of Pedianus (cf. ib. 219 *seu musas placidas doctaeque silentia vitae mallet . . . non ullum dixere parem*) into his poem. Quint. 1, 7, 24 seems to point to a close connection between A. and Livy.

2. Works. Liber contra obtrectatores Vergilii (see § 225, 3 ad fin. § 228, 6), based on a thorough investigation of the facts (AKiessling, coniectan. spec. I, Greifsw. 1883, 5): to this may be referred all statements of A. concerning Vergil, e.g. also Serv. on Verg. ecl. 4, 11 *Asconius Pedianus a Gallo* (Asinio § 276, 3) *audisse se refert* etc.—Acro on Hor. s. 1, 2, 41 *quem* (Sallust) *Asconius Pedianus in vita eius significat.* Is this isolated statement trustworthy?—A treatise on cases of longevity? Plin. NH. 7, 159 *Sammullam quoque CX annis vixisse auctor est Pedianus Asconius.* Cf. Kiessling-Schöll l.l. p. viii. But the passage quoted probably from the same work in Suid. (Aelian.) s. v. Ἀπίκιος Μάρκος seems rather to be taken from a symposion composed by Asconius in imitation of Plato and supposed to take place during Blaesus' year of consulship (n. 1 l. 8); the banqueters spoke alternately ἐπὶ τέχνῃ παλαιστρικῇ and discoursed of persons who by means of bodily exercise had attained to exceptional health and length of life. Cf. § 220, 8, l. 5. RHirzel, RhM. 43, 314.—Principal work: a commentary on Cicero's speeches: composed about a. 808/55 (see n. 1 and Kiessl.-Schöll p. x) and addressed to his sons (p. 38 *vestra aetas, filii, facit;* cf. *vos* p. 10, 13. 14. 23 etc.). It is based on a comprehensive study of Cicero's works, of those of his contemporaries, and of public documents: A. employed e.g. the acta (§ 216, 1), cf. p. 38 *acta etiam totius illius temporis persecutus sum* and p. 17. 27. 41. 43. He passes over the grammar and rhetoric, and devotes himself entirely to elucidation of the subject-matter. The commentary comprised, as we can see from the allusions in Asconius, a large number of Ciceronian speeches (pernaps indeed all of them), and they were arranged in chronological order (cf. § 178, 3). Kiessling-Schöll p. xiv. Cf. also Gell. 15, 28, 4. Quint. 5, 10, 9.

We possess—though in a fragmentary shape—commentaries on the speeches pro Cornelio de maiestate, in toga candida, in Pisonem, pro Scauro, pro Milone (the excellent introduction to the latter is especially valuable). FPoggio and his friends Bartholomaeus of Montepulciano and Sozomenus of Pistoja discovered these in 1416 at St. Gallen in a MS. which was even then much damaged (s. IX?). Of

the three copies which they made there are extant that of Sozomenus (now in Pistoja no. 37 ; cf. AKiessling, de Asconii cod. Pistor., Greifsw. 1873), and that of Bartholomaeus, now in Florence Laur. 54, 5. Poggio's copy (critically revised by himself) appears to be lost (or is it still preserved in Madrid bibl. reg. X, 81 ? see Kiessling-Schöll p. xxxiv. xxxvii), but numerous duplicates of it still exist (e.g. Leid. 222. Laur. 50, 4 and others). Editions: ed. princ. Ven. 1477. Ed. PManutius, Ven. 1547 and elsewhere. FHotoman, Lugd. 1551. IGBaiter in Orelli's Cicero, see § 177, 5. First critical edition: recensuerunt AKiessling et RScholl, Berl. 1875 (we quote from this edition).—Chief work: JNMadvig, de Q. Asc. Ped. et aliorum vett. interprett. in Cic. oratt. commentariis, Copenhag. 1828 ; and appendix critica, ib. 1828. Next Suringar, hist. crit. schol. lat. 1, 116. Kiessl.-Schöll's praefatio. CLichtenfeldt, de Q. Asc. Ped. fontt. ac. fide, Bresl. 1888 (Bresl. phil. Abh.).—Criticism: SIERau, var. lectt. in Cic. oratt. I, Leid. 1834. SHRinkes, Mnemos. 10, 199. 11, 181. AEberhard in FRichter's ed. of the Milo, Lps.[3] 1881, 112.

3. The same cod. SGallensis to which we owe the genuine Asconius (n. 2), and correspondingly copies from it, have preserved to us a commentary on the Verrinae (including the divinatio), which was formerly erroneously attributed to Asconius. This commentary is just as predominantly grammatical in character as the genuine one is historical; it contains little that is not either known to us from other sources or self-evident, and it is written in a discursive style and unclassical diction ; it is not like the other addressed to a plurality of readers (e.g. p. 119 Or. *primarum, subaudi partium*). If its author (perhaps in the fifth century ?) merely had access to Asconius' genuine commentary on these speeches, he would appear to have employed it without any appreciation of the important points and to have transposed it into his own style. Cf. Madvig, de Asc. 84. GThilo (on Serv. 1, p. xxxi) attributes this commentary to Servius (§ 431, 1) or to his school. AGessner, Servius u. Ps.-Asconius, Zür. 1889. It was last printed in Orelli's Cicero 5, 2, 97. Recent collations of copies of the SGallensis in Kiessling-Schöll's Asconius p. 85. On the history and criticism of the text: ThStangl, RhM. 39, 568.

4. Next in importance to Asconius (even as regards the style and method of the elucidation) are the scholia Bobiensia ; but in these, besides careful explanation of matters of fact (historical, legal and literary), the speeches are frequently criticised in their linguistic and rhetorical aspect (ThStangl, d. Gronovscholiast 26. HGaumitz, zu den Bob. Cic.-Scholien, Dresd. 1884, 12). The most obvious supposition, that Asconius has been exploited by the schol. Bob., is not established by the collation of the fragments, which are however very scanty. Gaumitz l.l. 25. Considering the excellence of these scholia and their manner, together with their comparatively pure diction (ThStangl, RhM. 39, 431), the statement p. 256, 9 Or. *secundum veterem superstitionem*, pointing to a Christian as their author (therefore 3. or 4. cent. at the earliest) is surprising. Against this inference see GRauschen, ephem. Tull. 67. The scholia Bobiensia formed a comprehensive and homogeneous commentary on the Ciceronian speeches. In their present fragmentary condition (they are complete only on the pArch. and nearly complete for in Clod. et Cur. and in Vatin.) these scholia comprise Cicero's speeches pro Flacco, cum senatui gratias egit, cum populo gratias egit, pro Plancio, Milone, Sestio, in Vatinium, in Clodium et Curionem, de aere al. Milonis, de rege alexandrino, pro Archia, Sulla. Remains of the same in the Gronov scholiast (§ 178, 4) ? see Stangl and Gaumitz l.l.—Some fragments from a cod. palimps. Bobiensis s. VI (partly in the Vatican, partly in Milan) published by AMai, Milan 1815 (=Frankf. 1815) and in the Auctores class. lat. vol. II, Rome 1828. Then cum Maii notis edid. Cramer et

Heinrich, Kiel 1816, and in Orelli's Cicero 5, 2, 228.—Cf. Madvig, de Asc. 142. Criticism of the text (after a new collation of the Bob.) LZiegler, RhM. 27, 420; Progr. of the Max.-Gymn. in Munich 1873. ThStangl, RhM. 39, 231. 428.—To be distinguished from the scholia Bobiensia are the very meagre and late 'scholia minora Bobiensia' (from Ambros. C 29 inf. s. X) on the speeches in Cat. IV, Marc., Lig., Deiot., given in Mai l.l. and Orelli l.l. 5, 2, 369. Cf. Gaumitz l.l. 12. Stangl, RhM. 39, 566.

296. Under Caligula or Claudius, Pomponius Mela of Tingentera in Spain wrote his three books de chorographia, the earliest account of the ancient world which we possess. This brief treatise is derived from good sources, well arranged and very complete. Besides geography, the author has paid much attention to manners and customs. His style shows the influence of rhetorical training. His arrangement of words, his diction, and the somewhat abrupt formation of his sentences betray the contemporary of Seneca.

1. Mela 2, 96 *Carteia . . . atque unde nos sumus Tingentera.* 3, 49 *Britannia qualis sit . . . mox certiora dicentur. quippe tamdiu clausam aperit ecce principum maximus, nec indomitarum modo ante se, verum ignotarum quoque gentium victor propriarum rerum fidem ut bello adfectavit ita triumpho declaraturus portat.* This is an allusion either to Claudius' triumph over Britain (a.d. 44), or to that of Caligula (a. 40). For the latter date we have evidence (though not quite conclusive) in the division of Africa (set aside by Caligula a. 42) given by Mela 1, 25–30, see CFrick, Phil. 33, 741. It is impossible to understand the above passage as referring to Caesar and to set back Mela into the Augustan period (not long after a. 729/25) as is attempted by GOemichen, plinian. Stud. (Munich 1880) 32.—Mela 3, 90 *Eudoxus quidam avorum nostrorum temporibus cum Lathyrum regem* (a. 117–81 b.c.) *Alexandriae profugeret.*

2. Pliny quotes Mela, Pomponius Mela, and Mela Pomponius among his sources for b. 3–6. 8. 12. 13. 21. 22. of his NH. He is also cited by Schol. Iuv. 2, 160 and Serv. Aen. 9, 31, and Jordan. de reb. get. 3, 16; he is employed, though never mentioned, by Solinus. Mela himself mentions as his sources Cornelius Nepos (3, 45 *Corn. N. ut recentior, auctoritate sic certior;* cf. ib. 90); Hanno who is mentioned 3, 90 was probably known to Mela only through Nepos; the supposed allusion to Hipparchos 3, 70 is based on a false reading (the MS. *ipparchius* is = *id parcius*, RHansen, JJ. 117, 499). The number of geographical names mentioned by him amounts to over 1500. On Mela's authorities: RHansen, JJ. 117, 495: Progr. of Sondershausen 1879. ESchweder, Beitr. z. Krit. der Chorographie des Aug. II, Kiel 1878; die Concordanz der Chorographien des Mela und Plin., Kiel 1879; d. gemeins. Quelle der geogr. Darstell. des Mela u. Plin., Phil. 46, 276. 47, 636. GOehmichen, plin. Studien (Munich 1880) 47. Was Mela used in Tac. Germ.? MManitius, Forsch. z. deutsch. Gesch. 22, 417.—Mela has bestowed care on the presentation, and to his brief geographical statistics (1, 1 *opus impeditum et facundiae minime capax*) he adds rhetorical descriptions, e.g. of the specus Corycius 1, 72, mount Ida 1, 94; of Egypt 1, 57 and Britain 3, 49. His style frequently resembles that of Sallust, FVogel, acta semin. phil. Erlang. 1, 317. CFrick pref. to his ed. p. v. Observations on the language KvMorawski, Wien. Studd. 4, 166.—He does

not seem to have carried out his intention of giving a fuller account of the subject: see 1, 2 *dicam autem alias plura et exactius, nunc ut quaeque sunt clarissima et strictim.*

3. Principal manuscript: Vatican. 4929 s. X (§ 445, 2), from which all the others now extant (all late, s. XIV sqq.) are derived (CBursian. JJ. 99, 631). Subscriptio of the Vaticanus: *Fl. Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus v. c. et spectab. com. consistor. emendavi Rabennae*, cf. § 279, 9. 468, 1.—Editions e.g. IsVoss, the Hague 1658, Franeker 1700. AGronov, Leid. 1696. 1722 and subsequently. CHTzschucke, Lps. 1807 VII. ad libr. mss. fid. ed. GParthey, Berl. 1867 (on it CBursian, JJ. 99, 629). recogn. CFrick, Lps. 1880.—JFink, Pomp. Mela u. s. Chorographie, Rosenh. 1881.

297. The principal orators of this period were such as made a profession of political accusations, e.g. P. Suillius, Vibius Crispus of Vercellae, and Eprius Marcellus; next the rhetorician Julius Africanus and the advocate Galerius Trachalus (cos. a. 68). Others exhibited their eloquence chiefly in the Senate, e.g. the Stoics Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus. We know also the names of a number of professors of rhetoric in this period, e.g. Verginius Flavus, Clodius Quirinalis, Antonius Liberalis and others.

1. Tac. a. 13, 42 *P. Suillius, imperitante Claudio terribilis* (as accuser) *ac venalis. . . . eius opprimendi gratia repetitum credebatur SC. poenaque Cinciae legis adversum eos qui pretio causas oravissent. Suillius . . . praeter ferociam animi extrema senecta liber* etc. ib. 43 he is accused among others of *equitum rom. agmina damnata.* He was exiled to the Balearic isles a.d. 58. His wife was a stepdaughter of Ovid, ex Pont. 4, 8, a.d. 15. PRE. 6, 1485, 1.

2. Tac. dial. 8 *ausim contendere Marcellum Eprium . . . et Crispum Vibium . . . notos non minus esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur.* Eprius was from Capua, see below n. 3, therefore Crispus must have been from Vercelli; cf. Schol. Iuv. 4, 81 *Crispus, municeps Viselliensis;* but the Schol. of Valla ib. (perhaps confusing him with Passienus Crispus, § 268, 5) *V. Cr. Placentinus;* HSauppe, Phil. 19, 261. Tac. l.l. *hoc illis praestat . . . ipsa eloquentia. . . . sine commendatione natalium, . . . neuter moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac donec libuit principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris* (i.e. Vespasian's) *amicitia agunt geruntque cuncta.* hist. 2, 10 *Vibius Crispus, pecunia, potentia, ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos. . . . Crispum easdem accusationes cum praemio exercuisse meminerant.* Iuv. 4, 81 *venit et Crispi iucunda senectus, cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite ingenium. . . . sic multas hiemes atque octogesima vidit solstitia, his armis illa* (of Domitian) *quoque tutus in aula.* Statius in GValla on Iuv. 4, 94 *Nestorei nitis prudentia Crispi.* He appears to have lived about a.d. 10–90, whence we may perhaps accept the statement of Schol. Vall. on Iuv. l.l.: *et manu promptus et lingua sub Claudio et consulatum adeptus.* Cf. Plin. NH. 19 prooem. 4 *C. Flavio legato Vibi Crispi procos.* (of Africa). The years of his consulships (three? Statius l.l.) are unknown. Cf. Borghesi, oeuvres 4, 529. Bücheler, RhM. 39, 283. He was a boon companion of Vitellius (Suid. v. Βιτέλλιος). Quint. 5, 13, 48 *quod factum venuste nostris temporibus elusit Vibius Crispus, vir ingenii iucundi et*

*elegantis.* 10, 1, 119 *erant clara et nuper ingenia. nam et Trachalus* (n. 6) . . . *fuit* . . . *et Vibius Crispus compositus et iucundus et delectationi natus, privatis tamen causis quam publicis melior.* 12, 10, 11 (*iucunditatem Crispi*). 8, 5, 17 (*pro Spatale Crispus*, cf. ib. 19 *Trachalus contra Spatalen*).

3. An inscription from Capua IRN. 3601 (Or. 5425 Wilm. 1143) *T. Clodio M. f. Fal. Eprio Marcello cos. II* (a. 827/74; I 814/61), *auguri, curioni maximo, sodali augustali, pr(aetori) per(egr.*, a. 48), *procos. Asiae III* (spring of a. 71–74) *provincia Cypros;* cf. BBorghesi, oeuvres 3, 285. 4, 536. GWilmanns, l.l. He was born at Capua of humble parents (see n. 2), was delator under Nero (Tac. a. 16, 22 *Marc. Epr. acri eloquentia.* ib. 29 *cum Marcellus, ut erat torvus ac minax, voce, voltu, oculis ardesceret*), e.g. against Thrasea, and was as such repeatedly accused by Helvidius Priscus (Tac. dial. 5 *quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam suam eloquentiam opposuit? qua accinctus et minax disertam quidem sed inexercitatam et eiusmodi certaminum rudem Helvidi sapientiam elusit;* cf. § 299, 10), but retained his influence even under Vespasian (see n. 2); a. 79, however, he was convicted of conspiring against the Emperor and forced to commit suicide. Cf. PRE. 3, 207. Tac. hist. 4, 7 *esse illi* (i.e. E. M.) *pecuniam et eloquentiam, quis multos anteiret, ni memoria flagitiorum urgeretur.* The defence of E. M. ib. 8. Cf. also § 293, 3 ad fin.

4. Quint. 10, 1, 118 *eorum quos viderim Domitius Afer* († a.d. 59, see § 276, 5) *et Iulius Africanus longe praestantissimi. . . . hic concitatior* (than Afer), *sed in cura verborum nimius et compositione nonnumquam longior et translationibus parum modicus.* Cf. ib. 12, 10, 11 (§ 45, 2). Tac. dial. 15. Plin. ep. 7, 6, 11. Quint. 8, 5, 15 (*insigniter Africanus apud Neronem de morte matris*, a.d. 59). His father was probably *Iulius Africanus e Santonis, gallica civitate* (Tac. a. 6, 7), sentenced a. 32. Cf. § 315, 4.

5. Quint. 10, 3, 13 *patruus Iulii Secundi fuit Iulius Forus, in eloquentia Galliarum (quoniam ibi demum exercuit eam) princeps, alioqui inter paucos disertus.*

6. Tac. hist. 1, 90 *in rebus urbanis Galerii Trachali* (cos. with Silius Italicus 821/68; procos. in Africa, CIL. 5, 5812) *ingenio Othonem uti credebatur. et erant qui genus ipsum orandi noscerent crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas populi aures latum et sonans.* Quint. 10, 1, 119 *erant clara et nuper ingenia. nam et Trachalus plerumque sublimis et satis apertus fuit et quem velle optima crederes, auditus tamen maior; nam et vocis quantam in nullo cognovi felicitas et pronuntiatio vel scenis suffectura et decor, omnia denique ei quae sunt extra superfuerunt.* These last qualities are detailed 12, 5, 5; cf. 12, 10, 11 (*sonum Trachali*). He had published his speech *contra Spatalem* (see n. 2 ad fin.). Cf. also Quint. 6, 3, 78.

7. A. Fabricius Veiento (*praetorius*, Dio 61, 6) was accused a.d. 62 *quod multa et probrosa in patres et sacerdotes composuisset iis libris quibus nomen codicillorum dederat* (Tac. a. 14, 50). This seems to have been a prose satire in the form of a last will (cf. § 28, 3). *convictum Veientonem Italia depulit* (Nero) *et libros exuri iussit, conquisitos lectitatosque donec cum periculo parabantur* (Tac. l.l.). Under Domitian he is mentioned as a servile flatterer and delator by Iuv. 3, 185. 4, 113. 123. 6, 113. He lived into the reign of Nerva (Plin. ep. 4, 22, 4; cf. 9, 13, 13). He was thrice consul, it is not known in which years: Bücheler, RhM. 39, 283. An inscription by this Veiento has been discovered in Rheinhessen: Keller and Mommsen, westdeutsche Zeitschr. 3, 92; Giessen Philol.-Vers. 1885, 209.

8. L. Valerius Primanus is mentioned by Suetonius (p. 99 Rffsch.) after Q. Curtius Rufus and before Verginius Flavus among the clari rhetores.

9. Tac. a. 15, 71 *Verginium Flavum . . . claritudo nominis expulit*

(A.D. 65); *nam Verginius studia iuvenum eloquentia . . . fovebat.* Among these was the youthful Persius Flaccus (vita Pers.). In Suetonius' list of rhetoricians (SUETONIUS p. 99 Rffsch.) he is the tenth. QUINT. 3, 1, 21 *scripsit de eadem materia* (rhetoric) . . . *aetatis nostrae Verginius.* 7, 4, 40 *Flavum, cuius apud me summa est auctoritas, cum artem scholae tantum componeret* etc. In this he followed Greek originals; see ib. 7, 4, 24. He is mentioned ib. 3, 6, 45. 4, 1, 23. 11, 3, 126.

10. HIERON. on Eus. chron. a. Abr. 2063=47 A.D. from Suetonius (cf. p. 99 Rffsch.): *P. Clodius Quirinalis rhetor Arelatensis Romae insignissime docet.*—The same ad a. 2064=48 A.D.: *M. Antonius Liberalis, latinus rhetor, gravissimas inimicitias cum Palaemone* (§ 282, 3) *exercet.* But *Liberalis noster* from Lugdunum in SEN. ep. 91, 1. 3. 13 seems to be Aebutius Liberalis (§ 289, 4 in fin.).—The same ad a. 2073=57 A.D.: *Statius Ursulus Tolosensis celeberrime in Gallia rhetoricam docet.*

11. Vita Lucani: *matrem habuit Aciliam, Acilii Lucani filiam, oratoris* (advocate) *operae apud proconsules* (in Spain) *frequentis et apud clarissimos viros non nullius ingenii. adeo non improbandus fuit ut in scriptis aliquibus hodieque perduret eius memoria.*

12. On Passienus Crispus the Younger see § 268, 5; on Junius Gallio § 268, 7; on Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus § 229, 7 and 11; on Cluvius Rufus § 314, 2; on Curiatius Maternus § 318, 1; on Silius Italicus § 320, 1; on Statius' father § 318, 3.—On the rhetorical writings of L. Annaeus Cornutus § 299, 2.

298. Eminent jurists of this time were Proculus, from whom the Proculians derived their name, the younger Nerva (father to the Emperor), and especially C. Cassius Longinus (cos. 30 A.D.) among the Sabinians, who after him were also designated Cassians. A younger contemporary and pupil of Proculus is called Atilicinus, and Fufidius also seems to belong to this period.

1. POMPON. dig. 1, 2, 2, 52 *Nervae* (§ 281, 2) *successit Proculus. fuit eodem tempore et Nerva filius* (see n. 2). . . . *sed Proculi auctoritas maior fuit. nam etiam plurimum potuit, appellatique sunt partim Cassiani* (cf. n. 3) *partim Proculiani.* dig. 37, 14, 17 (decree of the Divi fratres): *Proculum, sane non levem iuris auctorem.* Cf. 18, 1, 1, 1 (*Sabinus et Cassius, . . . Nerva et Proculus. . . . verior Nervae et Proculi sententia*). His complete name was perhaps Sempronius Proculus?? cf. dig. 31, 47 sq. and MOMMSEN ad loc. RUDORFF, ZfRGesch. 12, 336. One of his juridical writings was in epistolary shape (questions and answers): *epistolarum libri,* at least 11 books; dig. 19, 5, 12 and 23, 4, 17 *Proculus libro XI epistolarum;* cf. n. 4 and dig. 18, 1, 69. Besides this, *Proculus libro III ex posterioribus Labeonis* (ib. 33, 6, 16), probably identical with his Notae on Labeo (ib. 3, 5, 10, 1 and 35, 1, 69 *apud Labeonem Proculus notat,* cf. ib. 17, 2, 65, 5). Altogether 37 excerpts from Proculus have been admitted into the Digest (collected in HOMMEL's Palingenesia 2, 389. LENEL, Palingen. 2, 159.)

2. POMPON. l.l. (n. 1) 52 *fuit eodem tempore et Nerva filius* (the father § 281, 2). *fuit et alius Longinus* (other than the one mentioned n. 3) *ex equestri quidem ordine, qui postea ad praeturam usque pervenit.* dig. 3, 1, 1, 3 *qua aetate* (pueritia, which extended to the 17th year) *aut paulo maiore fertur Nerva filius et*

*publice de iure responsitasse.* 41, 2, 47 *idque Nerva filius libris de usucapionibus retulit.* He was a Proculian. He is the consul of 793/40 and the father of the Emperor of the same name.

3. Pompon. l.l. (n. 1) 51 *huic* (i.e. Masurius, § 281, 1) *successit Gaius Cassius Longinus, natus ex filia Tuberonis* (§ 208, 1), *quae fuit neptis Servii Sulpicii* (§ 174, 2) *et ideo proavum suum Servium Sulpicium appellat. hic consul fuit cum Quartino* (rather *Surdino*, a. 783/30) *temporibus Tiberii, sed plurimum in civitate auctoritatis habuit, eo usque donec eum Caesar* (Nero, A.D. 65, see Suet. Ner. 37 *Cassio Longino iuris consulto ac luminibus orbato* etc., cf. Tac. a. 16, 7. 9) *civitate pelleret. expulsus ab eo in Sardiniam, revocatus a Vespasiano diem suum obiit.* Cf. Tac. a. 12, 11 (a. 49) *Gaio Cassio, qui Suriae praeerat.* 12 *ea tempestate Cassius ceteros praeminebat peritia legum.* 13, 41. 48. 14, 43 sq. Gromat. vet. p. 124, 14 Lm. (cf. ib. 399, 23. 17, 9. 403, 29) *Cassius Longinus, prudentissimus vir, iuris auctor.* Plin. ep. 7, 24, 8 *domus C. Cassi, huius qui Cassianae scholae princeps et parens fuit* (cf. n. 1). dig. 4, 8, 19, 2 *Cassius sententiam magistri sui* (i.e. Sabinus, cf. also Arrian. Epict. 4, 3) *bene excusat.* He also wrote a large work on ius civile (dig. 7, 1, 7, 3. 7, 1, 9, 5. 7, 1, 70, 2 *C. Cassius . . . libro octavo iuris civilis;* cf. ib. 35, 1, 54 *in commentariis Gaii*, and 46, 3, 78 *in libris Gaii*), commented on by his pupil Aristo and excerpted by Javolenus Priscus, Lenel, palingen. 1, 277; besides this notes on Vitellius (dig. 33, 7, 12, 27 *Cassius apud Vitellium notat*). Cf. MVoigt, Abh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 7, 344. PKrüger, Quellen u. Lit. d. röm. Rechts 154.

4. Dig. 23, 4, 17 *Proculus* (n. 1) *libro XI epistolarum: Atilicinus Proculo suo salutem.* This is followed by a juridical query, to which *Proculus respondit.* He is mentioned ib. 10, 3, 6, 4 (*Sabinus et At. responderunt*). 12, 4, 7 (*Nerva, At. responderunt*). 45, 2, 17 (*At., Sabinus, Cassius . . . aiunt*). Inst. Iust. 2, 14 (*Atilicino placuisse Paulus . . . refert*). Fragm. Vat. 77 (*Atilicinum respondisse Aufidius*—or *Fufidius*, see n. 5—*refert*). PKrüger l.l. 156. ECFerrini, ZdSavigny-Stift. 7, 1.

5. Dig. 34, 2, 5 (from Africanus) *apud Fufidium quaestionum libro II* etc. 40, 2, 25 (from Gaius) *Fufidius ait; Nerva filius* (n. 2) *contra sentit.* 42, 5, 29 (from Paulus) *Fufidius refert* etc. Cf. n. 4.

6. Sex. Pedius (dig. 4, 8, 32, 20 and 9, 2, 33 from Paulus; ib. 39, 1, 5, 9 from Ulpian), the author of a work in several books de stipulationibus (Paul. ib. 12, 1, 6 *Pedius libro I de st.*) and of a large work in at least 25 books, ad edictum; Paul. ib. 37, 1, 6, 2 *notis scriptae tabulae non continentur edicto, quia notas litteras non esse Pedius libro XXV ad edictum scribit*, and of a commentary on the edict of the aediles. In the notae iuris Einsidlenses (GL. 4, 276) we find also *S. P. M.*, which is explained *Sexti Pedii medivani* (according to Huschke=*Medmani* from Medma or Medama in Bruttium). From this he would appear to have lived before Probus (§ 300, 4), but it is quite uncertain. From the Digest we learn that he wrote after Ofilius (dig. 14, 1, 1, 9) and (Masurius) Sabinus (ib. 50, 16, 13, 1); on the other hand we might conclude from dig. 4, 8, 32, 16 (*nam et Iulianus . . . idem Pedius probat*) and 4, 3, 1, 4 (*ut et Pedius libro VIII scribit . . . idem et Pomponius libro XXVIII et adicit*) that he wrote between Julianus and Pomponius (§ 350). Cf. EHuschke, iurispr. anteiust.[5] 134. 143. Tijdemann, de Pedio icto, Leid. 1822. PKrüger, Quellen u. Lit. d. röm. Rechts 127.

299. The professors of philosophy in this age wrote for the most part in Greek; e.g. Sextius, Cornutus, Musonius Rufus,

and later on Epiktetos. Cornutus, a very influential man, composed also rhetorical and grammatical works. Among those philosophers who wrote in Latin, we may mention, besides Celsus, Papirius Fabianus, Plautus, and especially Seneca. The best characters embraced the Stoic system, which enabled them to live with dignity and die with courage. Such were Julius Canus, Thrasea Paetus, Barea Soranus, Rubellius Plautus, Helvidius Priscus, and the poets Persius and Lucan. As all these did their best to avoid any manifestations of servility and some even candidly avowed their aversion to it, the Stoic system became politically obnoxious. Only P. Egnatius Celer combined Stoicism and the character of delator. The Stoic doctrine was, however, but rarely kept pure by its adherents; some diluted it so that it became a mere system of practical wisdom (e.g. Seneca, Musonius, and his pupil Epiktetos), others exaggerated it by ascetic additions derived from the doctrines and rules of the Pythagoreans and Cynics, and very few concerned themselves with the peculiarities of the Stoic system.

1. Cf. in general § 51. On Sextius see § 266, 5.

2. SUIDAS s. v. *Κορνοῦτος*: *Λεπτίτης* (according to STEPH. BYZ. from Thestis, likewise in Libya) *φιλόσοφος, . . . γεγονὼς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀναιρεθεὶς* (rather 'exiled') *σὺν τῷ Μουσωνίῳ* (n. 3) *ἔγραψε πολλὰ φιλόσοφά τε καὶ ῥητορικά*. HIERON. chron. ad a. Abr. 2084=68 A.D.: *Nero . . . Cornutum philosophum, praeceptorem Persii* (see § 302, 2) *in exilium fugat.* DIO 62, 29 (*Ἀννᾶιον Κορνοῦτον εὐδοκιμοῦντα τότε γε ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ*). He composed philosophical treatises (*πρὸς Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην, περὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν φύσεως*), which latter work is extant (CORN. theologiae graecae compendium, rec. et emend. CLANG, Lps. 1881). He also wrote on rhetoric: *τέχναι ῥητορικαί* in Greek and de figuris sententiarum in Latin (GELL. 9, 10, 5 *Annaeus Cornutus, homo sane pleraque alia non indoctus neque imprudens, in secundo librorum quos de figuris sent. composuit*). Cf. CMORAWSKI, quaestt. Quintil. (1874) 68. Also grammatical works. GELL. 2, 6, 1 *nonnulli grammatici aetatis superioris, in quibus est Cornutus Annaeus, haut sane indocti neque ignobiles, qui commentaria in Vergilium composuerunt, reprehendunt* etc. CHARIS. GL. 1, 127 (from Julius Romanus) *L. Annaeus Cornutus in Maronis commentariis X*, no doubt identical with ib. p. 125 *Annaeus Cornutus ad Italicum* (§ 320, 1) *de Vergilio libro X;* cf. OJAHN, ed. Pers. p. XV. RIBBECK, proleg. Verg. p. 123. From his work de enuntiatione vel orthographia (perhaps dating from the time of the Antonines?) excerpts are given by CASSIOD. GL. 7, 147. Cf. WBRAMBACH, lat. Orthogr. 30. CHARIS. GL. 1, 201, 12 is corrupt and unintelligible: *Annaeus Cornutus libro tab. castar. patris sui* (a new emendation is suggested by FBÜCHELER, RhM. 34, 547). It is quite uncertain whether Cornutus wrote also tragedies. It is indeed stated in the VITA PERSII (p. 234 J.): *cognovit per Cornutum etiam Annaeum Lucanum, aequaevum auditorem Cornuti. nam Cornutus illo tempore tragicus fuit, sectae stoicae, qui libros philosophiae reliquit. sed Lucanus* etc. But the words *nam—reliquit* are no doubt a foreign addition (THBERGK, ZfAW. 1845, 125; also MHERTZ, de Scaevo p. 4). In gen. GJVMARTINI, de L. Annaeo Cornuto,

Leid. 1825. OJahn, prolegg. to Pers. p. viii. EZeller, Gesch. d. griech. Philos. 3, 1 [3], 689.

3. C. Musonius (Plin. ep. 3, 11, 5. 7) Rufus. Tac. a. 15, 71 *Rufum claritudo nominis expulit* (a.d. 65 cf. Iuliani epist. in the RhM. 42, 24 Μουσώνιος ἐπεμέλετο Γυάρων [e.g. he found a spring on this waterless island, Philostr. Apoll. v. 7, 16], ὁπηνίκα φεύγειν αὐτὸν ἐπέταττε Νέρων. Dio 62, 27. Philostr. Apoll. 4, 46. 5, 19). *nam . . . Musonius praeceptis sapientiae fovebat* (*iuvenes*). 14, 59 *doctores sapientiae, Coeranus graeci, Musonius tusci* (from Volsinii, Suid, s. v., cf. OMüller, Etr. 1 [2], 488 and below § 420, 1) *generis.* hist. 3, 81 *miscuerat se legatis* (a. 69) *Musonius Rufus, equestris ordinis, studium philosophiae et placita stoicorum aemulatus.* Hence Hieron. is mistaken in his ascription ad a. Abr. 2095 (Freher. ad 2096)=a. 79: *Titus Musonium Rufum philosophum de exilio revocat.* Cf. Dio 66, 13 πάντας αὐτίκα τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὁ Οὐεσπασιανός, πλὴν τοῦ Μουσωνίου, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέβαλεν (a. 71). Cf. n. 8. An inscription (CIA. 3, 1298): ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Δηλίου δι᾽ ἀ(βίου) Μουσώνιος Ῥοῦφος does not refer to him. That he taught in Greek appears from Gell. 9, 2, 8. 16, 1, 1 sq. and from the collection of his dicta on moral questions (ἀπομνημονεύματα Μουσωνίου) made by Lukios and (Valerius) Pollio, from which Stobaios gives ample quotations in his Florilegium. Cf. ERohde, on Lucian's Λούκιος 26. The citation in Gellius 5, 1 may possibly be a translation, but the play between *remittere* and *amittere animum* (ib. 18, 2, 1) seems to point to original Latin composition. C. Musonii Rufi . . . reliquiae et apophthegmata ed. JVenhuizen-Peerlkamp, Harlem 1822. HRitter and LPreller, philos. graeco-rom. [7] 471. EZeller, Gesch. d. gr. Philos. 3, 1 [3], 729. PWendland, quaest. Muson., Berl. 1886. EWeber, Lpz. Studd. 10, 101. 215. JJBäbler, in the N. Schweiz. Mus. 4 (Berne 1864), 23. OBernhardt, zu G. Mus. Rufus, Sorau 1866.

4. Epiktetos: EZeller, Gesch. d. gr. Philos. 3, 1[3], 738.

5. On the Stoic Plautus see § 266, 9. On Italicus, ὁ μάλιστα δοκῶν αὐτῶν φιλόσοφος εἶναι, see § 320, 1 ad fin. On Celsus see § 280, 7; on Fabianus § 266, 10; on Seneca § 289, 1[b]. 4 and 5; on the Epicurean Aufidius Bassus § 277, 2.

6. Sen. de tranq. an. (dial. IX) 14, 4 *Kanus Iulius, vir inprimis magnus, cuius admirationi ne hoc quidem obstat quod nostro saeculo natus est, cum Caio* (Caligula) *diu altercatus*, was by him sentenced to death. (9) *prosequebatur illum philosophus suus* (to the place of execution). . . . *promisitque* (I. K.) *si quid explorasset circumiturum amicos* (after his death) *et indicaturum quis esset animarum status.*

7. P. Clodius (Mommsen, Herm. 12, 128) Thrasea Paetus of Patavium, son-in-law to Caecina Paetus, the husband of the younger Arria and father of Fannia who was married to Helvidius Priscus (n. 11). Consul a. 56 (Mommsen Herm. l.l.), sentenced to death by Nero a. 66. PRE. 6, 1898, Mommsen, index to Keil's ed. of Plin. min. 410. ASHoitsema, de P. Thr. P., Grön. 1852. GJoachim, P. Paeti Thr. vita, Lahr 1858. Dio 62, 26 ὁ Θρασέας καὶ ὁ Σορανός (n. 8), καὶ γένους καὶ πλούτου τῆς τε συμπάσης ἀρετῆς ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκοντες, . . . ἀπέθανον . . . ὅτι τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν. Tac. a. 16, 21 *ad postremum Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano.* He belonged to the *secta quae Tuberones et Favonios . . . genuit* (ib. 22). When sentenced to die, he was *maxime intentus Demetrio, cynicae institutionis doctori* (§ 287, 1. 311, 2), *cum quo . . . de natura animae et dissociatione spiritus corporisque inquirebat* etc. (Tac. a. 16, 34). Thrasea's ideal was always Cato minor, of whom he wrote a panegyric. This was used by Plutarch as his chief source in his biography of the latter. Cf. also § 284, 7; see Plut. Cat. min. 37, cf. 25 and HPeter, d. Quellen

Plut. 65. 68; see § 215, 2.—The 'Vitae Catonis fragmenta Marburgensia,' published by HNissen, Marb. 1875 and partially ascribed to Thrasea, are taken from a Latin translation of Plutarch's Cato minor written by Lapo da Castiglionchio (GVoigt. Wiederbel. d. klass. Altert. $1^2$, 369 et al.) and printed e.g. Ven. 1496 (cf. ib. fol. $68^b$ and $71^a$). AvGutschmid, lit. Centr.-Bl. 1875, no. 35. Teuffel, Württ. Staats-Anz. 1875, Beil. no. 22. HKrause, Rostock Philol.-Vers. (1875) p. 44.

8. (Servilius??) Tac. a. 16, 30; cf. ephem. epigr. 2, 45) Barea Soranus, cos. suff. 52 under Claudius, accused at the same time as Thrasea (n. 1) and driven to commit suicide. Dio 62, 26 τοῦ Σωρανοῦ Πούπλιος Ἐγνάτιος Κέλερ (of Berytus) φιλόσοφος κατεψευδομαρτύρησεν. Tac. a. 16, 32 *cliens hic* (P. Egnatius) *Sorani et tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum auctoritatem stoicae sectae praeferebat, habitu et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti exercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus, subdolus* etc. Iuv. 3. 116 with the Schol. on 1, 33 (*Soranum Baream Celer philosophus magister ipsius apud Neronem scelere delationis occidit et ipse postea sub Vespasiano ob hoc ipsum Musonio Rufo accusante damnatus est*) and 6, 552.

9. *Rubellius Plautus* (a great grandson of Rubellius Blandus § 268, 1) . . . *placita maiorum colebat, habitu severo, casta et secreta domo*, Tac. a. 14, 22 (where Nero writes to him a. 60: *esse illi per Asiam avitos agros, in quibus tuta et inturbida iuventute frueretur*). ib. 57 *Plautum . . . veterum Romanorum imitamenta praeferre, assumpta etiam Stoicorum arrogantia sectaque, quae turbidos et negotiorum adpetentes faciat.* He was murdered by Nero a. 62, ib. 58 sq. FWolffgramm, Rub. Pl. u. s. Beurteilung bei Tac. u. Iuv., Prenzlau 1871.—HSchiller, Reg. des Nero (1872) p. 666.

10. Vita Persii: *usus est apud Cornutum duorum convictu doctissimorum et sanctissimorum virorum, acriter tunc philosophantium, Claudii † Agatu(r)ini medici Lacedaemonii et Petroni Aristocratis Magnetis, . . . cum aequales essent, Cornuti, minor ipse.* The first of these is generally identified with Κλαύδιος ἰητὴρ Ἀγαθήμερος mentioned in a Roman inscription (CIG. 6197 Kaibel's epigr. gr. 554); FOsann (in Cornut. de nat. deor. p. xviii) conjectures him to be the famous physician Agathinus of Sparta, PRE. $1^2$, 524; cf. CIG. 6292 Kaibel 558 Κλαύδιος ἰητὴρ Ἀγαθεῖνος and Suet. Tib. 6 *Lacedaemonii in tutela Claudiorum erant* (Bücheler reads *Agathurni*).

11. Tac. hist. 4, 5 *Helvidius Priscus Carecinae municipio, Cluvio patre, qui ordinem primi pili duxisset*, (therefore adopted by some Helvidius) *ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis* (cf. Gell. 13, 10, 1, above § 265, 1) *iuvenis admodum dedit, non, ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita remp. capesseret. doctores sapientiae secutus est qui sola bona quae honesta, mala tantum quae turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem ceteraque extra animum neque bonis neque malis adnumerant* (i.e. Stoicism). *quaestorius adhuc a Paeto Thrasea* (n. 7) *gener delectus* etc. 6 *erant quibus adpetentior famae videretur; . . . ruina soceri in exilium pulsus ut Galbae principatu* (a. 69) *rediit, Marcellum Eprium* (§ 297, 3) *delatorem Thraseae accusare adgreditur. . . . primo minax certamen et egregiis utriusque orationibus testatum* etc. A subsequent attack upon Marcellus was likewise in vain, though not, as Tac. dial. 5 makes his speaker represent it in accordance with his rôle, in consequence of the superior eloquence of Marcellus; cf. hist. 4, 43. He was praetor a. 70. He continued his opposition even under Vespasian, when it was partly aimless and merely demonstrative. The emperor at last lost patience, Helvidius was exiled and soon afterwards killed, half by mistake. Suet. Vesp. 15. Dio 66, 12 Πρίσκος Ἑλουίδιος . . . τοῖς στωϊκοῖς δόγμασιν ἐντραφεὶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θρασέου παρρησίαν οὐ σὺν καιρῷ μιμούμενος etc. CMancini, storia di P. Elvidio Prisco, Atti dell' R. Acad. di archeol., lettere e belle arti (Napoli) 1882–84.

300. 301. In the department of grammar the most eminent person of this time is M. Valerius Probus of Berytus, who undertook the critical revision and elucidation of the texts of certain classical writers. He was altogether more a scholar than a teacher, and his chief work was the preparation of learned editions of Lucretius, Vergil, Horace and Persius, annotated with critical marks in the manner of the Alexandrine grammarians. The results of his researches and reflections on the language were given for the most part orally to his pupils, of whom he took only a small number; he wrote and published little, but part of his work appeared in epistolary form. Several of his treatises seem to have been published from his pupil's copies or from his large postumous remains, especially those on early Latin. Of his work de notis a valuable abridgment, containing the legal abbreviations, has come down to us. He is distinct from the Probus who lived at the commencement of the fourth century and by whom we possess a grammatical manual (Ars vaticana).

1. Suet. gr. 24 mentions him as the last of the grammarians of whom he treats (see also the index grammaticarum p. 98 Reiff.), just as Quintilian was the last rhetorician (p. 99 Reiff.): Sueton. (born c. a. 75) here as elsewhere (§ 347) excludes his contemporaries: *M. Valerius Probus Berytius diu centuriatum petiit, donec taedio ad studia se contulit. legerat in provincia quosdam veteres libellos* (Latin) *apud grammatistam durante adhuc ibi antiquorum memoria necdum omnino abolita sicut Romae. hos cum diligentius repeteret atque alios deinceps cognoscere cuperet . . . in proposito mansit multaque exemplaria contracta emendare ac distinguere et adnotare* (cf. § 41, 2) *curavit, soli huic nec ulli praeterea grammaticae parti deditus. hic non tam discipulos quam sectatores aliquot habuit: numquam enim ita docuit ut magistri personam sustineret. unum et alterum vel, cum plurimos, tres aut quatuor postmeridianis horis admittere solebat cubansque inter longos ac volgares sermones legere quaedam, idque perraro* (Cf. n. 2). *nimis pauca et exigua de quibusdam minutis quaestiunculis edidit* (independently of the bare editions of the texts). *reliquit autem non mediocrem silvam observationum sermonis antiqui.* These collections would thus appear not to have been edited by himself, but from his papers after his death.

2. According to his own estimation (no distinct support is given to this by Suetonius) Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2072=809/56 (Amand. 2073): *Probus Berytius eruditissimus grammaticorum Romae agnoscitur.* That Martial (3, 2, 12 to his book: *nec Probum timeto*) in a. 88 mentions Probus as still alive (although the actual wording of the passage does not prove it), is corroborated by the fact that Gellius (born c. 130) had heard in his youth some pupils of Probus (n. 3), whose instruction they could not well have received before a. 95 (shortly before the death of Probus, Gell. 1, 15, 18). Gell. 9, 9, 12 *Valerii Probi, . . . docti hominis et in legendis pensitandisque veteribus scriptis bene callidi.* 1, 15, 18 *grammaticum inlustrem.* 4, 7, 1 *V. P. grammaticus inter suam aetatem praestanti scientia fuit.* Auson. opusc. 3, 18 p. 2 Schenkl *nomen grammatici merui, non tam grande quidem quo gloria nostra subiret Aemilium aut Scaurum Berytiumve Probum.* 16, 16, 12 p. 66 *Scaurum Probumque.* 16, 21, 7 p. 68 *grammatice ad Scaurum atque Probum.* Macr. 5, 22, 9

*Valerius Probus, vir perfectissimus, notat* etc. *quod tantum virum fugisse miror.* CASSIOD. GL. 7, 214, 25 *Palaemon, Phocas, Probus et Censorinus.* CLEDONIUS GL. 5, 20, 19 *Probus et Sabinus sic volunt declinari optativum* etc. ANONYM. GL. 5, 326, 21 *ut est Probus et Caesar.* WBRAMBACH, lat. Orthogr. 31. JSTEUP, de Probis grammaticis, Jena 1871. Against this assumption of an elder (in SUET.) and a younger and more famous Val. Pr. (in MARTIAL and GELLIUS) shortly succeeding each other see TEUFFEL, Studien u. Char. 449 (cf. RhM. 27, 62. 192). BKÜBLER l.l. 2.

3. Specimens of Val. Probus' oral lectures on sermo antiquus in GELL., who obtained them from familiares (cf. 9, 9, 12 *memini audisse me ex Valerii Probi discipulis*) of his (such as Favorinus § 351, 3, Ammianus § 353, 3); see 1, 15, 18 and 3, 1, 5 sq. (on Sallust). 6, 7, 3–5 (Plaut. and Ter.). 6, 9, 12 (Valerius Antias). 13, 21, 1–8, and ib. 9 *his tum verbis Probus . . . hominem dimisit, ut mos eius fuit erga indociles, prope inclementer.* Written explanations are indicated ib. 6, 9, 11 (on the perfect *occecurri Probus adnotavit et haec verba apposuit*). 4, 7, 1 sqq. *Valerius Probus*—pronounced *Hannibālem, Hasdrubālem—teste epistula eius scripta ad Marcellum, in qua Plautum et Ennium . . . eo modo pronuntiasse affirmat* etc.). 15, 30, 5 *ego cum Probi multos admodum commentationum libros adquisierim neque scriptum in his inveni* etc. In this Gellius no doubt rather exaggerated (MERCKLIN, Citiermethode des Gell. 689. BECK l.l. 19). We may however conclude with certainty from this passage that in the time of Gellius various grammatical works of Probus were extant (no doubt published partly from transcripts made by his pupils, or from his literary remains). Cf. n. 4 l. 6. The allusions to Probus in CHARISIUS, DIOMEDES, SERVIUS and PRISCIAN are doubtless all at third hand, probably due to Flavius Caper (STEUP l.l. 190). CHARISIUS (=Julius Romanus) GL. 1, 212, 7 *Probus de inaequalitate sermonis quaerit an quis* etc. PRISC. GL. 2, 14 (*et apud Caprum et apud Probum de dubiis generibus*, HNEUMANN, de Plin. dubii serm. ll., Kiel 1881, 38), and 2, 541, 19 *Probus de dubio perfecto tractans ostendit Naevium protulisse* etc. Cf. ib. 535 *quod Probus usu Pomponii* (§ 151, 4) *comprobat.* Cf. BECK l.l. 21. Other allusions evidently refer to the younger Probus (saec. IV), see STEUP p. 187. Cf. n. 7. JWBECK, de M. Val. Probo quaestt. novae, Groningen 1886.

4. Suetonius in the so-called Anecd. Par. (see above § 41, 2) after quoting the 21 critical signs: *his solis in adnotationibus . . . usi sunt . . . postremo Probus, qui illas in Vergilio et Horatio et Lucretio apposuit ut in Homero Aristarchus* (p. 138 Rffsch.). Cf. STEUP p. 48. 88. This employment of critical notes in his editions of poets probably induced Probus to devote some attention to notae in general—such as signs, abbreviations and cypher. GELL. 17, 9, 5 *est adeo Probi grammatici commentarius satis curiose factus de occulta literarum significatione in epistularum C. Caesaris* (§ 195, 8) *scriptura.* The abbreviations employed in iure civili (i.e. in legibus et plebiscitis, in legis actionibus, in edictis perpetuis; cf. § 88, 2) are contained in the treatise (preserved in several MSS. especially Ambr. and Chigianus, both s. XV–XVI) Valerii Probi iuris notarum (libri), which was probably once part of a treatise of V. Pr. de notis (antiquis) or de litteris singularibus (commencing: *est etiam circa perscribendas vel paucioribus litteris notandas voces studium necessarium*), but is mutilated at the end and has altogether come down to us in an incomplete form. Valuable additions thereto are found in the cod. Einsidlens. 326 s. X; MOMMSEN, GL. 4, 315, Herm. 25, 152. There is nothing in this treatise which points to a later time than that of Probus of Berytus, apart from some interpolations found in the bad MSS. Edition by MOMMSEN GL. 4, 271, and after this in HUSCHKE, iurispr. anteiust. $^{5}$135 and in PKRÜGER's Ulpian (1874) 142. Cf. MOMMSEN, M. Val. Pr. de notis antiquis, Lpz. SBer. 1853, 91, and in his edition 267. HUSCHKE l.l. 129. STEUP l.l. 135. The arrangment of the portion belonging

to Probus follows the subject and is systematical, but in the later list of notae (the Lugdunenses, ex cod. Reginae, Magnonianae, Lindenbrogianae, Vaticanae, Papianae and Einsidlenses, published together by MOMMSEN, GL. 4, 277) the arrangement is alphabetical. Cf. also the index notarum in STUDEMUND's apographum of Gaius p. 253 and above § 191, 5.

5. Oral explanations by Probus on Vergil and his diction, see in GELL. 9, 9, 12 sqq. 13, 21, 1–8. The first passage (cf. SERV. Aen. 4, 418. 9, 814. 11, 554) proves that Probus kept free from blind admiration. In forming the text of his edition, he proceeded methodically and employed the earliest sources; GELL. 13, 21, 4 *in primo georg., quem ego, inquit (Probus), librum manu ipsius* (of Vergil) *correctum legi.* This edition is often quoted by Servius, see OJAHN's Pers. p. CXL. RIBBECK, proleg. Vergil. 136. Cf. STEUP l.l. 85. 99. E.g. SERV. georg. 1, 277 *Probus orchus* (STEUP p. 84: *orcus*) *legit, Cornutus vetat* (STEUP: *putat*) *aspirationem addendam* (*horcus*). His criticism was embodied chiefly in the critical notes of the Alexandrines (n. 4. RIBBECK l.l. p. 149, cf. ARIESE, JJ. 93, 868). Vita Vergilii de commentario Valerii Probi sublata: § 224, 1[a]; cf. below n. 6 l. 4.—It is quite uncertain whether in the commentary on the Bucolica and Georgica attributed to Probus there is really anything which can be traced back to him. Some little valuable matter is found there, floating in a thin decoction of the most ordinary and puerile comments. The commentary was first edited (from a lost cod. Bobiensis) by JBEGNATIUS, Venet. 1507 and repeatedly afterwards (cf. KEIL p. V), the best edition by HKEIL, M. Valerii Probi in Verg. Buc. et Georg. commentarius etc., Halle 1848. WOLLENBERG, de Probo carminum Vergil. editore, Berlin 1857. ARIESE, de commentario Vergiliano qui M. Valeri Probi dicitur (Bonn 1862) p. 15. BKÜBLER, de Probi Berytii commentariis Vergil., Berl. 1881. It is held to be a diluted version of the commentary of Probus by ORIBBECK, JJ. 87, 351 and proleg. Verg. p. 163. STEUP l.l. 112.

6. Besides his editions of Lucretius and Horace (n. 4), Probus seems also to have published an edition of Terence with notes; OJAHN, Pers. p. CXL. Cf. STEUP l.l. 94. 97. For his notes on Persius see § 302, 1. 6. The vita of Persius de commentario Probi Valeri sublata is extant (cf. n. 5 l. 10). GVALLA wrongly attributed the scholia on Juvenal edited by him (in which e.g. Trajan is mentioned 1, 35, see § 331, 7) to this Probus; OJAHN's Pers. p. CLIV. For scholia on Persius by a so-called Probus ib. p. CLVII. STEUP l.l. 127. Commentaries on Plautus and Sallust?? STEUP l.l. 130.

7. a) Under the name of Probus we possess a work entitled Catholica (GL. 4, 3) treating briefly of noun and verb, transmitted only in Vindob. 16 (Bobiensis) s. VII/VIII with the heading *de catholicis Probi* and the subscriptio *ars Probi grammatici urbis explicit catholica.* This is however more probably a work of Sacerdos (§ 394) and corresponds with his second book. Sacerdos cannot have incorporated the catholica of another author (Probus) in his own work, for the diction, style and subject-matter are all in strict agreement with Sacerdos' b. 1 and 3; moreover in the cathol., as in the two other books of Sacerdos, the word *sacerdos* is frequently employed as an example (just as e.g. VELIUS LONGUS GL. 7, 60, 12 uses his own name: *non ab Longo sed af Longo*). We cannot ascertain how and why Sacerdos' b. 2 came to be attributed to Probus, under whose name it is also quoted e.g. by Pompeius (§ 472, 2) and Priscian (attempted explanation in STEUP l.l. 161).—b) a very lengthy but also very trivial treatise on grammar in general, extant in a cod. Vat. s. VI/VII (hence called Ars vaticana), in the Vindobon. 17 (Bobiensis) s. VIII/IX and others (CCIPOLLA, due frammenti di

antico cod. del grammatico Probo, Atti dell' acad. di Torino 19 nr. 3); first published by AMai, auctt. class. 5, 153; then by Endlicher, anall. Vinbob. 1, 237 (as Probi . . . ars minor), lastly by HKeil, GL. 4, 47 (as Probi instituta artium). Cf. Steup, RhM. 26, 314. This dates at earliest from the fourth century, as it mentions (GL. 4, 119, 26) the (*thermae*) *Diocletianae*. Its author (probably a Christian, see ib. 129, 12) is certainly not identical with the writer of the Catholica (i.e. Sacerdos, see above), HWentzel, de Probo 9. Steup, de Prob. 142. Perhaps he was really named Probus, but it must remain uncertain whether he was Lactantius' friend (see § 397, 2) of the same name.—This Ars Probi is in the Vindob. 17 (see above) followed by an Appendix (in Keil, GL. 4, 193), for the composition of which the Ars has been used. The third part (de orthographia) is of some importance for our knowledge regarding the pronunciation of Latin in this comparatively late period; the fourth treats de differentiis (this is also contained in the Montepess. 306 s. IX [§ 42, 4], where it bears the heading *differentiae Probi Valerii*). GParis, l'appendix Probi, Mélanges Renier, Paris 1887.—Valerii Probi de nomine excerpta (GL. 4, 207) are a compilation from various grammatical works and seem to bear the name of Val. Probus probably from the circumstance of their having been added to the Ars Probi (Steup l.l. 175).—But in the work on final syllables (de ultimis syllabis liber ad Caelestinum), GL. 4, 212, which is preserved only in Vindob. 16 (see above, a), the addition of the name of Probus rests only on the conjecture of the first editor of it (Mediol. 1504), Parrhasius. Cf. WFreund, JJ. 5, 90. Steup p. 138.

On the question whether besides Probus of Berytus we are to assume the existence of one, or even two later grammarians of the same name, see FOsann (Beitr. z. griech. u. röm. Lit. Gesch. 2, 166), LLersch (ZfAW. 1843, no. 79), OJahn (Persius p. cxxxvi), HWentzel (de Probo artifice latino, Oppeln 1867), JSteup, de Probis grammaticis, Jen. 1871 (cf. n. 2 ad fin.), HKeil, on GL. 1, lii. 4, xvii. 6, 422; symb. philol. Bonn. 93; JJ. 95, 638. JKirchner, JJ. Suppl. Bd. 8, 498. JVahlen, ind. lect. Berol. 1877/78, 10.

8. Under Nero Pliny the Elder wrote his eight books dubii sermonis, see Plin. ep. 3, 5, 5 (below § 312, 2 and 4).

302. Under Nero, the youthful and immature, but noble-minded poet, A. Persius Flaccus (A.D. 34–62) of Volaterrae, wrote six satires, most of which are versified lectures on Stoic tenets. The want of independence of the beginner is manifested in the extensive employment of Horatian phrases and characters. The exaggeration and bombast characteristic of the manner of the period are in these satires carried to obscurity. But the staunch earnestness of the young moralist won for him lively admiration immediately after his early death.

1. On the life of Persius see the valuable but very corrupt *vita A. Persii Flacci de commentario Probi Valeri* (300, 6) *sublata*, probably taken from the introduction to Probus' edition of Persius. Printed in OJahn's editions of the poet (1843 p. 233, 1886 p. 54) and in AReifferscheid's Suetonius p. 72, with the explanations of Jahn, ed. of 1843 p. cl, Reifferscheid p. 394, JSteup, de Probis p. 125.

2. Vita: *Aulus* (*Aules* in the MSS.) *Persius Flaccus natus est prid. non. decembr. Fabio Persico, L. Vitellio coss.* (4 Dec. 787/34). *decessit VIII kal. decembr. P. Mario, Asinio Gallo coss.* (24 Nov. 815/62). *natus in Etruria Volaterris* (cf. ECurtius, de

Persii patria in the Satura philologica HSauppio oblata [Berl. 1880] p. 1) *eques rom. . . . decessit ad VIII miliarium via Appia in praediis suis. . . . vitio stomachi anno aetatis tricesimo.* Hieron. a. Abr. 2050=34 A.D.: *Persius Flaccus satiricus poeta Volaterris nascitur;* and ad a. 2078 (Freher. ad a. 2079)=62 A.D. *Persius moritur anno aetatis XXVIIII.*—Vita: *pater eum Flaccus pupillum reliquit moriens annorum fere sex.* His mother was *Fulvia Sisennia. . . . studuit Flaccus usque ad annum XII aetatis suae Volaterris, inde Romae apud grammaticum Remmium Palaemonem* (§ 282, 3) *et apud rhetorem Verginium Flavum* (§ 297, 9), *cum esset annorum XVI. amicitia coepit uti Annaei Cornuti* (§ 299, 2), *ita ut nusquam ab eo discederet: inductus* (ab eo) *aliquatenus in philosophiam est. . . . coluit ut patrem Servilium Nonianum* (§ 291, 2). *. . . idem decem fere annis summe dilectus a Paeto Thrasea* (above 299, 7) *est, . . . cognatam eius Arriam uxorem habente. . . . sero cognovit et Senecam, sed non ut caperetur eius ingenio. . . . fuit morum lenissimorum, verecundiae virginalis, formae pulcrae, pietatis erga matrem et sororem et amitam exemplo sufficientis.*

3. Vita: *scriptitavit et raro et tarde. hunc ipsum librum* (the six satires, see n. 1) *imperfectum reliquit, versus aliqui dempti sunt ultimo libro, ut quasi finitus esset. leviter retractavit Cornutus et Caesio Basso* (of whom the vita previously says: *amicum habuit a prima adulescentia Caesium Bassum poetam*, cf. § 304, 1) *petenti ut ipsi cederet tradidit edendum. scripserat in pueritia Flaccus etiam praetextam † vescio* (*Vescia* according to MHertz, who understands this of the sudden attack on Vescia, Livy 9, 25; *nescio quam* Ribbeck), *et hodoeporicon librum unum, et paucos in socrum Thraseae, in Arriam matrem, versus, quae se ante virum* (Caecina Paetus) *occiderat. omnia ea auctor fuit Cornutus matri eius ut aboleret. editum librum continuo mirari homines et diripere coeperunt.* Cf. Quint. 10, 1, 94 *multum et verae gloriae quamvis uno libello Persius meruit.* Mart. 4, 29, 7 (above § 243, 3).

4. Vita: *lecto Lucilii libro X vehementer satiras componere instituit* (on this Bücheler, RhM. 32, 287), *. . . sibi primo, mox omnibus detracturus, cum tanta recentium poetarum et oratorum insectatione ut etiam Neronem . . . culpaverit* (§ 286, 8). This *insectatio* is embodied in sat. 1 and in the prologue (or epilogue) prefixed to it, the latter in choliambics. This is the only real satire to be found in Persius; it treats of the taste of the poets and of the public in his age. The others are declamations on dogmas of the Stoic system, full of dramatic scenes frequently approaching burlesque and which recalled Sophron: see Lyd. de magistr. 1, 41 (above § 28, 1). They are however all set off with Horatian colouring. Just as Persius' characters, except those which are mere shadows or types, are derived from Horace or Lucilius, so likewise he has borrowed from Horace numerous thoughts, similes and turns of speech, even particular phrases and beginnings or ends of verses, generally distorting the original by tasteless and awkward additions of his own. ICasaubon, Persiana Horatii imitatio, e.g. in Dübner's ed. of Pers., p. 344. ASzelinski, de Persio Horatii imitatore, Hohenstein i/Ostpr. 1879. ThWerther, de Persio Horatii imitatore, Halle 1883. Owing to the affected audacity of his metaphors, tropes and epithets, the strangeness of his combinations, his would-be profundity, and partly also on account of his want of literary facility, his style is encumbered with almost intolerable obscurity (§ 28, 1). Cf. Teuffel, Studien und Charakt. 400. BErdmann, obss. gramm. in Pers., Wittenb. 1886. ISorn § 348, 8. WPierson, die Metaphern des Pers., RhM. 12, 88. HJattkowski, de sermone in Persii et. Iuv. satiris figurato, Allenstein 1886.

5. As Persius was throughout the whole of the Middle Ages (MManitius, Phil. 47, 710) greatly admired on account of his moral strictness, and as moreover

his satires do not take up much space, we possess them in numberless MSS. O JAHN (1843) p. CLXXIII. The earliest is a fragment in the Vatic. 5750 (Bobiensis, in capitals), p. 32 of which contains a piece of Persius (see § 331, 8). They fall into two recensions, of which one is represented especially by Montepess. 125 s. IX. (the celebrated Pithoeanus of Juvenal, § 331, 8; a recent collation of the same for Persius in RBEER, spicil. Iuvenal., Lps., 1885, 18), the other chiefly by Montepess. 212 s. X. and cod. tabularii basilic. Vatic. 36 H s. IX/X: the author of the latter is known to us by the subscriptio: *Flavius Iulius Tryfonianus Sabinus* (§ 390, 5) *v. c. . . . temptavi emendare sine antigrapho meum et adnotavi Barcellonae coss. . . . Arcadio et Honorio V* (a. 402), OJAHN l.l. p. CLXXIV. CXCII and Lpz. SBer. 1851, 332. By a careful balancing of the two versions, it is nearly always possible (as there are hardly any deliberate corruptions) to discover the original form of the text. BÜCHELER, RhM. 41, 455. A KISSEL, Persii codicum MSS. Leidensium collatio, una cum animadvers. in eius satiram I, Zalt-Bömel 1848. On a Vienna MS. s. X with glosses and scholia see AGÖBEL, Phil. 14, 170. 379; cf. 15, 128 and in the Conitz program 1859. On a Prague MS. s. IX/X (in the Fürstenberg library) see JKELLE, Abhandl. d. böhm. Ges. d. W. 6, 5, 12. MZILLOBER, eine neue Hs. des Pers., Augsb. 1862. WKUBITSCHEK, d. Persius-Hs. d. Peterskirche in Rom, Wiener Studd. 8, 125. On excerpts from Persius (e.g. from the Paris. 7647 and 17903, cf. § 245, 7. 306, 6) KWOTKE and KHOSIUS, RhM. 43, 494. JBIEGER, de Aul. Persii Flacci Codice Pithoeano C recte aestimando, Berlin 1890 (compare GRSCOTT, Classical Review, vol. 4, 10).

6. Early commentators on Persius: HIERON. apol. c. Rufin. 1, 16 (above § 41, 4). The principal collection of scholia on the satires of Persius (printed chiefly from Paris. 8272. s. XI in OJAHN 1843, p. 245 and [a selection] JAHN-BÜCHELER 1886) bears the title: *Cornuti commentum* (at 1, 16 we read in the Monac. 14482 s. XI/XII Leid. and other MSS. *ut ait Cornutus*). This is enlarged in many of the MSS. by various later additions, but the nucleus common to all is itself of very small intrinsic value. It is uncertain whether the compiler merely prefixed the name of Persius' teacher in order to lend authority to his patch-work, or whether his name was actually Cornutus (?). He has pieced together a continuous commentary out of old glosses and short scholia. KFHERMANN, lectiones Pers. I, Marb. 1842; analecta de aetate et usu schol. Pers., Gött. 1846, pref. to his ed. p. XII, assigns the commentum to the period before Isidorus (a. 636), OJAHN 1843 p. CXIII to the Carlovingian period. It is more than doubtful whether anything in this commentary can be traced back to Probus (cf. n. 1). We have a selection from the work in the glossae Pithoeanae (JAHN p. CLXIV). MSS. s. X in Vienna (see n. 5 in fin.) and Prague (JKVÍCALA, scholiorum Pragensium in P. satt. delectus, Prague 1873), the latter very similar to the Leiden (KISSEL, n. 5) scholia. EKURZ, die Persius-Scholien nach den Berner Hss. (esp. according to Bern. 247, s. X), Burgdorf 1875. 1888 II., 1889 III. AZINGERLE, Wiener SBer. 97, 731. HLIEBL, Beiträge zu den Persius-Scholien (esp. from Monac. 14482 s. XI/XII), Straubing 1883; die Disticha Cornuti . . . und der Scholiast Cornutus; mit dem Text des Cornutus antiquus and novus, Straubing 1888.

7. Editions: e.g. by PPITHOEUS (Par. 1585), EVINETUS and THMARCILIUS (Par. 1601), ICASAUBON (first at Par. 1605; most recently, with many additions, by FDÜBNER, Lps. 1833), FPASSOW (I Leipz. 1809), NLACHAINTRE (Par. 1812), EWWEBER (Lps. 1826), EPLUM (Copenh. 1827), JCORELLI (eclogae poett. latt., Zür. 1833), FHAUTHAL (I Lpz. 1837), and especially OJAHN (cum scholiis antiquis ed., Lps. 1843, also with an ind. verbb.; edition of the text with a scanty apparatus, with Iuvenalis and Sulpicia, and with the scholia, Berl.[2] 1886, the latter edited by

Bücheler). Also CFHeinrich's lectures on Pers., edited by OJahn, Lpz. 1844. Text also by CFHermann, Lps. 1854. With a translation and commentary by JConington, edited by HNettleship, Lond.[2] 1874. German translations e.g. by JJCDonner (Stuttg. 1822), WEWeber (Bonn 1834), FPassow and Hauthal (l.l.), HDüntzer (Trèves 1844), WTeuffel (Stuttg. 1844; revised, Stuttg. 1857).

8. On Persius see e.g. Nisard, études sur les poètes latins de la décadence (Par. 1834) 1, 237. OJahn's Prolegomena 1843 and in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl. 3, 18, 33. WTeuffel, Studien u. Charakt. 396. CMartha, un poète stoicien, Rev. d. deux mondes, Sept. 1863, p. 291. Breuker, A. Persius u. s. Zeit, Mörs 1866. HSchiller, Nero 615. SEYonge, Journ. of philol. 5, 142. GStephan, d. dichterische Individualität des Pers., Schönberg 1882. JSchlüter, de sat. Pers. nat. et indole, Andernach 1886.

FKnickenberg, de ratione stoica in Pers., Münst. 1867. VPapa, lo stoicismo in Pers., Turin 1882. HWilcke, Stendal 1869 (a comparison with Juvenal).— Criticism and explanation: Quaestt. Persianae by JSchlüter (Münst. 1857. NMadvig, adv. crit. 2, 128. On sat. 1: AKissel, n. 5 in fin. FHand, Jena 1850. HLehmann, ZfAW. 1852, 193. BJHOvink, Leid. 1886. 2: HLehmann, Phil. 6, 431; cf. RGropius, JJ. 101, 390. AHäckermann, JJ. 81, 341; Phil. 25, 357. 4: AHäckermann in Jahn's Arch. 18, 390. 5: HLehmann, Greifsw. 1855. EHandrick, Torgau 1846.

303. Akin in spirit to Persius and a friend of his was M. Annaeus Lucanus of Corduba, grandson of the elder and nephew of the younger Seneca. He was a prolific writer (considering the short duration of his life, A.D. 39–65) in various departments both in prose and in verse. We possess his Pharsalia in ten books, an epic poem on the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar, adhering closely to the historical facts but strongly siding with Pompey, whose cause the writer identifies with that of Rome's liberty and greatness. The scheme is prosaic, the treatment rhetorical, full of descriptions, speeches and general reflections; the style is artificially elevated; the whole production youthful and unripe, but indicative of genuine power and lofty, generous motives.

1. We possess two biographies of Lucan, the one (in Reifferscheid's Suetonius p. 50) with a gap at the beginning and unfavourable to the poet, in close agreement with Hieronymus' abridgment, and hence probably by Suetonius; the other (in Reifferscheid's Suetonius p. 76) complete, long-winded, admiring and defending Lucan, probably by the expositor Lucani, the grammarian Vacca (perhaps of the sixth century); CFWeber, vitae M. Annaei Lucani collectae, Part. I (Marb. 1856). Reifferscheid l.l. p. 392. To this we may add the information given by Tacitus and Statius' genethliacon Lucani (see n. 2). Lucani vita per annos digesta by CFWeber l.l. Part. II, Marb. 1857; later vitae compiled from MSS., ib. 1858 (Part. III); de suprema Lucani voce, ib. 1857.

2. Vacca: *M. Annaeus Lucanus patrem habuit M. Annaeum Melam* (§ 269, 2 ad fin.) . . . *Cordubensem, equitem rom.* . . . *notum Romae et propter Senecam fratrem* . . . *et propter studium vitae quietioris.* . . . *matrem habuit et regionis eiusdem et urbis Aciliam* (§ 297, 11) . . . *natus est III non. novembr. C. Caesare Germanico II, L. Apronio Caesiano coss.* (3 Nov. 792/39 A.D.). Epigrams on Lucan's

birthday addressed to his widow, who long survived him (n. 4 ad fin.): MART. 7, 21–23; cf. 10, 64. Genethliacon Lucani in STAT. silv. 2, 7. VACCA continues: *octavum mensem agens Romam translatus est. . . . a praeceptoribus tunc eminentissimis est eruditus* (cf. VITA PERSII: *cognovit per Cornutum etiam Annaeum Lucanum, aequaevum auditorem Cornuti. Lucanus mirabatur scripta Flacci* etc.). *declamavit et graece et latine cum magna admiratione audientium.*

3. Suetonius' vita: *prima ingenii experimenta in Neronis laudibus dedit quinquennali certamine. . . . revocatus Athenis a Nerone cohortique amicorum additus atque etiam quaestura honoratus* (*sacerdotium etiam accepit auguratus*, VACCA) *non tamen permansit in gratia* (for which the writer lays the blame on the poet and his wounded vanity, while Vacca arraigns Nero as actuated by jealousy of Lucan's poetical success, see n. 4) . . . *sed et famoso carmine cum ipsum* (Neronem) *tum potentissimos amicorum gravissime proscidit. ad extremum paene signifer Pisonianae coniurationis extitit. . . . verum detecta coniuratione nequaquam parem animi constantiam praestitit* (cf. TAC. a. 15, 56. 70). . . . *impetrato autem mortis arbitrio libero . . . brachia ad secandas venas praebuit medico. poemata eius etiam praelegi memini, confici vero ac proponi venalia non tantum operose et diligenter sed inepte quoque;* cf. HIERON. ad a. Abr. 2079 = 63 A.D.—cod. Freher. a. 2080—: *M. Annaeus Lucanus Cordubensis poeta in Pisoniana coniuratione deprehensus brachium ad secandas venas medico praebuit.* VACCA: *sua sponte coactus vita excedere venas sibi praecidit periitque pridie kal. mai. Attico Vestino et Nerva Siliano coss.* (= 30 April 818/65 A.D.)

4. VACCA: *et certamine pentaeterico acto in Pompei theatro laudibus recitatis in Neronem fuerat coronatus et ex tempore Orphea* (RUNGER, Gratul.-Progr. des Hallischen Stadtgymn. an Erfurt 1870, p. 4) *scriptum* (in hexameters) *in experimentum adversum complures ediderat poetas et tres libros* (of the Pharsalia) *quales videmus. quare inimicum sibi fecerat imperatorem. quo . . . interdictum est ei poetica* (cf. TAC. a. 15, 49 *famam carminum eius premebat Nero prohibueratque ostentare, vanus adsimulatione;* DIO 62, 29; cf. EWESTERBURG, RhM. 38, 95), *interdictum etiam causarum actionibus. . . . extant eius conplures et alii* (libri), *ut Iliacon* (STAT. silv. 2, 7, 54; RUNGER, quaestio de Lucani Heliacis, Friedland 1858), Saturnalia (from this MART. 10, 64, 6 ?), *catachthonion* (cf. STAT. silv. 2, 7, 57), *silvarum X, tragoedia Medea imperfecta, salticae fabulae XIV* (i.e. sketches for pantomimes, see § 8, 13 ad fin.), *epigrammata* (? the codd.: *et appāmata* and *et ippamata;* M HERTZ δράματα); *prosa oratione in Octavium Sagittam* (TAC. a. 13, 44. hist. 4, 44) *et pro eo* (a mere exercise of the pen), *de incendio urbis* (MSONNTAG, z. Append. Verg., Frankf. 1887, 11), *epistolarum ex Campania, non fastidiendi quidem omnes, tales tamen ut belli civilis* (Phars.) *videantur accessio.* Also *adlocutio ad Pollam* (his wife Argentaria Polla) according to STAT. Silv. 2, 7, 62. On his wife see also SID. APOLL. ep. 2, 10 *saepe versum . . . Argentaria cum Lucano complevit.* Cf. also n. 2 l. 7. RUNGER, de Lucani carminum reliquiis, Friedland 1860.

5. QUINT. 10, 1, 90 *Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus.* An early criticism on Lucan (which perhaps gained currency through Suetonius) is less just. SERV. Aen. 1, 382 *Lucanus ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit quia videtur historiam composuisse, non poema.* This agrees almost verbally with ISIDOR. orig. 8, 7, 10. SCHOL. PHARS. 1, 1 *ideo Lucanus dicitur a plerisque non esse in numero poetarum quia omnino historiam sequitur, quod poeticae arti non convenit.* So also IORDAN. Get. 5, 43. PETRON. no doubt alludes to him sat. 118 *belli civilis ingens opus quisquis attigerit, nisi plenus litteris, sub onere labetur. non enim res gestae versibus comprehendendae sunt, quod longe melius historici faciunt, sed* etc., and he also ridicules his poem in the parody de bello civili: § 305, 4. Cf. MART. 14, 194 *Lucanus. Sunt*

*quidam qui me dicant non esse poetam, sed qui me vendit bibliopola putat.* The high esteem in which Lucan was also held at a later period is evident from the numerous quotations from his poems in the grammarians; see KEIL's GL. 7, 604.— It is true that the subject was too large to be adequately handled in such a poem as the Pharsalia. But the principal mistakes are the rhetorical treatment and the superfluity of description, in which the limits of moderation and good taste are frequently overstepped. See, e.g., the fearful scenes depicted at the close of b. 3 and 6, 530, also 7, 839 sqq. 9, 735 sqq. Sentimental rhetoric appears 4, 168 sqq. An almost Ovidian description of Cornelia's longing for her husband Pompey 5, 805 sqq. Useless parade of geographical and mythological learning 3, 169 sqq. 4, 593 sqq. 677 sqq. 6, 330 sqq. 10, 193 sqq. His subject being historical and relating to recent events, Lucan has wisely dispensed with the customary mythological machinery for carrying on the action, and transfers the motives of the action to the actors themselves; moreover, the poet plumes himself on being a despiser of the gods after the manner of Epicurus (see n. 6 in fin.), while he assigns the leading part to fate in the fashion of the Stoics. MSOURIAU, de deorum ministeriis in Pharsalia, Par. 1885 (compare JGIRARD, journal des sav. 1888, 192.) The description of the Nile 10, 194–331 closely follows SEN. quaestt. nat. 4, 1. 2 (on this see HDIELS, Abh. d. Berl. Akad. 1885). In the historical parts Livy is the poet's chief authority, see GBAIER, de Livio Lucani in carmine de bello civili auctore, Schweidnitz (Bresl.) 1874. SINGELS, de Luc. fontibus et fide, Leid. 1884. BPERRIN, Lucan as an historical source for Appian, Americ. journ. of philol. 9 (1884), 325. Employment of the historiae of the elder Seneca (§ 269, 3)? OROSSBACH, de Sen. philos. libr. recens. et emend., Bresl. 1888, 170.—As regards versification and prosody Lucan is very strict and even laboured. ETRAMPE, de Luc. arte metr., Berl. 1884. RGIANI, la Farsalia etc. sulle fonte storiche di Luc., Turin 1888. JZIEHEN, Lucan als Historiker, Ber. d. deutsch. Hochstifts 1890, 51.

6. 'Pharsalia' is the name which Lucan himself 9, 985 gives to his poem: *Pharsalia nostra vivet;* in the MSS. it is called *de bello civili* and so also is Petronius' parody (n. 5 l. 10). The story is however carried down to the siege sustained by Caesar in Alexandria, by way of counterpoise to the death of Pompey, which has been previously described. The first three books were published by Lucan himself (see n. 4), when he was still on good terms with Nero; whence 1, 33–66 his praise of the Emperor, with the suggestion of a subsequent apotheosis (very different is 7, 456 sqq.). A difference of political views between the first three books and the continuation cannot, however, be maintained. In the former we find his preference for Pompey (2, 453. 519. 732) and Cato and Brutus (2, 234) as well as his aversion to Caesar (2, 439. 3, 82) unmistakeably avowed. It is not a different view which is expressed by the poet in his later books; he writes in the same spirit, but with increased frankness, and with bitterness and animosity. Pompey's cause is simply identified by him with right and liberty (e. g. 6, 139. 259. 7, 579), while Caesar's is constantly designated as *scelus* (e.g. 7, 751, cf. also 4, 188. 5, 242. 261. 390. 6, 147. 298. 7, 40. 168. 243. 558. 751. 777. 8, 782. 834). Caesar's victory is represented as the cause not only of the downfall of liberty (7, 433. 639. 696. 9, 204. 252), but also of the decay of the external power and majesty of Rome (7, 427). Even Caesar's indisputably noble actions are turned into the reverse (7, 798. 9, 1034), and his assassination is justified and lauded (7, 593; cf. 8, 609. 10, 338. 523). Caesar is the villain of the poem, and in this sense he is ironically promised immortality (9, 981). Just as he is all that is bad, Pompey is all that is good (cf. esp. 8, 841, also 5, 1. 6, 799. 7, 28), so that even the betrayal of his own country admits of praise (8, 232). Hence Lucan does not use Caesar's historical work, but

that of Livy the 'partisan of Pompey,' see note 5 in fin. and § 256, 3. Only Cato surpasses him in the poet's eyes (9, 597; cf. ib. 187. 254. 553). The Stoic convictions of Lucan appear in many passages, e.g. 7, 814. 9, 302. 572. 10, 265. 413. Expressions recalling Epicurean tenets (e.g. 7, 446. 455) result from his despair of a just Providence (cf. 3, 449 and n. 5 in fin.). 9, 983 is directed against Nero. Other instances of bold language 4, 807. 823. 5, 385. 6, 259. 7, 210. 433. 456. 8, 672. 9, 252. 600. 10, 24. FOettl, Lucan's philos. Weltanschauung, Brixen 1888.

7. That the tenth book is not complete appears from its small compass, as it has at least 200 lines less than the other books. Books 4-9 also were not published by Lucan himself, but after his death by some friend or relation (Genthe l.l. p. 75). It is, however, possible that these books were recited in public, as completed, by the author himself. Vacca pronounces them *mendosi* and applies to them Ovid's expression *emendaturus si licuisset eram*, and this may perhaps be said of details, but in the composition as a whole Lucan would scarcely have changed much. Fronto p. 157 *unum . . . poetae prooemium commemorabo, poeta eiusdem temporis eiusdemque nominis* (as Seneca): *fuit aeque Annaeus. is initio carminis sui* (the Phars.) *septem primis versibus nihil aliud quam bella plus quam civilia interpretatus est.* The erroneous explanation of these words seems to have prompted the story given by the Schol. Lucan. 1, 1 (p. 8 Us.): *hos VII versus primos dicitur Seneca ex suo addidisse . . . ne videretur liber ex abrupto incohare.* Against FOsann (de Sen. scriptis deperditis spec. III, Giessen 1848) see Genthe p. 77. CFWeber, de duplici Pharsaliae Lucaneae exordio, Marb. 1860. Metrical tables of contents for the Pharsalia (are they ancient? CBarth edited them from a MS. which is now lost): AL. 930 PLM. 5, 413. There are two arguments of 10 lines for Lucan b. 2 (*incipit argumentum libri II, Sidonius subdiaconus fecit*) and b. 5 in the commenta (n. 8) ed. HUsener p. 47. 151. Cf. on this ROpitz, Lpz. Studd. 6, 305.

8. Commentaries on Lucan are mentioned as early as Hieronymus, see above § 41, 4. Lyd. de magistr. 3, 46 *ὡς ὁ Πολέμων ἐν πέμπτῃ ἐξηγήσεων τῆς κατὰ Λουκανὸν τὸν Ῥωμαῖον ἐμφυλίων συγγραφῆς ἀπεφήνατο.* On Vacca see n. 1. Some remnants of these commentaries remain in the Scholia on Lucan, of which we poossess a twofold recension, one entitled 'Commenta' and which exists in a complete shape only in the Bern. 370 s. X. (also in part in the Bern. 45; a recent collation by HHagen, JJ. 131, 277). Luc. commenta Bernensia ed. HUsener. Lps. 1869; the other styled 'Adnotationes', the most complete and important MSS. of which are the Wallersteinensis, two Leidenses (Vossiani) s. X at Leyden, and Bruxell. (Gemblacensis) s. X. The latter have been edited by Oudendorp and CFWeber, though inaccurately. On the Comm. Bern. see HGenthe, Herm. 6, 214 and scholia vetera in Luc. e codice Montepessulano, Berl. 1868. Critical contributions in HJMüller, symb. ad emend. script. lat., Berl. 1876; Festschr. of the Friedr.-Werder Gymn., Berl. 1881, 30.

9. The earliest MS. of the Phars. is formed by the palimpsest leaves at Vienna, Naples and Rome, perhaps of s. IV? DDetlefsen, Phil. 13, 313. 15, 526. 26, 173. WSteinhart, de Luc. schedis rescriptis Vindob., Salzwedel 1860; JJ. 83, 353. Among the other MSS., Voss. 63 (II, B in Steinhart), Montepess. H. 113, Colbert. and Casselanus bear the subscription: *Paulus Constantinopolitanus emendavi manu mea solus*, whom Usener (RhM. 23, 497) identifies with the Papulus Const. Theyderich of a Paris miscellaneous MS. 7530 of a. 674. The MSS. of this recension differ from the numerous other MSS. in omitting a considerable number of lines in the books not published by Lucan himself, which are based, at least in part, on later interpolations. In the MSS. of this recension also the lines in question are

added from MSS. of the other class, though in unequal measure. WSteinhart, de Luc. codice Montepess. in the symb. philol. Bonn. p. 287; see his diss. de emendatione Lucani, Bonn 1854. AKindler, de Luc. vv. qui in codd. Montepess. et Voss. II desunt, Münst. 1862.—CECSchneider, trium codd. Vratisl. Luc. lectt. variae, Bresl. 1823. IBekker, über einen Lucancodex zu Berlin, Berl. SBer. 1853, 166. CMFrancken, über cod. Ashburn. s. X. BerlphWschr. 1890, 331. On three MSS. s. XI and XII see JKlein, RhM. 24, 121.—The beginning of b. 7 in an inscription at Trèves, see FBücheler, Jahrbb. d. Rheinl. Altertumsf. 58 (1876), 175.

10. Editions: e.g. ex emend. HGrotii cum eiusdem notis, Antverp. 1614. Lugd. 1626 (cf. HUsener, Lucani pugnae Pharsaliae narratio, ex HGr. rec. ed. cum comm. critico, Greifsw. 1863; RhM. 19, 148). GCorte (Lps. 1726; cf. HGenthe, JJ. 89, 547), FOudendorp (Leid. 1728, also with an ind. verbb.), PBurman (Leid. 1740), CFWeber (cum notis varr. etc. Lps. 1821–31 III, the last of which contains the scholia; and: editionem morte Cortii interruptam absolvit, Lps. 1828 sq. II). Also edd. by Lemaire (Par. 1830 II), CHWeise (rec. schol. interpr., Quedlinb. and Lpz. 1835), and by CEHaskins (with an introduction by WEHeitland) Lond.$^2$ 1889. —RBentley's obss. on b. 1–3 in the Strawberry-hill ed. 1760 (Luc. c. notis HGrotii et RBentlei) and Glasgow 1816: also in CFWeber 1821.—Translated by FHBothe (Stuttg. 1855 sq.) and JKrais (Stuttg. 1863). In English verse, by NRowe, Lond. 1719.

11. Meusel and Gottfr.Bürger, de Lucano, Halle 1767 sq. II. Supplements to Sulzer 5, 1, 16. 7, 334, and esp. HGenthe, de Lucani vita et scriptis, Berl. 1859; on Lucan (Herm. 6, 214). ARFriedrich, de L. Phars., Bautzen 1875. HSchiller, Nero 612. CESandström, see § 246, 7. FKortüm, gesch. Forschungen (Lpz. and Heidelb. 1863) 209. ASchaubach, Lucans Phars. u. ihr Verhältnis z. Gesch., Mein. 1869. JGirard, rev. d. deux mondes July 1875, 423. ThCreizenach, d. Aeneis . . . u. d. Pharsalia im Mittelalter, Frankf. 1864.—EKörber, de L. usu syntactico, Petersb. 1874. Berthold, de elocutione poetica, Grimma 1879. JOberMeier, d. Sprachgebr. d. Lucan, Munich 1886. JSchmidt, de usu infinitivi ap. Lucan., Valer. Fl., Sil. Ital., Halle 1881. GHundt, de Lucani comparationibus, Halle 1886.—AZingerle, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. röm. Poesie 2 (Innsbr. 1878), 12.—Criticism: ThBergk, Halle 1865. NMadvig, adv. 2, 129. ESchäfer, obss. crit. in Luc. Phars. et Stat. silv., Münst. 1886. CMFrancken, Mnemos. 16, 391. 17, 56. 18, 5. WRHardie, Classical review, 4, 13.

304. One of the older friends of Persius was the lyrical poet and writer on prosody Caesius Bassus. We possess considerable fragments of a valuable manual on metres by him, though in an abbreviated form. Some other compositions wrongly bear his name. Other writers of verse known to us as such in the time of Nero are Vagellius, Antistius Sosianus, Curtius Montanus and Serranus.

1. Vita Persii (§ 302, 1): *amicos habuit a prima adolescentia Caesium Bassum poetam et Calpurnium Saturam, qui vivo eo iuvenis decessit* (and was not a poet himself). He edited the Satires of Persius; see § 302, 3. Schol. Pers. 6, 1 (p. 340 J.) *hanc satiram scribit Persius ad Caesium Bassum poetam lyricum, quem fama est in praediis suis positum ardente Vesuvio . . . et late ignibus abundante cum villa sua ustum esse* (a.d. 79). Cf. Plin. ep. 6, 16, 8 (see however HKeil ad loc.)

*accipit codicillos . . . Caesi Bassi imminente periculo exterriti.* Quint. 10, 1, 96 *lyricorum Horatius fere solus legi dignus. . . . si quem adicere velis is erit Caesius Bassus, quem nuper vidimus.* Pers. 6, 1–6 *admovit iam bruma foco te, Basse, Sabino? iamne lyra et tetrico vivunt tibi pectine chordae, mire opifex numeris veterum primordia vocum atque marem strepitum fidis intendisse latinae, mox iuvenes agitare iocos et pollice honesto egregius lusisse senex?* Cf. on this Bücheler, RhM. 41, 458. Prisc. GL. 2, 527 *Bassus in II lyricorum. Calliope princeps sapienti psallerat ore.* His identity with the writer on metres is rendered very probable by the quotation *Bassius* (instead of *Bassus*) *ad Neronem de iambico sic dicit*, in Rufin. GL. 6, 555, 22. From this metrical work is no doubt derived Diom. GL. 1, 513 *huius* (i.e. molossicum metrum) *exemplum dat Caesius Bassus tale: Romani victores Germanis devictis.* Cf. Ter. Maur. GL. 6, 395 (2358) *quae* (exempla) *locasse Caesium libro notavi quem dedit metris super.* 396 (2369) *auctore tanto credo me tutum fore.* Victorin. GL. 6, 209, 10 *Caesius Bassus, vir doctus atque eruditus, in libro de metris 'iambicus trimetrus' ait.* The latter description applies to the treatise de metris (GL. 6, 255–272), which is mutilated at the beginning and attributed to Atilius Fortunatianus owing to the misplacement of the final subscription of a work following it in the MS. (see § 405, 5); this treatise may therefore be by Caesius Bassus, especially as it contains many valuable notices (see Keil on GL. l.l. 252 and above § 62, 3). As Bassus used Varro generally, so he has borrowed from him especially the derivation (*παραγωγή*) of the various metres from one metrum principale (the herous and trimeter iambicus) by means of adiectio, detractio, permutatio etc. The examples were derived partly from early Roman poets (cf. also Pers. 6, 3; see n. 1), partly from the contemporary poets Pomponius Secundus [§ 284, 7], Seneca and Petronius Arbiter (?), and partly invented by himself. Special interest is shown in Horace (GL. 6, 266 sqq.). The ostentation common to Roman authors l.l. 271, 2: *hoc libro quem et paucis composui diebus et memoria tantum modo* (?) *adiuvante.* See also l.l. 272, 5 *de quibus in his libris explicabimus quos de melicis poetis et de tragicis choris scripturi videmur.* The work has been used among later writers especially by Juba and Terentianus Maurus. RWestphal, griech. Metr. $1^2$, 119. 169. HKeil on GL. 6, 250. OHense, act. soc. philol. Lips. 4, 64. 118. Cf. further in gen. EvLeutsch, Phil. 11, 739. JCäsar, PRE. $1^2$, 2295, 10. FLeo, die beiden metr. Systeme des Altertums, Herm. 24, 280.

2. This same MS. (see § 405, 5) has transmitted to us a fragment (GL. 6, 305) which bears the title of Ars Caesii Bassi de metris, but is not by that author. It consists of a poor explanation of five metres of Horace, derived principally from Caesius Bassus (n. 1). It is followed (GL. 6, 307) by two chapters, entitled Breviatio pedum and De compositionibus, perhaps from Julius Romanus. RWestphal, griech. Metr. $1^2$, 118. 132. 204. Keil on GL. 6, 253.

3. Sen. nat. quaest. 6, 2, 9 *egregie Vagellius meus in illo inclito carmine . . . inquit.* A *declamator mulino corde Vagellius* occurs Iuv. 16, 23 cf. 13, 119. Cf. also § 147, 2.

4. Tac. a. 14, 48 (a. 815/62) *Antistius* (*Sosianus*) *praetor probrosa adversus principem carmina factitavit vulgavitque celebri convivio;* cf. 16, 14. 21.—Tac. a. 16, 28 (a. 819/66): *qui . . . Curtium Montanum detestanda carmina factitantem eluere impune sinerent.* 29 *Montanum probae iuventae neque famosi carminis, quia protulerit ingenium, extorrem agi.* Specimens of his outspokenness in the Senate (a. 70) Tac. hist. 4, 40. 42.

5. Quint. 10, 1, 89 (in treating of epic poets) *Serranum* (GSarpe: the MSS. read *ferrenum, farrenum* etc.) *consummari mors immatura non passa est: puerilia tamen eius opera et maximam indolem ostendunt et admirabilem praecipue in aetate*

*illa recti generis voluntatem.* But Iuv. 7, 79–81 presupposes a man of longer life: *contentus fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis marmoreis, at Serrano tenuique Saleio gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantumst?* According to these words Serranus should rather be placed in a later period.—On Gaetulicus see § 291, 1; on Attius Labeo § 307, 6.

305. To Nero's time belongs also the character-novel of Petronius Arbiter, no doubt the same Petronius whom Nero a. 66 compelled to kill himself. Originally a large work in at least 20 books, with accounts of various adventures supposed to have taken place during a journey, it now consists of a heap of fragments, the most considerable of which is the cena Trimalchionis, being the description of a feast given by a rich and uneducated upstart. Though steeped in obscenity, this novel is not only highly important for the history of manners and language, especially the plebeian speech, but it is also a work of art in its way, full of spirit, fine insight into human nature, wit of a high order and genial humour. In its form it is a satira Menippea, in which the metrical pieces interspersed contain chiefly parodies of certain fashions of taste. This applies especially to the larger carmina, Troiae halosis and Bellum civile.

1. The original title of the work appears to have been *satirae*, which is partly preserved in the MSS. (*satirarum liber* etc.), partly changed to *satiricon* or *Petronii Arbitri satirici liber* or similar titles; the most complete title is given by the cod. Trag.: *Petronii Arbitri Satyri fragmenta ex libro XV et XVI;* see in Bücheler's ed. mai. p. 208 a trace of b. 14. The name of Afranius, which is found in MSS. by the side of Petr. Arb., indicates his resemblance to that poet of togatae *in puerorum foedis amoribus* (§ 145, 1). Being employed for excerpts, the work itself was all the sooner lost. It seems to have disappeared as early as the 7th century. In the 9th century we find that the carmen de bello civili was both known and used. Of the 10th century the earliest MS. that we have is the cod. Bern. 357; at the beginning of s. X Eugenius Vulgarius (MHaupt's op. 3, 590), in s. XII John of Salisbury, s. XIII Vincentius of Beauvais read Petronius in his present form. Bücheler's ed. mai. p. x. The pretended discoveries of new parts of Petronius since the end of the 17th century have always turned out to be forgeries; especially the parts published by FNodot a. 1693 at Paris (see Bücheler p. xlii), and Lallemand's pretended discovery at St. Gallen (Par. 1800).

2. The extant MSS. have in the main the same gaps and corruptions and must, therefore, be derived from one and the same original MS., which contained only excerpts from the complete work of Petronius and in addition various small Latin poems and glosses collected by anonymous hands from Gellius, Isidorus and ecclesiastical writers, and which came to be attributed to Petronius owing to their local connection with the excerpts from that author. These glosses have been edited by CBeck, Petronius Arbiter de antiquis dictionibus, Cambridge (U.S.) 1860, compare AReifferscheid, RhM. 16, 1; cf. also Appendix to AMai's opp. (Rome 1871) p. 68 (*Adeo* down to *Vestibulum*), GLoewe, prodrom. gloss. 164.—These excerpts of Petronius are known in a comparatively complete version only through

the copy of Leid. Q. 61 (from a lost Cuiacianus ?) made by hand by JJScaliger, and by quotations in the edd. of ITornaesius, Lugd. 1575 and PPithoeus, Par. 1587: they are found abridged in many MSS., e.g. Bern. 357 s. X, Paris. 7989 s. XV. This last MS., which was found about 1650 at Trau in Dalmatia (hence Traguriensis), contains in addition (alone of all the MSS.) the cena Trimalchionis (Petr. c. 26–78) first published at Padua 1664. On the MSS. of Petronius in general see FBücheler's ed. mai. p. xii, cf. p. xliv. CBeck, the manuscripts of P. A. collated, Cambridge (Mass. U. S.) 1863; on the Leyden and Berne MSS. of P., Phil. 20, p. 293, and against him Bücheler ib. p. 726.

3. In the extant parts the freedman Eucolpius narrates his adventures by sea and land; the action, apparently, was started and sustained, in a spirit of humorous parody, by the wrath of Priapos, who persecuted Eucolpius (as Poseidon Odysseus): 139 *me quoque per terras, per cani Nereos aequor Hellespontiaci sequitur gravis ira Priapi.* EKlebs, Phil. 47, 623. Adventures at Massilia are indicated by Apoll. Sidon. 23, 155 and Serv. Aen. 3, 57; the scene of what is extant is however lower Italy, principally a Roman colony in Campania, which is called *urbs Graeca:* perhaps Cumae? Such is the view of Mommsen, Herm. 13, 114, but c. 48 raises great difficulties and the praetor in c. 65 proves nothing; Naples and Puteoli have also been suggested, e.g. by LFriedländer, Königsb. Ind. lect. 1860 sq. 61 sq., see however for the same writer's more recent view JB. 1878 2, 171. Cap. 116 sqq. take place at Croton. See the summary of the contents in Bücheler's ed. min. [3] 119. The time of the events is laid under Tiberius (Bücheler, ed. mai. p. vii), which agrees also with the mention made of (Mam. Aemilius) Scaurus (§ 276, 2) c. 77 (according to Mommsen, Herm. 13, 211, in the time of Augustus); there are also interspersed allusions to persons of the time of Caligula and Nero (Bücheler p. viii). The characters are capitally delineated, chiefly in their own words, but with a slight tone of irony. The diction of all the personages is always in strict conformity with their character and circumstances; Eucolpius himself uses the speech of educated persons in the best age of Latin literature (CBeck, the age etc. p. 135), though maintaining of course the freedom of the conversational style and employing a number of phrases and constructions peculiar to the first century of the Christian era (an uncritical collection in Beck l.l. p. 152). Most of the occasional speakers use a plebeian diction, full of primitive and proverbial expressions, slang, solecisms, archaisms and also Graecisms (owing to the semi-Greek character of the scene of action); GStuder, RhM. 2, 75. CBeck, the age etc. p. 106. Cf. n. 9. The versified passages are mostly assigned to the tasteless poetaster Eumolpus; so esp. c. 89 the Troiae halosis in 65 senarii and c. 119–124 the bellum civile in 295 hexameters. But in other places also the diction easily passes into poetical form; thus we frequently find hexameters and elegiacs, then senarii (55), choliambics (5), anacreontics (fragm. 19–21), hendecasyllabics (15, 79. 93. 109. fr. 25, 21), sotadics (23. 132). This feature turns the novel into a satira Menippea (§ 28, 3).

4. As regards the different opinions on the age of this work we should mention Niebuhr's view (kl. phil. Schr. 337) that it belonged to the 3rd century and the reign of Alexander Severus, a view suggested by an inscription (CIL. 6, 14672); though he rightly assigned this to that time (see Mommsen, Herm. 13, 106), he wrongly identified the persons therein with those of Petronius: Teuffel, Stud. u. Charakt. 391. Bücheler, ed. mai. p. iv. On the other hand, CBeck (the age of Petronius, Cambr. Mass. 1856, esp. p. 100) places the work under Augustus or Tiberius, between a.d. 6 and 34; against him see Bücheler, RhM. 11, 608. We may now regard as firmly established the view according to which the work was written under Nero; see especially GStuder, RhM. 2, 50. 202. FRitter, ib. 561; Teuffel,

Stud. und Charakt. 393 and Bücheler, ed. mai. p. v. Even in Nero's time the simple and natural style of this novel, with its freedom from all false pathos and tawdry rhetoric, formed an exception, but at any later time it would have been an impossibility. Quintilian is silent respecting this writer, who had no interest for the orator (OKeller, JJ. 89, 503). Allusions to Seneca: FHaase, miscell. philol. 3 (Bresl. 1861), 21. EGottschlich, de parodiis Senecae ap. Petron. in the miscell. philolog. for FHaase's jubilee (Bresl. 1863) p. 26. It is evident that in the bellum civile (n. 3 l. 5 from the end) Petronius ridicules Lucan's affectation, but without mentioning the author as he was still living; see JGMössler, de Petr. poemate de bello civili (Bresl. 1842); and quaestt. Petron., Hirschb. 1857–70 III. EWesterburg, RhM. 38, 92. ETrampe, de Luc. metr. 78. EKlebs, Phil. 47, 631, and the Troiae halosis (n. 3 l. 5 from the end) is no doubt aimed at the poem of the same name by Nero (§ 286, 8).

5. Tac. a. 16, 17 *paucos intra dies eodem agmine . . . Rufius Crispinus ac *Petronius cecidere* (a. 66). 18 *de C. Petronio* (*T.* in Plin. NH. 37, 20 and Plut. de discr. am. et adul. 19, p. 60 E, *P.* in Schol. Iuv. 6, 638) *pauca supra repetenda sunt. nam illi dies per somnum, nox officiis et oblectamentis vitae transigebatur; utque alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, . . . sed erudito luxu. ac dicta factaque eius quanto solutiora et quandam sui neglegentiam praeferentia tanto gratius in spem simplicitatis accipiebantur. proconsul tamen Bithyniae et mox consul vigentem se ac parem negotiis ostendit. dein revolutus ad vitia seu vitiorum imitatione inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est, elegantiae arbiter* (an allusion to his cognomen, see n. 6), *dum nihil amoenum et molle affluentia putat nisi quod ei Petronius adprobavisset.* When sentenced to die, *audiebat referentes nihil de immortalitate animae et sapientium placitis, sed levia carmina et faciles versus.* That the work of Petronius, mentioned ib. 19 sq., and in which he *flagitia principis sub nominibus exoletorum feminarumque et novitatem cuiusque stupri perscripsit atque obsignata misit Neroni*, has no connection with the extant satirae, has been proved by FRitter, RhM. 2, 569. The characterisation of Petronius by Tacitus suits the character of the satirae so well that P. is now generally and rightly held to be the author of the novel in our possession. The fact that Tacitus does not speak of the novel cannot have such weight as Teuffel (Stud. u. Charakt. 394 and GdRL.[3] 691) imagined, when he assumed that either the satirae were published anonymously and perhaps elsewhere than in Rome (in Massilia? Ar. Sid. 23, 155), the work being subsequently attributed to the Petronius mentioned by Tacitus owing to an inference suggested by the affinity of time and spirit, and the designation of Petronius as *elegantiae arbiter* having given rise to the surname of Arbiter: or that, if the author's name was Petronius Arbiter, he is not identical with the one mentioned by Tacitus.

6. The MSS. call the author of the satirae *Petronius Arbiter* (n. 1). The earliest appearance of the name is in Terent. Maur. GL. 6, 399, 2489 (*Arbiter disertus*) and 2852 (*Petronius*). Apoll. Sidon. carm. 9, 268 calls *Petronius* in a list of poets 23, 155 *Arbiter* among the famous writers *eloquii latini*. The judgment of Lyd. de mag. 1, 41 (above § 28, 1) is destitute of authority. Macr. comm. in somn. Sc. 1, 2, 8 *auditum mulcent . . . argumenta fictis casibus amatorum referta, quibus vel multum se Arbiter exercuit vel Apuleium nonnumquam lusisse miramur.* Quotations from Petronius in Diomedes (*Arbiter*), Hieronymus (*Arbiter*), Servius (*Petr.*), Priscian (*Petr.*), Fulgentius (*Petr. Arb.*), Sergius and others, collected in Bücheler's ed. mai. p. 206; min.[3] p. 109.—Under the name of Petronius two epigrams (AL. 650. 651 PLM. 4, 109. 110) in the Voss. F. 111 (§ 421, 6) have come down to us, and Scaliger has ascribed to Petronius a series of sixteen anonymous

epigrams (AL. 464–479 PLM. 4, 88–95) preserved in the Voss. Q. 86 (§ 309, 1), of which two are quoted by Fulgentius as Petronian; lastly ClBinetus (C. Petronii Arbitri . . . epigrammata hactenus non edita, Pictavii 1579) published, from a manuscript *bibliothecae Bellovacensis* now lost, ten epigrams each with the heading *Petronii* (AL. 690–699. 218 PLM. 4, 95–99). The first of this series is also quoted by Fulgentius as Petronian. Fulgentius' attestation has not much weight (§ 480, 7); the Scaliger and Binetus series of poems differ markedly from each other in technical treatment and diction.—The Scaliger series might be accepted as Petronian, but in this case there is a lack of any sufficient confirmation of the authorship. CWKrohn, quaestt. ad anthol. lat. spectt. I, de anth. lat. carmm. quae sub Petronii nomine feruntur, Halle 1887.

7. Editions (see Bücheler's ed. mai. p. xxxvii) which appeared before the discovery of the cena Trimalch. (n. 2): e.g. by ITornaesius, Lugd. 1575, JDousa (Leid. 1585), MGoldast (Frankf. 1610. Frankf. 1621).—Later editions: IScheffer, Ups. 1665. MHadrianides, Amst. 1669. PBurman (Amst.$^2$ 1743; JJReiske, animadvv. ad alt. ed. Burmann., Lps. 1748 IV). Critical edition: ex recens. FBücheleri, Berl. 1862; smaller edition by the same writer (acc. Priapea, Varronis et Senecae satirae), ib.$^3$ 1882.

8. Criticism on the text: JSchrader (on de bello civ.), Herm. 2, 142. JCOrelli, lectt. Petr., Zür. 1836. GStuder, obs. crit. in P. cen. Trim., Berne 1839. WWehle, obss. in P., Bonn 1861. OKeller, RhM. 16, 532. CBeck, see n. 2. FJacobs (from his papers), Journ. of phil. 7, 206. MHaupt, op. 3, 376. 467. 583. Mommsen, Herm. 13, 215 and EHübner, ib. 13, 414 (on c. 71 Trimalchio's epitaph). AStrelitz, JJ. 119, 629. 833. ERohde, JJ. 119, 845. JVahlen, Herm. 15, 270. JSegebade, obss. grammat. et crit. in Petr., Halle 1880. OHirschfeld, Wien. Studd. 3, 112. JJCornelissen, Mnemos. 10, 295. REllis, Journ. of phil. 11, 237. RPischel (on 62: the were-wolf) in the phil. Abh. for MHertz, Berl. 1888, 69.

9. On Petronius and his work: Teuffel, PRE. 5, 1402. FBücheler, NSchweiz. Mus. 3 (1863), 17. JEPétrequin, recherches sur Petr., Par. 1869. HSchiller, Nero 620. GBoissier, rev. d. deux mond. Nov. 1874, 320.—On the diction: Bücheler's ed. min.$^3$ p. 128. ELudwig, de Petr. sermone pleb., Marb. 1869. HvGuericke, de linguae vulgaris reliq. ap. Petr. et in inscriptt. pariet. Pompei., Königsb. 1875. Segebade (see n. 8). JACesareo, de Petronii sermone, Rome 1887. On supposed Petronian glosses, GGötz, quaestt. misc. III, Jena 1889.

10. Translated by WHeinse, Schwabach$^2$ 1783 II, KSchlüter, Halle 1792 II and elsewhere, e.g. Stuttgart 1873. Das Gastmahl des Trim. übersetzt von AWellauer, Jahn's Arch. 10, 194; another transl. Berl. 1843 and by JMerkens, Jen. 1876.

306. About the commencement of Nero's reign, T. Calpurnius Siculus composed seven eclogues. They are strictly elaborated in exaggerated imitation of Vergil's Bucolics (the subject-matter as well as the style), with tolerable taste but in a slavish spirit. An elegant poetical panegyric, de laude Pisonis, which has been transmitted without the name of its juvenile author, is now generally attributed to the same Calpurnius. Two extensive fragments of bucolic poems in an Einsiedeln MS. are likewise of the time of Nero and of similar tendency.

1. The eclogues of Calpurnius were at an early period combined with those

of Nemesianus (§ 386, 1) and both for a long time passed as the poems of one and the same author, Calpurnius or Nemesianus. But in the now lost *cod. vetustissimus e Germania allatus*, once in the possession of ThUgoletus, the basis of the edition of AUgoletus (Parma c. 1500), the respective share of the two poets is carefully noted; in the edition: *Titi Calphurnii Siculi bucolicum carmen . . . incipit; Aurelii Nemesiani poetae Carthaginiensis ecloga prima incipit*; according to NAngelius, whose collation (a. 1492) of the MS. of Ugoletus is at Florence, bibl. Riccard. 363, we read as follows: at the beginning *Titi Calphurnii bucolicum carmen Ad Nemesianum Karthaginensem* and after c. 7: *finis bucolicorum Calphurnii. Aurelii Nemesiani poetae Carthaginensis egloga prima* etc., and the cod. Gaddianus (n. 3) also has at the end of c. 7: *explicit sexta* (rather *septima*) *egloga Calphurnii. Aureliani Nemesiani Cartaginensis eglogae incipiunt.* The cod. Neap. (n. 3) has at the end of c. 11 the subscription: *Aureliani Nemesiani Carthag. bucol. explicit.* In the Paris excerpta MSS. 7647 and 17903 (cf. § 245, 7) we also find before the extracts from these eclogues, which follow immediately after those from de laude Pisonis (n. 4), this notice as to the origin of the work: *Calpurnius (Scalpurius) in bucolicis* (Schenkl l.l. xlvii).

The signal difference of technical treatment between the two groups of poems has been pointed out by MHaupt, de carminibus bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani, op. 1, 358. On this see also ThBirt, hist. hexam. lat. 63. The poems 1–7 (Calpurnius) show great strictness and care in the treatment of final o, of synaloephae, of the verse-endings and of the caesura. Cf. also Schenkl l.l. p. xiii. In all these points the technical method of eclogues 8–11 (Nemesianus) shows considerable deviation from the rules of Calpurnius, while on the other hand it is in agreement with the method of Nemesianus' Cynegetica (§ 386, 1). Against the assumption of identical authorship for all the 11 poems there is the circumstance that the last 4 poems contain imitations of passages in the first 7 with exaggerated touches, particularly where erotic traits are copied, and that the partiality for a parenthetic use of *memini*, *fateor* appears only in the first 7, but not in the last 4 pieces. Lastly, these show considerably more poetical talent than the first 7.

2. The time in which the first 7 eclogues were written is that of Nero. The prince (*deus*) is styled *iuvenis* (1, 44. 4, 85. 137. 7, 6) of youthful beauty (7, 84), *maternis causas qui lusit in ulnis* (1, 44; cf. § 286, 7), he exhibits splendid games (7, 44), with his accession begins an era of peace, liberty and clementia (1, 42–88. 4 passim). All this agrees with Nero's reign and its hopeful commencement, just as the comet which appears in autumn (1, 77) corresponds to the comet which made its appearance shortly before the death of Claudius (a. 807/54). The diction and metre of these seven eclogues perfectly suit that period. The writer complains of his poverty (4, 156) and endeavours through Meliboeus (according to GSarpe l.l.=Seneca, according to Haupt l.l. 391=Calpurnius Piso, n. 6) to bring his panegyric poems under the notice of the prince. It cannot be decided whether *Siculus* denotes his native country or whether he is so called merely because of his writing in the style of Theokritos. Calpurnius avails himself sedulously of the earlier poets, using besides Vergil especially Ovid, while he himself is imitated e.g. by Statius: Schenkl l.l. p. xxi (where however considerable deductions must be made). Even in the time of Charlemagne Calpurnius is freely turned to account by the poet Naso (Modoin, bishop of Autun, see Dümmler, poet. med. aev. 1, 382, NArchfädb. 11, 75), EBährens, RhM. 30, 628. AEbert, Lit. d. MAlt. 2, 65. GSarpe, quaestt. phil., Rost. 1819. MHaupt, l.l. 378.—Pompei, intorno al tempo del poeta Calpurnio, Atti del Istit. Veneto 5, 6 (1880), 5. RGarnett, Journ. of phil. 16, 216 (places C. under Gordianus III).

3. Manuscripts: on that of ThUgoletus see n. 1. The MSS. of the complete series still extant (ecl. 1–11) are late: the best are Neap. 380 s. XIV/XV; Gaddianus 90, 12 inf. s. XV (in Florence); the Paris. 8049 s. XII contains only ecl. 1, 1–4, 12, see HAUPT l.l. 393.—Editions: e.g. frequently with Grattius (§ 253, 1) and Nemesianus (Cynegetica). In Wernsdorf's PLM. 2, 73. Recogn. annot. glossario instr. CHRDBECK, Lps. 1803. Recens. et annott. instr. CEGLAESER, Gött. 1842. In Bähren's PLM. 3, 65. Calp. et Nemes. bucol. rec. HSCHENKL, Prague 1885; (with ind. verbb.; cf. the same author Wien. Studd. 5, 281. 6, 73); with introd., commentary, appendix by CHKEENE, London 1887.—Translated by FADELUNG (Petersb. 1804), CGWISS (Lpz. 1805), GEKLAUSEN (Altona 1807). In English verse, by EJLSCOTT, Lond. 1891.—Contributions to the criticism on Calpurnius in MHAUPT, op. 1, 393. 3, 390. 414 and EBÄHRENS (lectt. lat. 1870 p. 35); on Calp. and Nemes. in JMÄHLY, über Soph. O. C. (Basle 1868) p. 101.

4. De laude Pisonis. The Lorsch MS. (*ex bibliotheca Laurissana*), from which Sichard (n. 7) first published the poem, has disappeared, so also has the cod. Atrebatensis used by HJunius; no complete MSS. are now extant, but on the other hand the Parisini 7647 and 17903 s. XII and XIII (cf. § 245, 7) contain considerable extracts from the poem (*de laude Pisonis;* in the Paris. 7647 there is also the designation *Lucanus in catalecton*, this being the result of a confusion, see RhM. 15, 378. PLM. 1, 222), which show a close connection with the Atrebat. KLROTH, Phil. 17, 340. CMEYNCKE, RhM. 25, 378. BÄHRENS, PLM. 1, 221.

6. The name of the author has not been transmitted. He is very plausibly conjectured by MHAUPT (op. 1. 391. 406; cf. LACHMANN on Lucr. p. 326) to be the bucolic poet Calpurnius. Cf. also HSCHENKL, pref. to his ed. of Calpurn. and Nemes. p. VI–X. See also n. 1. The author asserts with propriety, if without much probability (207 sqq.), that it was not *divitis auri imperiosa fames* which induced him to eulogise the wealthy and liberal Piso, *sed laudis amor*. His youth v. 248 *quamvis nunc iuvenile decus mihi pingere malas coeperit et nondum vicesima venerit aestas*. His acquaintance with and mention of the Augustan poets, Vergil, Horace, L. Varius, Propertius (p. 190 l. 6. Cf. also § 244, 2), Ovid; reminiscences of Horace and Ovid and especially of the panegyricus Messallae (§ 245. 3). Peculiarly significant is the allusion to the hasta of the decem viri who preside over the Centumviri (41; cf. § 326, 8). The metrical construction is the same as in the most polished poets: the caesura is neat and varied (the combination of *τριθημ.* and *ἑφθημ.* with *τριτ. τροχ.* occurs 14 times in 261 hexameters); in the whole poem there are only two instances of elision (*atque illos* 24, *quare age* 81), both in the first foot. CLEHRS, quaestt. epic. 305. MHAUPT, op. 1, 391. HSCHENKL l.l. p. XIII.

6. TAC. a. 15, 48 *is* (C. Piso, † 818/65 A.D.) *Calpurnio genere ortus . . . claro apud volgum rumore erat. . . . namque facundiam tuendis civibus exercebat, largitionem adversum amicos et ignotis quoque, comi sermone et congressu. aderant etiam . . . corpus procerum, decora facies. sed procul gravitas morum aut voluptatum parsimonia.* This description suits the Piso of the panegyric poem perfectly well, though it cannot have furnished the theme of it. So also the SCHOL. of VALLA on Iuv. 5, 109 *Piso Calpurnius, ut Probus inquit, antiqua familia, scaenico habitu tragoedias actitavit, in latrunculorum lusu tam perfectus et callidus ut ad eum ludentem concurreretur. ob haec insinuatus C. Caesari repente . . . relegatus est, quia consuetudinem pristinae uxoris, abductae sibi ab ipso, deinde remissae, repetivisse* (the MSS. *repetita esse*) *existimabatur. mox sub Claudio restitutus et post consulatum* (it is uncertain in what year) *materna hereditate ditatus magnificentissime vixit, meritos sublevare inopes ex utroque ordine solitus, de plebe vero certos quotannis ad*

*equestrem censum dignitatemque provehere.* In agreement with this the panegyric poem praises Calpurnius Piso as an eloquent advocate before the centumvirs and in criminal suits, as a speaker in the Senate (e.g. 69 *tu reticente senatu, quom tua bis senos numeraret purpura fasces, Caesareum grato cecinisti pectore numen*), as liberal, as a genial companion who was accustomed to fill up his leisure time with verse-writing (v. 151), the lyre and draughts (*latrunculorum lusus*). From the fact that in the lengthy justification of (or apology for) Piso's musical tastes (v. 157) the precedent of Nero is not adduced, we should infer that it was not then existing.

7. Ed. princ. by JSichard (Bas. 1527) in his ed. of Ovid. In other works e.g. the Lucan of GCorte (Lps. 1726). Edited by HJunius, animadvv. libri VI (Bas. 1556) 249. In Wernsdorf's PLM. 4, 236 (cf. ib. p. 36. 72) and in Bährens' PLM. 1. 225. Separate editions by JHeld (Bresl. 1831), CBeck (Statii ad. Pis. poemation, Ansb. 1835), CFWeber (incerti auctoris carmen panegyricum in Pis. cum proleg. et adnot. crit., Marb. 1859)—On the author and the poem see CFWeber's prolegomena and JMähly, JJ. 85, 286. Criticism: MHaupt, op. 1, 406. 3, 414. CFWeber, (annotationes ad etc. Marb. 1860), JMähly (l.l. 280), ThBirt, RhM. 32, 418, Bücheler, RhM. 36, 338.

8. The Einsiedeln poems (from the MS. 266 s. X) were first edited by HHagen, Phil. 28, 338: subsequently AL. 725. 726 PLM. 3, 60. Cf. § 29, 3. Criticism and estimate: RPeiper, praef. in Sen. tragg. suppl. (Bresl. 1870), p. 27, FBücheler, RhM. 26, 235, ORibbeck, ib. 406 cf. 491, HHagen, JJ. 103, 139, EBährens, ib. 105, 355. The first consists of 49, the second of 39 hexameters very strict in construction (Bücheler l.l. 235); the first is a poetical contest between Ladas and Thamyras (*iudice Mida*), the second a dialogue between Glyceranus and Mystes. The second far surpasses the first in talent, truth of sentiment, wit and poetical depth, but we are not justified in inferring difference of authorship, as HHagen does. The author of the first poem is in a more favourable position than Calpurnius: cf. v. 18 *et me . . . Cynthius . . . laudatam chelyn iussit variare canendo.* The last verse of the second poem is = Verg. ecl. 4, 10; the beginning of this (*quid tacitus, Mystes?*) agrees curiously with that of Calpurn. ecl. 4 and Calpurnius, here as elsewhere, appears to be the imitator. Cf. also HSchenkl, Calp. et Nemes. p. 73. Nero is belauded in the usual manner, the first poem praising his public appearance as citharoedus, and the second the return of the golden age with his reign.

307, 308. To the time of Nero probably also belongs Aetna, which has been erroneously transmitted to us under the name of Vergil. It is a short didactic poem, very attractive as regards its subject (in 646 regularly constructed hexameters), the work of an original mind well informed in natural science, earnestly and intelligently bent on disseminating a theory superior to the popular view, and sparing no pains to cast the intractable material in a poetical mould. The author is probably the cultivated and industrious Lucilius Junior, one of Seneca's younger friends.

1. That the work was written before the great eruption of Vesuvius (a. 79) is evident from the absence of any mention of it (e.g. 431; cf. 606). The author combats the mythical opinions promulgated by the poets in reference to the causes of volcanic activity: he has chosen a new subject: (8) *per insolitum.* (23) *quidquid*

*et antiquum, iam nacta est fabula carmen: fortius ignotas molimur pectore curas.* Lastly (91): *debita carminibus libertas ista, sed omnis in vero mihi cura; canam quo fervida motu aestuet Aetna novosque rapax sibi congerat ignes.* The theory of volcanoes is discussed with thoroughness and practical knowledge, but the style here lacks variety and picturesque definiteness (HUMBOLDT's Kosmos 2, 21). Didactic expressions are frequent, and the same words and combinations occur repeatedly. On the other hand the diction improves and becomes more sympathetic, when he contrasts the beauty and dignity of the study of nature with petty pursuits (224–281) and reproaches men with traversing the whole world in order to gaze at the masterpieces of human art (569–599), while they neglect the greater marvels of nature. The poem closes (606 sqq.) with the touching story of two brothers who rescue their aged parent during an eruption of Aetna. The author's views on matters belonging to natural science and philosophy are frequently in singular agreement, even in details, with those advanced by Seneca in the quaestt. nat., which work accordingly appears to have been known to and used by the writer of the Aetna. If so, the Aetna must have been composed between a. 65 (cf. § 288, 2 in fin.) and 79 (see above). Cf. FJACOB p. XVIII. WAGLER l.l. 40. There are also manifest reminiscences of Lucretius (see the references in MUNRO l.l.) On the whole, however, the diction follows the style established for Roman poetry mainly by Vergil. The metrical peculiarities exhibit the fluctuation and uncertainty peculiar to the fifty years subsequent to the death of Augustus. Though in the main points agreeing with Ovid, the metre retains, chiefly in the treatment of caesura, certain of Vergil's harshnesses, just as we find it in Manilius and Statius (LMÜLLER).

2. Lucilius Junior (nat. qu. 4, praef. 9 *ita est, mi Iunior*) to whom Seneca addressed his epistulae, his naturales quaestiones and the liber I dialogorum, born at Pompeii or Naples perhaps ten years later than Seneca (nat. qu. 3, 1, 1. ep. 26, 7), in modest circumstances out of which he worked his way by his natural gifts, good character and assiduous industry (nat. qu. 4, praef. 14. ep. 19, 44). Nat. qu. 4, praef. 15–17 Seneca makes him say: *non mihi in amicitia Gaetulici* (§ 299, 1) *vel Gaius fidem eripuit, non . . . Messalla et Narcissus. . . . videbam apud Gaium tormenta. . . . non tamen ferro incubui* etc. He held various official appointments in Germany, Illyria and Africa (ep. 31, 9), and was finally for some time Imperial procurator in Sicily (see e.g. nat. qu. 4, praef. 1). Probably by the same author was a Greek epigram with the heading Ἰουνίωρος (CIG. 5956 KAIBEL's epigr. gr. 810). Cf. AKIESSLING, coniectan. II, Greifsw. 1884.—Seneca directed and helped him in his studies (ep. 34, 2 *adsero te mihi, meum opus es*). He is advised to read [systematically (ep. 2). His style is commended ep. 59, 4 *habes verba in potestate, non effert te oratio nec longius quam destinasti trahit* (5) *. . . pressa sunt omnia et rei aptata loqueris quantum vis et plus significas quam loqueris* etc. Nat. qu. 4., praef. 14, Lucilius says: *ad gratuita carmina me deflexi et ad salutare studium philosophiae me contuli.* To the latter department seems to have belonged the work mentioned by SEN. ep. 46: *librum tuum . . . accepi. . . . qui quam disertus fuerit ex hoc intellegas licet: levis mihi visus est, cum esset nec mei nec tui corporis, sed qui primo adspectu aut T. Livii aut Epicuri posset videri.* Cf. ib. 23, 9 *Epicuri tui.* Lucilius was, however, just as little a real Epicurean as Seneca was a real Stoic; cf. ib. 107, 1 (*Epicurus noster*). Nat. qu. 4, 2, 2 *quare non cum poeta meo* (Lucil.) *iocor et illi Ovidium suum impingo?* He had chiefly written poetry on Sicilian subjects; ib. 3, 26, 6 *hoc* (the legend of Arethusa) *et a te traditum est ut in poemate, Lucili carissime*; cf. the hexameter ib. 1, 1. He dressed up philosophical ideas in epic metre, Sen. ep. 24, 19–21. Apophthegms in senarii (from mimi??) ib. 8, 10. Ib. 79,

1 *exspecto epistulas* (which Seneca often mentions) *tuas quibus indices mihi circumitus Siciliae totius quid tibi novi ostenderit.* ib. 5 *Aetnam describas in tuo carmine et hunc sollemnem omnibus poetis locum attingas. quem quo minus Ovidius tractaret nihil obstitit quod iam Vergilius* (occasionally) *impleverat. ne Severum quidem Cornelium uterque deterruit. 7 aut ego te non novi aut Aetna tibi salivam movet. iam cupis grande aliquid et par prioribus scribere.*

3. As, therefore, both the period (n. 2) and the philosophical and literary (Ovid, Seneca) tendencies of Lucilius, his acquaintance with the locality (Sicily), and his intention of choosing Aetna as the subject of a poem agree with this work (n. 2, although Seneca in the passage in ep. 79, 5 refers to an episode relating to Aetna in a poem of some length by Lucilius on Sicily, rather than to a separate treatment of the subject such as is found in this poem), it is highly probable that he wrote it, and we want only the confirmation of the MSS. The attribution of this poem to Cornelius Severus (§ 252, 5) was an inference drawn from Sen. ep. 79, 5 (see n. 2 ad fin.) which originated in the 15th cent. but is quite devoid of further support.

4. The poem with several gaps, and in a very corrupt state, has come down to us in the Appendix to Vergil's poems and under his name, see § 229, 1. The extracts from the poem (about 40 lines) in the Parisini 7647 and 17903 (see § 306, 4) also give his name *Virgilius in ethna.*—BKruczkiewicz, poema de Aetna monte Vergilio auctori potissimum esse tribuendum, Krakau 1883.—By far the best authority for the text is offered by the quotations (unfortunately only for v. 138–267) from a MS. now lost, which was used by LGyraldus (see § 439, 2). The most complete MS., far superior to any others which are extant, is the Cantabrigiensis 2076 s. X. With this agrees most of all the fragmentum Stabulense (Paris. 17177 s. XI): on which see Bormans, bull. de l'acad. Belgique 21 (1854), 258. FWSchneidewin, Gött. GA. 1855, 1041. Among the later and greatly interpolated MSS. the most important is Helmstad. 332 s. XV (see § 229, 1). Cf. the prefaces by Jacob, Munro and Bährens, also Wagler l.l. cap. 1.

5. Edited first in Vergil's works, then e.g. by Scaliger, Lyons 1572 or 1573, Leid. 1595; see Munro p. 56 sq.; specially by ThGorallus (=John Leclerc), Amst. 1703. 1715; Wernsdorf's PLM, 4, 87; cf. ib. p. 3. With a translation by JHFMeineke (Quedlinb. 1811). Rec. notasque JScaligeri, FLindenbruchii et suas adiecit (also a translation) FJacob, Lps. 1826. Revised, emended and explained by HAJMunro, Cambridge 1867. Especially in MHaupt's edition of Vergil (Lps.[2] 1873) p. 538. In EBährens' PLM. 2, 88.—Criticism by MHaupt, op. 1, 40. 2, 27. 162. 3, 437. JMähly, Beitr. z. Krit. d. Aetna, Bas. 1862. EBährens, lectt. latt. (Bonn 1870) 36; JJ. 105, 628; RhM. 31, 144. HSauppe, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1874, 483. PRWagler, de Aetna poemate quaestt. critt. (with an ind. verbb.), Berl. 1884. REllis (and RUnger), Journ. of philol. 16, 292. PDamsté, Mnem. 17, 193.

6. Persius 1, 50 *quid non intus habet? non hic est Ilias Atti ebria veratro* (that is, dry)? 1, 4 *nec mihi Polydamas et Troiades Labeonem praetulerint?* cf. on both passages the scholia: 1, 4 p. 248 Jahn *Labeo transtulit Iliadem et Odyssiam verbum ex verbo satis ridicule. eius est ille versus 'crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinnos'* (=Hom. Δ 35 *ὡμὸν βεβρώθοις Πριάμου Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας*) and 1, 50 p. 259 J. *Attius Labeo poeta indoctus fuit illorum temporum, qui Iliada Homeri versibus foedissime composuit.* A Latin inscription from Corinth gives the same name. . . . *Attium Labeonem stlitibus iudican.*, athen. Mitteil. des archäol. Inst. 6, 354. Bücheler, RhM. 39, 289. Cf. also the version in Jahn l.l. p. 248 n. 5: *Labeo poeta latinus fuit, ut Fulgentius in libro etymologiarum ait, qui carmen et opus homericum convertit*

*in latinum et placuit non magis auditoribus quam lectoribus; eius versus est 'crudum* etc.' It is also not very probable that this line was invented by Fulgentius, as OJahn supposes, Lpz. SBer. 1856, 301; cf. his ed. of Pers. p. lxxii. ThBergk. op. 2, 733, took this Attius to be the the author of so-called Homerus latinus (§ 320, 7). Against this see LMüller, JJ. 83, 652 and MHaupt, op. 2, 163.

309. We may also consider as productions of the 1st century (with a few exceptions) the poems contained in the codex Vossianus Q. 86 in Leyden, both on account of their range of subjects and their elegance of style and metrical structure.

1. The principal edition of the poems in this manuscript by Riese, AL. 392–479 (cf. ib. 1, xxxviii. 2, lxiv). Cf. § 31, 4 and Bährens PLM 4, 11. The first (AL. 392–395 PLM. 4, 111. 112. 1, 205. 206) belong to a later period, the time of Trajan and that of Ausonius. But all those are of the 1st century which turn on subjects belonging to the close of the Republican period and are mostly Republican in spirit: e.g. the praise of Cato of Utica, Pompey and his sons, the caution against court-life, the praise of simplicity and retirement. But monarchical tendencies appear in the poems *in laudem Caesaris* (the Emperor Claudius, especially his expedition to Britain) and on the death of the brothers Mevii in the Civil War between Antony and Octavianus (AL. 462 sq. PLM. 4, 84; in Wernsdorf, PLM. 3, 199–205; cf. p. 134–136), probably of the time of Claudius. The poem on the death of the two Cascae has no distinct colouring (AL. 457 PLM. 4, 82). The rhetorical character of all these poems is strongly pronounced, especially in the Chria on spes (AL. 415 PLM. 4, 65; in Wernsdorf 3, 226–234; cf. p. 141 sq.) and in the two elegies on the Mevii fratres. To some of these poems the names of Seneca and of Petronius are attached; others are attributed to them by later writers; see on this § 290, 1. 305, 6.—Here may be mentioned the graffito by an impatient lover in Pompeii in five irregular (half quantitative, half accentual) lines: *Amoris ignes si sentires, mulio* etc.; cf. bull. archeol. 1877, 223.—For the elegies on Maecenas see § 229, 3.

## 2. THE TIME OF THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY, A.D. 69–96.

310. After the Julian and Claudian dynasty had terminated with Nero and hereditary monarchy had become extinct, and when the wars for the succession had shaken the Empire for a year in all its parts, Vespasian (born A.D. 9), the ablest of the competitors, ascended the throne (a. 69–79). Aristocratic domineering, and the selfish cupidity which exploited the State for the benefit of the ruler, now gave way to sober statesmanship. The Empire was enabled to regain its strength after the excitement and exhaustion of the preceding time. The succession of Titus his son (born Dec. 30, 39) was entirely undisputed; in his short reign (a. 79–81) he endeavoured to combine kindness and good government. But degeneracy commenced with the third emperor of the dynasty, Domitian, Titus' brother (a. 81–96), who

vied in wickedness with the worst princes of the Claudian family. Literature, which under Vespasian had shared in the blessings of peace, suffered under Domitian no less by his vanity than by his cruelty.

1. Tac. hist. 2, 101 *scriptores temporum qui potiente rerum Flavia domo monimenta belli huiusce* (of a. 69) *composuerunt . . . corruptas in adulationem causas tradidere.* Mommsen understands these words especially of Cluvius Rufus (§ 314, 2), HNissen of the Histories of Pliny (§ 312, 5). WASchmidt, de auctt. quibusd. Rom. quos in describendis rebus a. 68 et 69 p. Chr. gestis Tac. Plut. Suet. secuti sunt, Jena 1860. CEPeter, de fontibus historiae imperatorum Flaviorum, Halle 1866.

### a. Vespasian and Titus.

311. Though chiefly a man of practical ability and governed by the endeavour to replenish the treasury, which had been exhausted by the mad dissipation of the preceding thirty or forty years, Vespasian still possessed and manifested literary culture, nay even wrote Memoirs. Under his patronage and that of his son Titus, Pliny the Elder studied and wrote, Valerius Flaccus, Saleius Bassus, Curiatius Maternus, Silius Italicus and Turnus produced poetry. The most eminent rhetorician of this time was Julius Gabinianus, and Quintilian's professional career belongs for the most part to the same period.

1. Richter, das Verhältnis des K. Vespasianus zur Literatur, Plauen 1866. Tac. hist. 2, 80 *concurrentes (Antiochenses) . . . adloquitur (Vesp.), satis decorus etiam graeca facundia.* From a speech made by Vesp. in the Senate is CIL. 14, 3608. Ioseph, vit. 65 p. 340, 18 Bk. *ἐν τοῖς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτω γέγραπται.* p. 343, 9 *τοῖς Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασιν ἐναντίαν πεποίησαι τὴν γραφήν.* c. Apion. 1, 10 *τοῖς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων* (Vesp. and Titus ?) *ὑπομνήμασιν.* Suet. Vesp. 18 *primus e fisco latinis graecisque rhetoribus* (§ 325, 1) *annua centena constituit. praestantis poetas* (such as Saleius Bassus, § 318, 2) *nec non artifices . . . magna mercede donavit.* That he treated the philosophers differently and drove them as well as the astrologers from Rome, was a measure due to the advice of Mucianus, and to the recklessness of the philosophers of that age, which made them appear a dangerous element of political discontent and disorder. Dio 66, 13 (a. 71) *ὡς οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν στωικῶν καλουμένων λόγων προαχθέντες, μεθ' ὧν Δημήτριος ὁ κυνικός* (§ 287, 1. 299, 7), *συχνὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς παροῦσι δημοσίᾳ, τῷ τῆς φιλοσοφίας προσχήματι καταχρώμενοι, διελέγοντο . . . ἔπεισεν ὁ Μουκιανὸς* (§ 314, 1) *τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν πάντας τοὺς τοιούτους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν. . . . καὶ πάντας αὐτίκα τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὁ Οὐεσπασιανός, πλὴν τοῦ Μουσωνίου* (§ 299, 3), *ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέβαλεν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Δημήτριον καὶ τὸν Ὀστίλιον καὶ ἐς νήσους κατέκλεισεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀστίλιος, εἰ καὶ . . . πολλῷ πλείω κατὰ τῆς μοναρχίας κατέδραμεν, ὅμως παραχρῆμα μετέστη. τῷ δὲ Δημητρίῳ μηδ' ὡς ὑπείκοντι ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς λεχθῆναι ὅτι σὺ πὲν πάντα ποιεῖς ἵνα σε ἀποκτείνω, ἐγὼ δὲ κύνα ὑλακτοῦντα οὐ φονεύω.* Cf. § 299, 11.

2. The elder Pliny's preface to his NH. is addressed to Titus, where we read

e.g. 11: *te quidem in excelsissimo generis humani fastigio positum, summa eloquentia, summa eruditione praeditum* etc. Cf. ib. 5 *fulgurat in nullo umquam verius dicta vis eloquentiae, tribunicia postestas facundiae. quanto tu ore patris laudes tonas, quanto fratris amas (famas* DETL.)*! quantus in poetica es!* Ib. 2, 89 *ocissimo significatu haec fuit* (stella crinita, a comet) *de qua quinto consulatu suo* (a. 76) *Titus imperator Caesar praeclaro carmine perscripsit.*

312. Pliny the Elder, C. Plinius Secundus of Comum in Upper Italy (A.D. 23–79), succeeded by intense diligence and the most rigid economy of time in combining an extensive official occupation as officer and superintendent of finances in various parts of the Empire with the most comprehensive and many-sided studies and fertile literary activity in the departments of tactics, history, grammar, rhetoric, and natural science. Though his literary work was in most branches rather of the nature of a compilation which in the fascination of learned research overlooked the digesting and testing of the materials, it still deserves admiration for its extent. That it was the result of the most genuine thirst for knowledge, is attested by Pliny's death: he was killed in the eruption of Vesuvius a. 79, a victim to his zeal for investigation.

1. *Vita Plinii ex catalogo (libro) virorum illustrium Tranquilli* (among the historians) extant in MSS. of Pliny (p. 92 in REIFFERSCHEID'S Suet.): *Plinius Secundus Novocomensis* (PLIN. himself NH. praef. 1 calls Catullus his *conterraneus*) *equestribus militiis industrie functus* (chiefly in Germany under Domitius Corbulo a. 47, TAC. a. 11, 18? cf. PLIN. ep. 3, 5, 3. 4 below n. 2; he passed some time in Germany: cf. NH. 12, 98. 16, 2; cf. 22, 8. 17, 47. 31, 25 [at the sources of the Danube]), *procurationes quoque* (in Hispania Tarraconensis, under Vespasian as procurator Caesaris, PLIN. ep. 3, 5, 17; also in Gallia Narbonensis a. 70 NH. 14, 43 cf. 2, 150? in Belgica a. 74 NH. 18, 183? He stayed in Africa 7, 36. 17, 41. 25, 123) *splendidissimas et continuas summa integritate administravit et tamen liberalibus studiis tantam operam dedit ut non temere quis plura in otio scripserit. itaque bella omnia quae umquam cum Germanis gesta sunt XX voluminibus comprehendit, item naturalis historiae XXXVII libros absolvit. periit clade Campaniae; cum enim Misenensi classi praeesset et flagrante Vesuvio ad explorandas propius causas liburnica pertendisset . . . vi pulveris ac favillae oppressus est, vel, ut quidam existimant, a servo suo occisus, quem aestu deficiens ut necem sibi maturaret oraverit.* His death (Aug. 24, a. 79) is described by the younger Pliny in a letter addressed to Tacitus, ep. 6, 16 (*petis ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis* etc.) cf. 6, 20 (*ais te adductum litteris quas exigenti tibi de morte avunculi mei scripsi cupere cognoscere quos ego Miseni relictus . . . casus pertulerim* etc.). If, as MOMMSEN, Herm. 19, 644 argues, the Greek inscription from Aradus CIG. 3, 4536 sq. refers to this Pliny, he must have been amongst other things *ἀντεπίτροπος* (second officer of the staff) in the Jewish war a. 70 (during which Pliny must have had his castrense contubernium with Titus, NH. praef. 3) and procurator Syriae. On this cf. OHIRSCHFELD, Röm. Mitteil. d. deutsch. arch. Inst. 2 (1887), 152.—AJATURRE-REZZONICO, disquisitt. Plin. de

utriusque P. patria, rebus gestis, scriptis etc., Parma 1763–67 II. Portrait: Bernoulli, röm. Ikonogr. 1, 288.

2. Plin. ep. 3, 5, 1 (to Baebius Macer): *pergratum est mihi quod tam diligenter libros avunculi mei lectitas ut habere omnes velis quaerasque qui sint omnes.* (2) *fungar indicis partibus atque etiam quo sint ordine scripti notum tibi faciam . . .* (3) *de iaculatione equestri unus* (cf. NH. 8, 162 *nos diximus in libro de iaculatione equestri condito*). *hunc cum praefectus alae militaret* (in Germany?) *pari ingenio curaque composuit. de vita Pomponi Secundi duo, a quo singulariter amatus hoc memoriae amici quasi debitum munus exsolvit* (cf. NH. 14, 56; cf. § 284, 7). (4) *bellorum Germaniae xx, quibus omnia quae cum Germanis gessimus bella collegit* (cf. n. 1 and 5; Suet. Calig. 8. Tac. a. 1, 69 *tradit C. Plinius, germanicorum bellorum scriptor*, and Symmach. ep. 4, 18). *incohavit cum in Germania militaret, somnio monitus. . . .* (5) *studiosi iii, in VI volumina propter amplitudinem divisi, quibus oratorem ab incunabulis instituit et perficit* (cf. n. 3). *dubii sermonis viii* (cf. n. 4) *scripsit sub Nerone novissimis annis, cum omne studiorum genus paulo liberius et erectius periculosum servitus fecisset.* (6) *a fine Aufidii Bassi xxxi* (cf. n. 5). *naturae historiarum xxxvii, opus diffusum, eruditum nec minus varium quam ipsa natura.* (7) *miraris quod tot volumina multaque in his tam scrupulosa homo occupatus absolverit? magis miraberis si scieris illum aliquamdiu causas actitasse, decessisse anno sexto et quinquagesimo* (therefore he was born a. 23), *medium tempus distentum impeditumque qua officiis maximis qua amicitia principum egisse.* (8) *sed erat acre ingenium, incredibile studium, summa vigilantia. . . .* (9) *ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum imperatorem (nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur), inde ad delegatum sibi officium. reversus domum quod relicum temporis studiis reddebat.* (10) *post cibum saepe . . . liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpebatque. nihil enim legit quod non excerperet. . . .* (11) *. . . super hanc (cenam) liber legebatur, adnotabatur, et quidem cursim. . . .* (13) *tanta erat parsimonia temporis. . . .* (14) *. . . dum destringitur tergiturque* (in the bath) *audiebat aliquid aut dictabat.* (15) *in itinere . . . huic uni vacabat; ad latus notarius cum libro et pugillaribus, cuius manus hieme manicis muniebantur. . . .* (16) *. . . perire omne tempus arbitrabatur quod studiis non impenderetur.* (17) *hac intentione tot ista volumina peregit electorumque commentarios CLX mihi reliquit, opisthographos quidem et minutissime scriptos. . . . referebat ipse potuisse se, cum procuraret in Hispania, vendere hos commentarios Largio Licino* (§ 328, 6) *CCCC milibus nummum, et tunc aliquanto pauciores erant.*

3. Gell. 9, 16, 1 *Plinius Secundus existimatus est esse aetatis suae doctissimus. is libros reliquit quos 'studiosorum' inscripsit, non mediusfidius usquequaque aspernandos. in his libris multa varie ad oblectandas eruditorum hominum aures ponit. refert etiam plerasque sententias quas in declamandis controversiis lepide arguteque dictas putat.* It appears, therefore, to have been a treatise on rhetoric with examples. Quint. 3, 1, 21 *scripsit de eadem materia* (rhetoric) *. . . accuratius . . . aetatis nostrae Verginius, Plinius, Tutilius.* 11, 3, 143 *qui de gestu scripserunt. . . . quo magis miror Plinii Secundi, docti hominis et in hoc utique libro paene etiam nimium curiosi, persuasionem* etc. ib. 148 *quo magis miror hanc quoque succurrisse Plinio curam* etc. It would thus be due to his general celebrity as a writer, if he be meant ib. 3, 4, 2: *nunc maximo temporum nostrorum auctore prope impulsum (est).* Against the connection of this with Pliny see Morawski, quaestt. Quint. (1874) 9.

4. Plin. NH. praef. 28 *ego plane meis adici posse multa confiteor, nec his solis sed et omnibus quos edidi, ut obiter caveam istos Homeromastigas . . ., quoniam audio et stoicos et dialecticos, Epicureos quoque (nam de grammaticis semper expectavi) parturire adversus libellos quos de grammatica edidi* (c. a. 67, see ib. and n. 2 l. 12). His work

treated of the dubious formations in declension, conjugation, and word-structure (n. 2), but besides phonology and flexion embraced also etymology and the parts of speech, and was used and quoted by the grammarians down to the Middle Ages. CHARISIUS in particular quotes it frequently, in the parts derived from Julius Romanus; PRISC. GL. 2, 233, 13 (*Plinius Secundus in I artium*) and 262, 18 (*Plinius Secundus in I artis grammaticae*) reproduces the title inaccurately. LLERSCH, Sprachphilos. d. Alten, 1, 150. 2, 157. ASCHOTTMÜLLER, de C. Plini Secundi libris gramm. I, Bonn 1858. DDETLEFSEN, z. Flexionslehre des Plinius, symb. phil. Bonn. 697. HNEUMANN, de Plinii dubii sermonis libris Charisii et Prisciani fontibus, Kiel 1881. SCHLITTE, de Plinii studd. gramm., Nordhausen 1883. HNETTLESHIP, Journ. of phil. 15, 193.

5. PLIN. ep. 5, 8, 5 *avunculus meus idemque per adoptionem pater historias, et quidem religiosissime, scripsit.* This tribute to his conscientious balancing of varying accounts—leading sometimes to indecision of judgment—is fully justified; cf. HNISSEN, RhM. 26, 533. The work extended to 31 books; see n. 2. PLIN. NH. praef. 20 *vos quidem omnes, patrem* (Vespasian), *te* (Titus) *fratremque, diximus opere iusto temporum nostrorum historiam orsi a fine Aufidii Bassi* (§ 277, 2). *ubi sit ea quaeres? iam pridem per acta sancitum et alioqui statutum erat heredi* (his nephew) *mandare, ne quid ambitioni dedisse vita iudicaretur. proinde occupantibus locum faveo, ego vero et posteris, quos scio nobiscum decertaturos, sicut ipsi fecimus cum prioribus.* 2, 199 *anno Neronis principis supremo, sicut in rebus eius exposuimus.* ib. 232 *Neronis principis supremis, sicut in rebus eius retulimus.* The scanty fragments in HPETER, hist. fragm. 308. According to DDETLEFSEN's (Phil. 34, 48) and AVGUTSCHMID's conjecture (lit. Centr.-Bl. 1876, 1561) the work reached from the fall of Claudius (a. 41) down to the joint triumph of Vespasian and Titus (a. 71) and each of the (31) separate books covered the history of one year. The work was perhaps employed (and obscured) by TACITUS? hist. 3, 28 *Hormine id* (the sack of Cremona) *ingenium, ut Messalla* (§ 314, 3) *tradit, an potior auctor sit C. Plinius, qui Antonium* (Primum) *incusat, haud facile discreverim.* Cf. a. 13, 20 (*Plinius et Cluvius . . . referunt*, of a. 55). 15, 53 (*quod C. Plinius memorat*, of a. 53). Cf. HNISSEN, RhM. 26, 497, esp. 524. 532, and DDETLEFSEN, Phil. 34, 40. WDIECKMANN, de ratione inter Tacitum et Plinii historias, Hanov. 1877. Cf. also § 337, 4. Suetonius no doubt used (though he never names) the work of Pliny in his biographies of Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian (Titus and Domitian), though it does not appear to have been his chief authority.

313. We possess of the works of Pliny only his naturalis historia in 37 books, a work presented a. 77 to Titus, but constantly enriched and enlarged by the author until his death. It is a kind of encyclopedia of natural science, but chiefly concerned with its application in human life and art, and accordingly it includes geography, medicine and the history of art. The materials are compiled from a great number of works, often hastily and without adequate knowledge or discrimination, hence very unequal in value. The style also is uneven, sometimes merely bent upon the subject-matter and discarding artistic form, sometimes mannered and rhetorical. On the whole, the work is an inexhaustible store-house of information, and testifies

to the earnest, studious and patriotic spirit of the author. It long exercised great influence both in its original shape and in various abridgments.

1. Plin. NH. praef. 1 *libros naturalis historiae, novicium Camenis Quiritium tuorum opus, natos apud me proxima fetura, licentiore epistula narrare constitui tibi, iucundissime imperator.* . . . (3) *censorius tu sexiesque consul* (a. 77 A.D.). (12) *levioris operae hos tibi dedicavi libellos. nam nec ingenii sunt capaces* . . . *neque admittunt excessus aut orationes sermonesve aut casus mirabiles vel eventus varios, iucunda dictu aut legentibus blanda.* (13) *sterilis materia, rerum natura h. e. vita, narratur, et haec sordidissima sui parte, ut plurimarum rerum aut rusticis vocabulis aut externis, immo barbaris.* . . . (14) *praeterea iter est non trita auctoribus via nec qua peregrinari animus expetat. nemo apud nos qui idem temptaverit, nemo apud Graecos qui unus omnia ea tractaverit.* . . . *iam omnia attingenda quae Graeci τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας vocant.* . . . (16) *equidem ita sentio, peculiarem in studiis causam eorum esse qui difficultatibus victis utilitatem iuvandi praetulerunt gratiae placendi, idque iam et in aliis operibus ipse feci.* . . . (17) *viginti milia rerum dignarum cura.* . . . *lectione voluminum circiter duum milium* . . . *ex exquisitis auctoribus centum inclusimus XXXVI voluminibus, adiectis rebus plurimis quas aut ignoraverant priores aut postea invenerat vita.* (18) *nec dubitamus multa esse quae et nos praeterierint. homines enim sumus et occupati officiis, subsicivisque temporibus ista curamus, i.e. nocturnis.* . . . (21) *in his voluminibus auctorum nomina praetexui.* . . . (33) *quid singulis contineretur libris huic epistulae subiunxi.* In the table of contents there is given at the end of each book a résumé with the numbers of the *res et historiae et observationes* therein contained, the auctores of the same being mentioned. On these numbers, which are in part quite unintelligible, see ThBirt, Buchwesen 333.— His nephew, probably in editing the work after the death of the author, united the list of sources formerly prefixed to each book (see praef. 21 and 18, 23) with the table of contents immediately following the praefatio and already counted by the author as b. 1. After this the work comprised altogether 37 books (=b. 1 indices of contents and sources +b. 2–37 *XXXVI volumina de rebus cura dignis*, see praef. 17) and the quotations contained in the work agree with this system of numeration, see e.g. 33, 58. 35, 179. 37, 13. 62. That the author himself published only the first decade, Urlichs (Vindiciae 1, 19 and Chrestom. Plin. p. xiv) concluded from the repetition of *restant immensae subtilitatis animalia* X extr. and X in., and also from the subscription of XI and XII in the Riccard.: *editus post mortem.* We find altogether in this work many traces of incompleteness, citations not filled up, marginal notes without definite reference etc. See ThBergk, exercitt. Plin., Marb. 1847. 1851. DNoltenius, quaestt. Plin., Bonn 1866, with LvJan, JJ. 93, 698.

2. Contents and arrangement of the work (cf. the literature n. 3). Book 1 table of contents and list of sources. B. 2 mathematical and physical description of the world. 3–6 geography. 7 anthropology and physiology of man. 8–11 zoology (8 mammalia, FAly, die Quellen des Plin. in B. 8 der NG., Marb. 1882; z. Quellenkritik des ält. Plin. (B. 8–11), Magdeb. 1885; 9 fishes; 10 birds; 11 insects and beetles; comparative anatomy and physiology; GHeigl, d. Quellen d. Plin. in B. 11 d. NG., Marb. i/Östr. 1885. 86 II). 12–27 botany (12 and 13 exotic trees and shrubs; 14 and 15 fruit-trees; 16 wild trees, general botany; 17 cultivation of trees; 18 and 19 corn, vegetables, theory of agriculture and horticulture; 20–27 medicinal botany; MBrosig, d. Botanik d. ält. Plin., Graudenz 1883). 28–32 medicinal zoology. 33–37 mineralogy especially as applied to life and art (artists

and works of art in gold and silver b. 33, in brass 34, in colours 35, in stone 36, in precious stones 37; ANies, z. Mineralogie d. Plin., Mayence 1884).

3. Pliny intentionally gives a complete statement of his authorities: *est enim benignum . . . et plenum ingenui pudoris fateri per quos profeceris* (praef. 21). Pliny drew his work from a hundred *exquisiti auctores* and from 2000 volumina (*adiectis rebus plurimis*, see n. 1). The lists of sources contain the names of 146 Roman and 327 foreign authors. Amongst them, however, there are no doubt many (as e.g. the supposed Petronius Diodotus, see GMayhoff 1874 p. 7) whom Pliny has not exactly used for his work, but incidentally consulted, or who were known to him from the compilations, translations and citations of other authors. The order of enumeration in the list of sources generally coincides with the order in which the writers in question are made use of in the particular book, though in consequence of the continued employment of the same writers some deviations have been introduced through additions, alterations, collective editions etc.; HBrunn, de auctorum indicibus Plinianis disputatio isagogica, Bonn 1856. Cf. DDetlefsen, Phil. 28, 701.

Pliny executed his work on the basis of his extracts (§ 312, 2) after having previously laid out the plan of the whole in detail (hence the numerous references backwards and forwards). Sometimes it has almost the appearance of a mosaic of separate excerpts, sometimes (apart from the separate additions, which even here are very numerous) it seems to be founded on a small number of authorities whom he employs by preference. What is of especial importance as enabling us to understand P.'s method of working is his attitude towards Aristotle (whom he specially used through the medium of Pompeius Trogus, § 258, 2, Nigidius Figulus, § 170, 7, and other writers), Theophrastos, Cato, Varro, Vitruvius, Columella, Mela, whose works we still possess. For the rest, most of Pliny's authorities being lost, the modern school of research has had ample opportunity (of which it has taken advantage) for the exercise of its imagination. Pliny is fond of following Roman authorities, e.g. on bees Hyginus, on medicine Pompeius Lenaeus, on botany Sextius Niger (§ 266, 7). The latter is also ransacked by Dioskorides, hence the agreement between that author and Pliny. Actuated as he is by the desire to collect the greatest quantity of material, Pliny is not very particular as to what he accepts; hence his work is most of all lacking in critical discrimination; in fact, he allows the collectors of curious information just as much credit as the weightiest investigators. With easy credulity he is satisfied to retail the strangest anecdotes, the absurdity of which would have been evident on the slightest reflection. There are also frequent errors, the result of hasty work and of misconception.—GMontigny, quaestt. in Plin. NH. de animalibus libros, Bonn 1844. ThBirt, de halieut. Ovidii (Bonn 1878) 132. DDetlefsen, Vitruv als Quelle des Plin., Phil. 31, 385; die Geographie Spaniens bei Plin., ib. 30, 265. 32, 600; die Geogr. Lusitaniens, ib. 36, 111; Varro, Agrippa u. August als Quellen des Plin. für die Geogr. Spaniens, commentt. Mommsen. 23; über einige Quellen des Plin., Glückst. 1881; die Masse der Erdteile nach Plin., Glückst. 1883; die Weltkarte des Agrippa, Glückst. 1883; Unterss. üb. die geogr. BB. des Plin., Phil. 46, 691. OCuntz, de Augusto Pl. geogr. auctore, Bonn 1888. ESchweder, Beitr. z. Krit. der Chorogr. des Aug. II: die Chorogr. des Aug. als Quelle des Mela, Plin. u. Strabo, Kiel 1878; III: über die 'Chorographia,' die röm. Quelle des Strabo, u. üb. d. Provinzialstatistik in d. Geogr. des Plin., Kiel 1886; die Concordanz der Geogr. des Mela u. Plin., Kiel 1879; Phil. 46, 276. 47, 636. GOehmichen, de M. Varrone et Isidoro Char. Plinii in chorographicis auctoribus in Act. phil. Lips. 3, 399; Plinianische Studd. z. geograph. u. kunsthist. Literatur, Munich 1880. OGruppe, commentt. Mommsen.

550. HEDirksen, die rechtlichen Quellen der NH. d. Pl., hinterlass. Schrr. 1, 133. OJahn, die Kunsturteile bei Plin., Lpz. SBer. 1850, 105. ABrieger, de fontibus librr. Plini xxxiii–xxxvi ad rem plasticam, Greifsw. 1857. GWustmann, zu Plin. Kunstgesch., RhM. 22, 1. LRoss, archäol. Aufs. 2 (Lpz. 1861), 352. ThSchreiber, de artificum aetatibus in Plinii NH., Lps. 1872; RhM. 31, 219. HBrunn, Corn. Nep. u. d. Kunsturteile bei Plin., Münch. SBer. 1875 1, 311. AFurtwängler, Plin. u. s. Quellen üb. d. bildenden Künste, JJ. Suppl. 9, 1. LUrlichs, die Quellenregister zu Plin. letzten BB., Würzb. 1878; RhM. 44, 259. ABlümner, RhM. 32, 591. HVoigt, de fontt. eorum quae ad artes spectant NH. Plin., Halle 1887; likewise JDalstein, Würzb. 1885. AEIHolwerda, de pictorum hist. ap. Pl., Mnemos. 17, 326.

4. Pliny's general views on the universe appear chiefly from b. 2. Hence it may be inferred that he was openly opposed to the popular belief, without however altogether adhering to a definite philosophical system. In his religious and philosophical views he mostly inclined to Stoicism. He complains of the falling away from nature and the depravation of manners as frequently as Columella and Seneca. Urlichs, Chrestom. Plin. p. xv. OVorhauser, die religiös-sittliche Weltanschauung des älteren Plinius, Innsbr. 1860. LRummler, C. Plini Sec. philosophumena, Stettin 1862.—Friese, die Kosmologie des Plin. I, Bresl. 1862.

5. Pliny's style is very heterogeneous. In consequence partly of his method of working (n. 3) and his striving for completeness, partly of the stubborn material (*sterilis materia*, praef. 13) of physiography, he accumulates a thousand disconnected details side by side, so that the work in most of the technical portions has almost the character of a catalogue or register. Pliny is probably aware of this defect (praef. 12, n. 1) and consequently endeavours, wherever it is possible, to attract the reader by an eccentric, lively style, and by interspersing phrases usually rhetorical and often almost epigrammatic to make him forget the unavoidable dryness of the subject. Moreover he makes a point of prefixing to particular books and sections introductions, which in enthusiastic, elevated language denounce generally received views, especially in relation to morality; these introductory passages, always close and even cramped in wording, often rather hide than reveal the writer's thoughts by the bold inversions and the figurative or peculiar phraseology which he affects. The praefatio to Titus is especially involved. Thus Pliny is one of the most characteristic representatives of the Latinity of the Silver age. On the diction: Wannowski, Pliniana, Posen 1847. LGrasberger, de usu Pliniano, Würzb. 1860. EOpitz, quaestt. Plin., Naumb. 1861. JMüller, der Stil des älteren Plin., Innsbr. 1883. CFrobeen, quaestt. Plin., Königsb. 1888. FXEss, de praeposs. ap. Plin. usu, Halle 1883, Karlsruhe 1888 II. JThüssing, de tempp. et modis in enuntiatis pendentibus ap. Plin., Prague 1890.

6. The work was much read from the very first (cf. Symmach. ep. 1, 24) and abridged at an early time. On its later use see Mommsen's Solinus p. xxi and § 389, 4. On the excerpta from Pliny (important for the criticism of the NH.) see § 421 and KRück, Auszüge aus der NG. d. Plin. in einem astronom.-computistischen Sammelwerk des 8. Jahrh., Munich 1888.—About 200 MSS. of Pliny are extant. Those which are of importance for criticism are divided into incomplete 'vetustiores' on the one hand, and more complete 'recentiores' on the other hand. The text of the 'vetustiores' is often nearer the original than that of the 'recentiores,' but they are all extant only in a very fragmentary state. The most complete among them, the Bambergensis s. X (B in Detlefsen), which is altogether the best of the MSS., contains only b. 32–37. Other representatives of this group are Sessoriana folia palimps. s. V (N) for b. 23. 25; the palimpsest of the monastery of St. Paul in the Lavanter valley in Carinthia s. V/VI (M) for b. 11–14, published

by FMone in b. 6 of Sillig's Pliny 1855; see besides Mayhoff's lucubr. nov. 31; Paris. 10318 (Salmasianus, § 476) (Q) containing excerpta from b. 19 and 20 (a specimen of the writing in Zangemeister-Wattenbach's exempl. codd. latin. t. 46) formerly by a mistake (see § 367, 7, c) known under the false title of *Apuleius de remediis salutaribus*, printed in Sillig's ed. 5, 1. cf. Detlefsen, Phil. 28, 308; Leid. Voss. f. 4 s. IX (A) for b. 2-6; Paris. 4860 s. X (Par.); lastly the codices from which the most important of the recentiores have been corrected throughout and supplemented (cf. Mayhoff's lucubr. nov. 54. KWelzhofer l.l. 5). The early editions also have preserved some valuable fragments from lost MSS., see Jan-Mayhoff's edition 2, xxii.—The 'recentiores,' which are especially valuable on account of their relative completeness, all go back to an original text now lost, in which 2, 187–4, 67 was placed after 4, 67–5, 34. From the same are derived e.g. Riccard. about the year 1100 (R; ThStangl, Phil. 45, 221), Vatic. 3861 s. XI (D), Paris. 6796 s. X/XI (G), Leid. Voss. f. 61 s. XI (V), Leid. Lips. 7 s. XI (F). This last MS. F is a copy of the 3 codd. DVG which complete each other (that is, of certain portions of them) and is identical with the Vesontinus=Chiffletianus Dalecampii (against KWelzhofer's—l.l. 31.—attempt to disprove the identity see LUrlichs, JB. 1878 2, 271). From a MS. which attempted, though in an unsatisfactory manner, to rectify this transposition are derived Paris. 6795 s. X/XI (E) and others.—See for further details DDetlefsen, Phil. 28, 284, cf. RhM. 15, 265. 367. 18, 227. 327 and in the preface to his edition. AFels, de codd. Plin. NH. fatis, fide, auctoritate, Gött. 1861. LvJan, de auctoritate codd. plin., Schweinf. 1858; Münch. SBer. 1862, 221. LUrlichs, RhM. 18, 527; Eos 2, 353 and elsewhere, see n. 7. Mayhoff, see n. 7. EChatelain, rev. crit. 1875, 145. KWelzhofer, zur Handschriftenkunde der NH. d. Plin., Munich 1878; JJ. 123, 805. EPais, descriz. dei codici Fiorentini d. NH. Pl., Flor. 1878. CCurtius, Lübecker Plin.-Hss., in the Aufsätze für ECurtius, Berl. 1884, 325.

7. Criticism and explanation; cf. n. 3. ClSalmasii Plinianae exercitatt., see § 389, 7. ThBergk, exercitatt. Plin., Marb. 1847–51 II. LvJan, Münch. Gel. Anz. 1852, no. 70–73 and elsewhere (see n. 6). CLUrlichs, vindiciae Plin. I Greifsw. 1853, II Erlangen 1866; de numeris et nominibus propriis in Plin. NH., Würzb. 1857; RhM. 14, 599. 31, 493 among other writings (see n. 3. 6); GFriedlein, die Zahlausdrücke in Pl. NH. BlfdbayrGymn.-W. 2, 174. DDetlefsen, Phil. 31, 336 (see n. 3. 6). VRose, Herm, 8, 26. Mayhoff, lucubratt. Plin., Neustrelitz 1865; novae lucubr. Plin., Lps. 1874; in the Abbh. f. MHertz, Berl. 1888, 28. JJCornelissen, Mnemos. NS. 5, 420. AFurtwängler, JJ. 113, 507. JMüller, Emendatt. zu Plin. NH., Wien. SBer. 86, 183. 90, 349. 94, 149. 96, 415. 99, 411. JCGBoot (on b. 7 and 8), Versl. en Mededeel. 3, 2 (Amsterd. 1884), 193. WFröhner, Phil. Suppl. 5, 13. Madvig, adv. 2, 523. 3, 211. CFWMüller, krit. Bemm. zu Plin. NH., Bresl. 1888.

8. Editions: e.g. cum castigatt. Hermol. Barbari, Rome 1492. Rec. IDalecampius, Lyons 1587. cum notis IFGronovii, Leid. 1669 III (the notae . . . emendatius editae, Gotha 1855=Sillig vol. 6). Illustr. JHardouin, Par. 1685 V, 1723 sqq. III. Cum nott. varr. ed. JGFFranz, Lps. 1778–91 X.—Recens. et cum comm. criticis instruxit ISillig, Gotha 1853–55 VIII (vols. 7 and 8 indices). Recogn. LvJan, Lps. 1854–65 VI (vol. 6 indices); vol. $1^2$, 1870. vol. $2^2$ 1875 (by CMayhoff). DDetlefsen recensuit, Berl. 1866-73 VI (vol. 6 first half of the indices).—Chrestomathia Pliniana by JMGesner (Lps.$^3$ 1776) and LUrlichs, Berl. 1857.—Reviews of the more recent literature on Pliny by JvJan, Phil. 3, 296. 12, 167. 21, 101; DDetlefsen, JJ. 77, 481. 653, Phil. 28, 284; LUrlichs, JB. 1876 2, 109. 1877 2, 35. 1878 2, 267.

A French translation (with notes by CUVIER, LETRONNE and others) by AJASSON DE GRANDSAGNE (Par. 1829–33 XX), German translations by GGROSSE (Frankf. 1781–87 XI), PHHKÜLB (Stuttg. 1840–56, 35 small vols.), CFL and MEDLSTRACK (Bremen 1854 sq. III), GCWITTSTEIN (Lpz. 1880–82 VI).

314. Pliny used the uncritical description of a long sojourn in the East by C. Licinius Mucianus, who busied himself also in collecting historical documents. Contemporary history was treated by two distinguished men of this time, the orator and consular M. Cluvius Rufus, whose work embraced the time of Nero and the events of a. 69 and seems to have aimed at historical truth, and Vipstanus Messalla, an orator of the same tendency as Quintilian, who was likewise a man of varied culture and frequently gave offence by his independence of thought. The history, too, of Fabius Rusticus, a younger friend of Seneca, appears to belong to this period.

1. TAC. hist. 1, 10 *C. Licinius Mucianus, vir secundis adversisque iuxta famosus. insignes amicitias iuvenis ambitiose coluerat, mox attritis opibus . . . suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiae sepositus. . . . luxuria, industria, . . . nimiae voluptates, cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes. palam laudares, secreta male audiebant*, cf. ib. 2, 5. PRE. 4, 1069. He took part in Corbulo's first expedition to Armenia (a. 55 and 60); he was governor of Lycia (Plin. NH. 12, 9. 13, 88; about a. 57, cf. an inscription from Oinoanda, bull. de corresp. hellen. 1886, 216) and (a. 67) of Syria. Pliny mentions him ten times (LBRUNN l.l. 11) *ter consul* (before a. 67, then a. 70 and 72; † before 77, for PLIN. NH. 32, 62 mentions him as already deceased; BORGHESI, oeuvr. 4, 345. JASBACH, anall. epigr. 17). LBRUNN, p. 12. TAC. dial. 37 *haec vetera* (speeches from the Republican period), *quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur ac iam undecim* (at present), *ut opinor, actorum* (cf. § 216, 2) *libris et tribus epistolarum composita et edita sunt.*—Different from this compilation and written at an earlier time was the one from which Pliny (and perhaps also Josephus, see HNISSEN RhM. 26, 541) derived statements on the East, chiefly concerning natural history and geography, with frequent appeals to the author as an eyewitness; cf. PLIN. NH. 7, 36 (*Licinius Mucianus prodidit visum a se Argis* etc. . . . *eiusdem sortis et Zmyrnae puerum a se visum*). 159 (*Tmolus*). 19, 12 and 34, 36 (*Rhodus;* whence ABRIEGER, de fontibus Plin. p. 60 refers also the other statements of Pliny on Rhodus to Muc., on this see also AFURTWÄNGLER, Quellen des Plin. 52, GOEMICHEN, Plin. Stud. 141). In his list of sources Pliny quotes the work repeatedly, *ex Licinio Muciano* on books 3–7; *ex Muciano* on book 2. 8–13. 16. 19. 31. 33. 35. 36. He is also quoted in b. 14. 21. 28. 32. 34. The passages are collected by LBRUNN l.l. 18. Superstitious as a man (PLIN. NH. 28, 5), Muc. as a writer appears to have been either credulous, or an impostor, and to him Pliny owes many incredible and fantastical statements. HPETER, hist. rell. p. CCCLI. WASCHMIDT (§ 310, 1) p. 10. LBRUNN, de C. Lic. Muc., Lps. 1870.

2. TAC. hist. 4, 43 *a laude Cluvii Rufi orsus, qui perinde* (like Eprius Marcellus, § 297, 3) *dives et eloquentia clarus nulli umquam sub Nerone periculum facessisset.* Cf. ib. 1, 8 *Hispaniae praeerat* (a. 69) *Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus.* ib. 1, 76. 2, 58. 65. 3, 65. 4, 39. Consul (CIL. 10, 826)

already under Caligula, as he is called consularis at his assassination a. 41; Ioseph. antiq. 19, 1, 13. Suet. Ner. 21 *Niobam se cantaturum Nero per Cluvium Rufum consularem pronuntiavit* and (from him?) Dio 63, 14 (Κλουονίῳ Ῥούφῳ, *ἀνδρὶ ὑπατευκότι, χρησάμενος*). His identity with the historian appears from Plut. Oth. 3. Κλούβιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος *εἰς* Ἰβηρίαν (which he governed, see above) *φησὶ κομισθῆναι διπλώματα* in which Otho styled himself Nero; cf. Suet. Oth. 7. In Plut. quaest. rom. 107 he is quoted as an authority for the derivation of *histrio*. Cluvius would seem to have written his historical work in his later years (after a. 70), when he had retired from politics. Tac. a. 13, 20 (above § 312, 5). 14, 2 (*tradit Cluvius* etc.), Cluvius being in both instances opposed to Fabius Rusticus, who protected Seneca. Plin. ep. 9, 19, 5 (Verginius Rufus related): *ita secum aliquando Cluvium locutum: scis, Vergini, quae historiae fides debetur; proinde si quid in historiis meis legis aliter ac velis* (on himself), *rogo ignoscas*. HPeter, die Quellen Plut. 40, and ThMommsen (Herm. 4, 318) consider his historical work the principal source of Plutarch in his Galba and Otho, and of Tac. hist. I and II (also of Sueton. in Galba, Otho and Vitell., though he never mentions him: cf. also Suet. Galb. 17 with Plut. Galb. 19). But see OClason, Plut. und Tac. (Berl. 1870) 12, Tac. und Suet. 76 and especially HNissen, RhM. 26, 507. 530; see also FBeckurts, zur Quellenkritik des Tac. Suet. u. Cassius Dio: das Vierkaiserjahr, Brunswick 1880. Cf. also § 310, 1. 312, 5. 337, 4. HPeter, hist. fragm. 311.

3. Tac. hist. 3, 9 *legioni tribunus Vipstanus Messalla praeerat, claris maioribus* (cf. dial. 27, where the orator Valerius Messalla—§ 222—is numbered among his maiores), *egregius ipse et qui solus ad id bellum* (of a. 69) *artes bonas attulisset*. ib. 3, 25 *rem nominaque auctore Vipstano Messalla tradam*. 3, 28 (above § 312, 5). 4, 42 *magnam eo die* (a. 70) *pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vipstanus Messalla adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate* (i.e. in the beginning of his 20th year) *ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo* (§ 326, 3) *deprecari*. He was a friend of Tacitus' youth, but seems to have died early, as he is never mentioned in Pliny's letters. His historical work seems to have treated of the events of his time only so far as he was personally concerned in them, taking the form of memoirs or an historical and political pamphlet. HNissen, RhM. 16, 529. 536. Tacitus has commemorated him in his dialogus, see dial. 15 *non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia irridere et contemnere? nam hunc tuum sermonem saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes prae antiquis*. ib. 32 Tacitus makes him blame the *diserti* of his time because they *ignorent leges nec teneant senatus-consulta, ius civitatis ultro derideant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident*, with the addition: *quodsi forte haec audierint, certum habeo dicturos me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse*. He also says ib.: *ego iam meum munus explevi et, quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi*. FAEckstein, prolegomena ad dialog. de orat. p. 14.

4. Tac. Agr. 10 *formam Britanniae Livius veterum, Rabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, . . . adsimulavere*. The other fragments refer to the Neronian period; ann. 13, 20 *Fabius Rusticus auctor est* etc. . . . *sane Fabius inclinat ad laudes Senecae, cuius amicitia floruit*. 14, 2 (*F. R. memorat*). 15, 61 (*tradit F. R.*). He is made heir with Tacitus and Pliny in the will of Dasumius (§ 330, 6), whence we learn that he was still alive a. 108 or 109. Plin. ep. 9, 29 (*Rustico*), may be addressed to him, and we should perhaps refer to him Quint. 10, 1, 104: *superest adhuc et ornat aetatis nostrae gloriam vir saeculorum memoria dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intellegitur*. Cf. PRE. 6, 2921, 76. Mommsen, Herm. 3, 51,

5. Minuc. Fel. Oct. 33, 4 *si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus veteres,*

*Antonii Iuliani de Iudaeis require: iam scies nequitia sua hanc eos* (the Jews) *meruisse fortunam.* Probably the Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἰουλιανός, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπος (Ioseph. b. iud. 6, 4, 3), who participated in the siege of Jerusalem by Titus and as a member of the council of war voted for the destruction of the city (Ios. l.l.). JBernays, Sulpic. Sev. 56, conjectures that Tacitus' account (hist. 5, 1 sqq.) is derived from his work.—On the historical work of Julius Secundus see § 315, 4; on that of Curtius Rufus § 292.

315. Like these historians, we find in the time of Vespasian the poet Curiatius Maternus appearing as an orator; others devoted themselves chiefly to rhetoric and oratorical instruction, e.g. the rhetorician Sex. Julius Gabinianus in Gaul. A native of Gaul was also M. Aper, who pleaded and declaimed at Rome and also held appointments there. Julius Secundus, who died very early, was a friend of Quintilian, but in oratory, though not so markedly as Aper, he shared the general tendency of his age to affectation and artificiality of form.

1. On Curiatius Maternus see § 318, 1. Salvius Liberalis (§ 341, 3) was also known as early as under Vespasian.

2. In the list of rhetoricians treated of by Suetonius (p. 99 Rffsch.) we find immediately before Quintilian Sex. Julius Gabinianus. From Suetonius is derived Hieronym. on Euseb. chron. a. Abr. 2092 = 76 A.D.: *Gabinianus celeberrimi nominis rhetor in Gallia docuit.* Cf. Hieron. on Iesai. 8 praef. (4, 329 Vall.): *qui flumen eloquentiae et concinnas declamationes desiderant legant Tullium, Quintilianum, Gallionem, Gabinianum.* Tac. dial. 26 *quotus quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione fruitur ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, sed plane post Gabinianum?*

3. In Tacitus' dialogus M. Aper (c. 5–10. 16–23) defends the modern style of oratory with ingenious quibbles and strong rhetoric rather than solid argument. ib. 2 *M. Aper et Iulius Secundus, celeberrima tum* (under Vespasian) *ingenia fori nostri, quos ego in iudiciis . . . studiose audiebam, . . . quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et litteris famam eloquentiae consecutum. nam et Secundo purus et pressus et in quantum satis erat profluens sermo non defuit et Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat.* From this passage it appears that Aper and Secundus (n. 4) were deceased when Tacitus wrote his dialogus (§ 334, 2). 11 *cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore.* 7 *equidem* (Aper) *non eum diem laetiorem egi quo mihi latus clavus oblatus est vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut praeturam accepi quam eos quibus mihi* (to conduct a real law-suit successfully) *datur.* 10 *ne quid de Gallis nostris* (of Aper) *loquar.* 17 *ipse* (Aper is the speaker) *ergo in Britannia vidi senem.*

4. Quint. 10, 3, 12 *memini narrasse mihi Iulium Secundum illum, aequalem meum atque a me . . . familiariter amatum, mirae facundiae virum, infinitae tamen curae;* ib. 10. 1, 120 *Iulio Secundo si longior contigisset aetas* (cf. n. 3 l. 9) *clarissimum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret. adiecisset enim atque adiciebat ceteris virtutibus suis quod desiderari potest. id est autem ut esset multo magis pugnax et saepius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret.* (121) *ceterum interceptus quoque magnum sibi vindicat locum. ea est facundia* etc. Cf. 12, 10, 11 *elegantiam Secundi.* Cf. n. 3. In his dialogus Tacitus (c. 4 sq.) invests him with

the authority of umpire between the representatives of opposite schools, the Republican and the Imperial oratory. ib. 14 *probari video in te, Secunde, quod Iuli Asiatici* (*Africani* KNIPPERDEY, op. 285, see § 297, 4) *vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium eiusmodi librorum.* PLUT. Oth. 9 τοῦτο μὲν διηγεῖτο (used to relate) Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὄθωνος, ἑτέρων δ' ἦν ἀκούειν etc.

5. QUINT. 4, 1, 19 *fuerunt etiam quidam rerum suarum iudices. nam et in libris observationum a Septimio editis affuisse Ciceronem tali causae invenio et ego* etc. This would lead us to suppose that Sept. was a writer on rhetoric. He is possibly identical with *Septimius Severus*, the *condiscipulus* of *Vitorius Marcellus* (STAT. silv. 4, praef.), to whom STATIUS addressed silv. 4, 5 (3 *fortem atque facundum Severum*). Cf. § 326, 9.—On Pliny's treatise on rhetoric see § 312, 3; on Verginius and Tutilius § 326, 1.

316. The most influential jurists of the age of Vespasian were the Sabinian Caelius Sabinus and the Proculeian Pegasus. Urseius Ferox and Juventius Celsus the Elder as well as a certain Plautius, whose work was much commented on at a later time, seem to belong to this period.

1. POMPON. dig. 1, 2, 2, 53 *Cassio* (§ 298, 3) *Caelius Sabinus* (his full name is *Cn. Arulenus Caelius Sabinus* in the acta of the fratres Arvales of a. 69, CIL. 6, p. 499, 81) *successit, qui plurimum temporibus Vespasiani potuit* (he was however cos. suff. a. 69, TAC. hist. 1, 77), *Proculo* (§ 298, 1) *Pegasus* (n. 2), *qui temporibus Vespasiani praefectus urbi fuit; Caelio Sabino Priscus Iavolenus; Pegaso Celsus* (the father, see n. 4). GELL. 4, 2, 3 *Caelius Sabinus in libro de edicto aedilium curulium.* From this GELL. 6, 4, 1 (*Caelius Sabinus iurisperitus*)—3. dig. 21, 1 (*de aedil. ed.*), 14 (pr. and 3. 10). 17 (§ 1. 6. 8. 12 sqq.). 20. 65 (2). From other works of the same author GAI. inst. 3, 70 and 141. dig. 35, 1 (*de cond. et demonstr.*), 72, 7.

2. IUV. 4, 77 *properabat . . . Pegasus* (cf. n. 1), *attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi, . . . interpres legum sanctissimus, omnia quamquam temporibus diris* (of Domitian) *tractanda putabat inermi iustitia.* On this the SCHOL. (p. 223 J.) says: *filius trierachi, ex cuius liburnae parasemo nomen accepit, iuris studio gloriam memoriae meruit, ut liber vulgo, non homo, diceretur. hic functus omni honore, cum provinciis plurimis praefuisset, urbis curam administravit. hinc est Pegasianum SCtum.* Inst. 2, 23, 5 *postea Vespasiani Aug. temporibus, Pegaso et Pusione consulibus, senatus censuit* etc. Cf. GAI. 1, 31 *SCto quod Pegaso et Pusione consulibus factum est.* 3, 64 (*idque maxime Pegaso placuit; quae sententia aperte falsa est*). In the Digest his name occurs repeatedly, but fragments are not quoted.

3. ULPIAN in the collat. leg. mos. 12, 7, 9 *libro X Urseius refert Sabinum* (n. 1) *respondisse.* Proculus (§ 298, 1) had also been quoted in his writings (dig. 9, 2, 27, 1. 39, 3, 11, 2). On the other hand, Salvius Iulianus (§ 350, 1) wrote *libri IV ad Urseium Ferocem.* It does not agree with the period which we should hence assume for Urseius that *Cassius* (§ 298, 3) *existimasse Urseium refert* (dig. 44, 5, 1, 10; cf. 7, 4, 10, 5 *Cassius apud Urseium scribit*), for which reason BOECKELEN would prefer to read *Cassium existimasse Urseius refert.* PKRÜGER, Quellen u. Lit. d. röm. Rechts 160. Another view is taken by KVIERTEL, de vitis ictorum, p. 16.

4. CELSUS dig. 31, 20 *et Proculo placebat et a patre sic accepi;* and 3, 29 pr. *pater meus referebat, cum esset in consilio Duceni Veri consulis itum in sententiam suam.* Cf. ib. 12, 4, 3, 7 *refert* (*Celsus*) *patrem suum existimasse* etc. 17, 1, 39 *et Aristoni et Celso patri placuit* etc.

5. The time of Plautius is fixed by his quoting Cassius and Proculus (dig. 34, 2, 8 *Plautius: . . . Cassius ait.* 35, 1, 43 pr. *Plautius: . . . Proculus, Cassius . . . aiunt*), and by his being commented on by Neratius Priscus, Javolenus, Pomponius and Paulus, all of whom composed *libri ex Plautio* or *ad Plautium*. OLENEL, paling. 2, 13. PKRÜGER l.l. 158.

317. The only poet of the time of Vespasian who has come down to us is C. Valerius Flaccus, of whom we possess eight books of Argonautica, a free imitation of Apollonios of Rhodes; the traces of Alexandrine learning are reduced and effective scenes dwelt on at greater length, while the characters and the psychological motives are more carefully developed. The style exhibits some poetical talent; it is rhetorical, animated and rich. The phraseology is for the most part derived from Vergil, but with its bold figures and combinations and artificially compressed diction it has lost both in lucidity and symmetry. The work, however, in its present form is incomplete.

1. The complete name is given in the subscription of the Vatican MS. (n. 4) for b. 5: *C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus* (in b. 2: *Balbus Setinus*). He died towards A.D. 90; cf. QUINT. 10, 1, 90 *multum nuper in Valerio Flacco amisimus* (§ 325, 6). It does not appear from these words that he died young. His introduction (and the first book) was written under Vespasian, probably not long after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus (a. 70); see Argon. 1, 7 *tuque o, pelagi cui maior aperti fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit oceanus* (cf. TAC. Agr. 13, 17) *Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos, eripe me [illegible]is, . . . sancte pater, veterumque fave veneranda canenti facta virum. versam proles tua pandet Idumen (namque potest), Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem* etc. Allusions to the eruption of Vesuvius (August a. 79) 3, 209. 4, 507. 686. Cf. JBERNAYS, Sulpic. Sever. 50. According to this V. Fl. worked slowly. From 1, 5 we may infer that the poet held the position of a quindecimvir sacr. fac.: *Phoebe, mone, si Cymaeae mihi conscia vatis stat casta cortina domo, si laurea digna fronte viret.*—Martial's friend Flaccus from Patavium, who is likewise described as a poet, though not of Argonautica, and as living in comparative poverty (Mart. 1, 61. 1, 76), is no doubt a different person and lived somewhat later than the author of the extant poem (THILO, prolegg. p. V).

2. See the comparison of Val. Fl. with Apollonios in AWEICHERT, Leben u. Gedicht des Ap. 270. GTHILO, l.l. p. VIII. ECFREUSS, l.l. 11. RVOLKMANN, Jauer 1875 p. 11. EMEYER, quaestt. Argonaut., Lps. 1882. The Roman poet surpasses the Greek in his uniform design and the bolder delineation of characters, especially those of Jason and Aeetes, but he has unduly spun out his exotic and somewhat uncongenial theme by rhetorical treatment. Did he avail himself of Diodoros? THILO's ed. p. VIII. The usual epic machinery of gods is employed on a large scale (Juno and Minerva constantly interpose) and psychological description is applied even to the gods. AJTONDER, d. Unterwelt nach Val. Fl., Böhm.-Leipa 1888. Pedantic learning is restrained by the prevalence of pathetic and sentimental rhetoric, but still there is a considerable residue of it. Anachronisms (such as Lagus and Arsinoe), THILO p. XXVIII. He alludes to his predecessors, e.g. 1, 17 to Germanic. Arat. 40. V. Fl. markedly imitates Vergil; SCHENKL, Stud. 102; Wien. Studd. 5, 141. BÄHRENS' ed. p. V. 174. IGREIFF, de Valerii Argon.

cum Verg. Aen. comparatis, Trente 1869. M. MANITIUS, Phil. 48, 248. With regard to poetical diction and the technical treatment of metre Valerius stands in about the same relation to Vergil as Persius to Horace; in both the artificial element is increased and the style often degenerates into bombast and obscurity. In technical matters V. is strict after the manner of Ovid. A severe judgment on the artistic value of V. Fl. in the supplements to SULZER 8, 305. OBUSSENIUS, de V. Fl. in adhibendis comparationibus usu, Lübeck 1872. Cf. SCHENKL, philol. Anz. 1872, 233. MSCHMITZ, de Val. Fl. dicendi genere, Münster 1872. HGEBBING, de Val. Fl. tropis et figuris, Marb. 1878; de Val. Fl. dicendi genere quaestt., Cobl. 1888. ISCHMIDT (§ 303, 11). PJOESTERBERG, de struct. verbb. c. praepp. compositorum ap. Val. Fl., Stat., Mart., Ups. 1883.

3. The close of b. VIII being rather abrupt and essential parts of the legend, such as the murder of Absyrtus and the homeward journey of the Argonauts not being treated in the extant poem, we may safely conclude that more was intended to follow; the remaining events might have furnished material for (2–) 4 books. It is, however, doubtful, whether this last part had actually been executed by the poet and was subsequently lost (NHEINSIUS, EBÄHRENS), or the poet was by death or other circumstances prevented from continuing the poem (GTHILO p. XXVI and CSCHENKL, bes. Stud. 12; also RLÖHBACH). The reasons adduced in support of the latter theory (traces of incompleteness, especially in b. 8, discrepancies which have not been removed, parallel verses etc.) are not sufficient to establish it.

4. This poet and his work are not mentioned by any other writer but Quintilian (n. 1), not even by grammarians (HAUPT, op. 3, 308). But we find imitations of him in Statius and perhaps (HBLASS, JJ. 109, 494) Silius, subsequently also in Claudian and Dracontius (BÄHRENS p. IX). WSTOCKES, Val. Fl. in the Middle Ages, Academy 1885, no. 661, 11.—Principal MS. Vaticanus 3277 s. IX: a copy from this was e.g. the St. Gall MS., which was discovered by Poggio a. 1417, and contained only b. 1–4, 317. This has since been lost, but copies of it s. XV are extant (e.g. the Matrit. X 81; GGÖTZ, de Stat. silv. emend., Jena 1884, VII, 3 Vaticani and others). The Vatican MS. 3277 itself is however disfigured by many gaps and bad readings, corrections of which are frequently attempted in the Italian copies of it (e.g. in the Monac. 802 s. XV), sometimes successfully, but generally in a very arbitrary manner. THILO prolegg. p. XL. SCHENKL, Stud. 39; cf. OKELLER, Gött. gel. Anz. 1873, 1925.

5. Editions e.g. Ed. LCARRIO, Antw. 1565 sq. (cf. THILO p. LXX, SCHENKL, Stud. 47, BÄHRENS p. X). Ad fidem codd. emend. NHEINSIUS, Amst. 1680. Cum nott. varr. PBURMAN (containing an ind. verbb.), Utr. 1702. Leid. 1724. Ed. ThChHARLES, Altenb. 1781 II. Cum. comm. perp. ed. JAWAGNER, Gött. 1805. Bk. VIII cum notis criticis etc. ed. AWEICHERT, Meissen 1817. Cum comm. ed. NELEMAIRE, Par. 1824 II. Recensuit GTHILO, Halle 1863. Ed. CSCHENKL, Berl. 1871. Recogn. EBÄHRENS, Lps. 1875 (cf. KSCHENKL, ZföG. 26, 635).

6. Criticism and explanation by HBOSSCHA and other Dutch writers, Wien. Studd. 5, 139. FEYSSENHARDT, RhM. 17, 378. HAKOCH, ib. 18, 163. PHWAGNER, Phil. 20, 617. GTHILO's prolegg. esp. c. 3. GMEYNCKE, quaestt. Val., Bonn 1865; RhM. 22, 362. MHAUPT, op. 3, 416. RLÖHBACH, obss. critt. in . . . Arg., Andernach 1869; Studien zu V. Fl., ib. 1872; Bemerkk. z. Val. Fl., Mayence 1876; JJ. 115, 859. PHBRAUN, obss. crit. et exeget., Marb. 1869. BHIRSCHWÄLDER, curae critt. in . . . Arg. P. I, Bresl. 1870. ECFREUSS, obss. Val., Marb. 1871. KSCHENKL, Stud. zu d. Arg., Wien. SBer. 68, 271. MADVIG, adv. 2, 134. FMAIXNER, ZföG. 29, 488. RELLIS, Journ. of phil. 9, 52. CESANDSTRÖM (see § 246, 7).

HKöstlin, Phil. 39, 69. 233. 419. 40, 387. 48, 647. PHDamsté, advv. crit. ad Val. Fl., Leid. 1885. JPeters, de Val. Fl. vita et carmine, Königsb. 1890.

318. Curiatius Maternus, whom Tacitus in the dialogus has commemorated in a highly honourable manner, a man of refined oratorical training, wrote tragedies under Nero (e.g. Medea) and praetextae under Vespasian (Domitius, Cato) and also a tragedy on the subject of Thyestes. Saleius Bassus, a poet lauded by his friends, and noticed also by Vespasian, seems to have written chiefly epic poems, perhaps like Valerius Flaccus on mythical subjects. Contemporary subjects were treated by the father of Statius. During his father's reign, Domitian seems also to have attempted epic poetry.

1. Tac. dial. 11 assigns these words to Curiatius Maternus: *sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragoediarum et ingredi famam auspicatus sum, cum quidem inperante Nerone* (thus MHaupt and LMüller, JJ. 97, 417; the MSS. read *in Nerone*), *improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii* (thus Gronov; the MSS. *vaticinii*) *potentiam fregi* (LMüller conjectures that this may have been while he was scourging this favourite of Nero [Tac. ǧ. 15, 34] in the character of Thersites), *et hodie si quid nobis notitiae ac nominis est magis arbitror carminum quam orationum gloria partum. ac iam* (a. 75) *me deiungere a forensi labore constitui.* Cf. ib. 5 *natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam . . . omittit studium.* ib. 2 *postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragoediae* (cf. § 14, 2) *argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens sermo haberetur* etc. 3 *si qua omisit Cato, sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposui iam* (the words of Maternus) *et intra me ipse formavi.* To this Aper: *adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant quo minus omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyesten consumas? . . . etiam si non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses, Domitium* (perhaps the *pugnax Domitius* in Lucan. 7, 601, therefore the opponent of Caesar, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, cos. 700/54; PRE. 2, 1210) *et Catonem, id est nostras quoque historias et romana nomina, Graeculorum fabulis aggregare.* ThBirt, RhM. 34, 350 makes an erroneous conjecture when he identifies the Domitius with the Cato, and believes the work to have contained an account of the sieges of Corfinium and Utica (between which there was an interval of three years; moreover, at the time of the siege of Utica Domitius had long been dead). Thus the chronological order of the works is: the tragedy against Vatinius, then Medea, Domitius, Cato, Thyestes.—Many writers take in reference to him Dio 67, 12 Μάτερνον σοφιστὴν, ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἶπέ τι ἀσκῶν (=declamans) ἀπέκτεινεν (Domitian, a. 91). Yet we should expect that Dio, if he was really alluding in this passage to the highly esteemed, aristocratic and wealthy senator (Tac. dial. 11) Curiatius Maternus, would not have described him as a schoolrhetorician; and how should Cur. Matern., who, according to Tacitus' account (dial.) had tired of the practical occupation of an advocate and retired to devote himself to poetry, have given up his old age to declamation? We cannot, however, understand the words of Dio in reference to the public reading of the Thyestes without attributing to him a grave mistake. It is therefore probable that

Dio alludes to some other Maternus. This cognomen was a very common one, as is shown by the inscriptions (Curiatii Materni are rare; cf. CIL. 3, 429. 2, 3783). The non-identity of the two Materni is proved, if the Tacitean Dialogus was composed under Titus (see § 334, 2); for Tacitus introduces only persons already deceased among his interlocutors.

2. TAC. dial. 5 *quis nescit neminem mihi* (Julius Secundus, § 315, 4) *coniunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et assiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam* (an over-estimate due to friendship)? Aper ib. *Saleius Bassus . . . carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit;* and 9 *Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam . . . versus . . . Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi. . . . laudavimus nuper . . . Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset.* QUINT. 10, 1, 90 (among the epic writers) *vehemens et poeticum ingenium Salei Bassi fuit, nec ipsum senectute maturuit.* IUV. 7, 80 *Serrano tenuique* (meagre? cf. STAT. silv. 5, 3, 158 *tenuis . . . Corinnae*) *Saleio gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est* (without material result)? In MART. 5, 53 *Colchida quid scribis, quid scribis, amice, Thyesten? quo tibi vel Nioben, Basse, vel Andromachen?* the name Bassus is fancifully chosen, and does not relate to Saleius.—J. HELD, de Saleio Basso, Bresl. 1834.

3. Statius' father, who belonged to a good but impoverished family, had in early youth successfully competed in poetical contests at Naples, then he had been a professor of oratory and poetry first at Naples, and subsequently at Rome; he composed a poem on the burning of the Capitol a. 69, and was about to immortalise in verse the eruption of Vesuvius, when he died (a. 80 at the earliest, cf. § 321, 1), at the age of 65; he must thus have been born A.D. 15, at the earliest. Cf. STAT. silv. 5, 3.—On Domitian's epic attempts see § 319, 1.

### A. DOMITIANUS.

319. The superficial interest in literature, which Domitian (born a. 51, † a. 96) had formerly displayed, vanished on his accession to the throne (a. 81). The Capitoline and Alban competitions included poetry, but this was admittedly only in the form of panegyrics on the vain-glorious despot, whose hand lay heavy on all intellectual life. Historical writing suffered most of all under his oppression, while, as regards oratory, only that of the delatores flourished. Under Domitian the only course possible without the risk of outlawry or the sacrifice of personal honour, was the one followed during the whole of his reign by Juvenal, Tacitus and Pliny,—namely, silence. Among those who wrote, some flattered the monster from weakness, some from self-seeking. Weakness actuated Silius Italicus, Statius and Quintilian, calculating servility Josephus and Martial. Even writers on technical subjects, such as Sex. Iulius Frontinus and the jurists, barely succeeded in keeping clear of the rocks ahead. On the other hand there were a large number of dilettanti who endeavoured to prove their harmlessness by writing verses.

1. Suet. Dom. 2 *simulavit poeticae studium, tam insuetum antea sibi quam postea spretum et abiectum* (see n. 2), *recitavitque etiam publice.* Tac. hist. 4, 86 *Domitianus . . . studium litterarum et amorem carminum simulans.* They appear chiefly to have consisted in attempts at epic poetry. Mart. 5, 5, 7 *ad capitolini caelestia* ('supremest') *carmina belli* (on the fight for the Capitol in Dec. a. 69; see Friedländer, SGesch. Roms $3^5$, 367) *grande cothurnati pone Maronis opus.* Quint. 10, 1, 91 *hos nominavimus* (as epic poets), *quia Germanicum Aug. ab institutis studiis deflexit cura terrarum parumque diis visum est esse eum maximum poetarum. quid tamen his ipsis eius operibus in quae donato imperio iuvenis secesserat sublimius, doctius, omnibus denique numeris praestantius? quis enim caneret bella melius quam qui sic gerit?* It may possibly have been the bellum iudaicum that he undertook or professed an intention to describe; see Val. Fl. 1, 7 (above § 317, 1). Cf. § 320, 3. He did not write the Aratea: see § 275, 5. Suet. Dom. 18 *quamvis libello quem de cura capillorum ad amicum edidit haec etiam, simul illum seque consolans, inseruerit* etc. Plin. NH. ind. auct. to b. 33 (metallorum naturae) quotes in the first place: *ex . . . Domitiano Caesare.*

2. Suet. Dom. 20 *liberalia studia imperii initio neglexit, quamquam bybliothecas incendio absumptas impensissime reparare curasset, exemplaribus undique petitis missisque Alexandriam qui describerent emendarentque. numquam tamen aut historiae carminibusve noscendis operam ullam aut stilo vel necessario dedit. praeter commentarios et acta Tiberi Caesaris nihil lectitabat; epistolas orationesque et edicta alieno formabat ingenio.* From this we should estimate the statement of Quint. 4 prooem. 3 *principem ut in omnibus ita in eloquentia quoque eminentissimum.*

3. Suet. Dom. 4 *instituit* (a. 86) *et quinquennale certamen Capitolino Iovi triplex, musicum, equestre, gymnicum. . . . certabant et prosa oratione graece latineque . . . celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervae . . . et scenicos ludos superque oratorum ac poetarum certamina.* Plin. paneg. 54 *quis iam locus miserae adulationis* (perhaps we have a specimen of this in a metrical inscription from Acerra CIL. 10, 3757?) *manebat ignarus, cum laudes imperatorum ludis etiam et commissionibus celebrarentur?* Collinus gained the prize at the first poetical contest a. 86: Mart. 4, 54 *o cui Tarpeias licuit contingere quercus et meritas prima cingere fronde comas.* According to the inscription from Histonium (Or. 2603 Wilm. 2479) *L. Valerius L. f. Pudens cum esset annorum XII Romae certamine sacro Iovis Capitolini lustro sexto* (a. 106) *. . . coronatus* (with the wreath of oak leaves) *est inter poetas latinos* (another was *Nardu[s] poeta pudens* CIL. 10, 1284). So likewise was Carus (§ 324, 2). Cf. § 323, 3. § 326, 5 ad fin. But Statius was unsuccessful (silv. 3, 5, 31. 5, 3, 321), likewise the young Annius Florus (§ 343, 3) and probably also *Q. Sulpicius Maximus tertio certaminis lustro*, a boy of twelve years (a. 94; cf. CLVisconti, il sepolcro del Q. S. M., Rome 1871. WHenzen, bull. arch. 1871, 98. GKaibel, epigr. gr. 618. AvReumont, Jahrbb. d. rheinl. Alt. Fr. 52, 39. HSauppe, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1871, 1036. GEitner, Q. Sulpic. Max., Görl. 1884). The Alban olive wreath was however three times gained by Statius (silv. 3, 5, 28. HNohl, quaestt. Stat. 26. Kerckhoff l.l. 28). Cf. LFriedländer, SG. $2^5$, 437. 575. 578. $3^5$, 379. Lafaye, de poett. et oratt. certaminibus, Par. 1883. Perhaps to this period belongs the *poeta Latinus coronatus C. Concordius Syriacus eq. R. qui invenit orchestopalen* CIL. 9, 1663?

4. Tac. Agr. 2 *legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico* (§ 329, 2) *Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse neque in ipsos modo auctores sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. . . . expulsis insuper*

*sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta. . . . sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio.* Especially in the last years of Domitian (*cum profiteretur odium bonorum*, PLIN. paneg. 95) *virtus* was *suspecta, inertia in pretio* (PLIN. ep. 8, 14, 7). Helvidius e.g. *metu temporum nomen ingens paresque virtutes secessu tegebat* (ib. 9, 13, 2).

5. SUET. Dom. 10 *occidit Hermogenem Tarsensem propter quasdam in historia figuras, librariis etiam qui eam descripserant cruci fixis. . . . interemit . . . Mettium Pompusianum quod . . . depictum orbem terrae in membrana contionesque regum ac ducum ex T. Livio circumferret; . . . Iunium Rusticum quod Paeti Thraseae et Helvidi Prisci laudes edidisset appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros, cuius criminis occasione philosophos omnis urbe Italiaque summovit.* Among the latter were Artemidoros (PLIN. ep. 3, 11), Luccceius Telesinus, Demetrios, Dio Chrysostomos, Epiktetos. HIERONYM. ad a. Abr. 2105 = A.D. 89 *Domitianus mathematicos et philosophos romanos* (Var. *romana*) *urbe pepulit.* ad a. 2111 = A.D. 95 (more correctly a. 93; MOMMSEN, Herm. 3, 84) *Domitianus rursum philosophos et mathematicos Roma per edictum extrudit.*

6. On the dilettanti-versifiers of this reign see § 324. Cf. LFRIEDLÄNDER, recensio poetarum Statio, Martiali, Plinio iun. contemporaneorum, Königsberg 1870: SGesch. Roms $3^5$, 399.

7. In the time of Domitian, between a. 81–84, were drawn up the municipal privileges of Salpensa and Malaca, of which considerable and important fragments inscribed on two bronze tablets were found near Malaca in 1851: CIL. 2, 1963. 64. BRUNS font.$^5$ 136. Likewise to the end of the first cent. belongs a fragment of a curious order for the management of a mine (lex metalli Vipascensis), found in 1876 on a bronze tablet at Aljustrel in southern Portugal. BRUNS l.l.$^5$ 247. ASOROMENHO, la table de bronze d'Aljustrel, Lissab. 1877. EHÜBNER, eph. epigr. 3, 165. JFLACH, la table d'Aljustrel, Par. 1880. GWILMANNS, ZfBergrecht 10 (1877), 2. GDEMELIUS, ZfRechtsG. 17 (4), 33.—FBÜCHELER, Arch. f. Lexikogr. 2, 605.

320. Under Domitian (and Nerva) Silius Italicus (c. A.D. 25–101)—who after an oratorical and official career, that had led him up to the dignity of consul (a. 68), entirely devoted himself to leisured ease and literary pursuits—elaborated his epic on the second Punic war. His seventeen books of Punica are derived, as far as the subject is concerned, though not exclusively, from Livy, and in their style and diction imitated from Homer and Vergil, mythological motives being applied to this purely historical subject. His performance is lengthy and declamatory, abounding in episodes, as the author endeavours to embody all the traditional embellishments of epic poetry in his work as completely as possible. The technical treatment of his verse is so strict as to be monotonous. The metrical abridgment of the Iliad (the so-called Homerus latinus or Pindarus Thebanus), which is likewise preserved, is probably a youthful production of Silius Italicus.

1. In the MSS., in Plin. and Tac. (hist. 3, 65), the poet is called Silius Italicus, in Martial only Silius. The complete name Ti. Catius Silius Italicus is given in the fasti sodalium Augustalium Claudialium, CIL. 6, 1984 (*GALERIO·TRACHALO·TI·CATIO·SILIO·ITAL·COS·P·R·C·AN·DCCCXXI*=68 A.D.). Plinius ep. 3, 7 (a. 101?) *modo nuntiatus est Silius Italicus in Neapolitano suo inedia finivisse vitam.* (2) *causa mortis valetudo. erat illi natus insanabilis clavus* (a tumour?), *cuius taedio ad mortem irrevocabili constantia decucurrit, usque ad extremum diem beatus et felix. . . .* (3) *laeserat famam suam sub Nerone: credebatur sponte accusasse. sed in Vitelli amicitia* (cf. Tac. hist. 3, 65) *sapienter se et comiter gesserat, ex proconsulatu Asiae* (still under Vespasian, about a. 77? GZippel, die Losung der Proconsuln, Königsb. 1883, 33) *gloriam reportaverat, maculam veteris industriae laudabili otio abluerat.* (4) *fuit inter principes civitatis sine potentia, sine invidia: salutabatur, colebatur, multumque in lectulo iacens cubiculo semper non ex fortuna frequenti doctissimis sermonibus* (on philosophical questions? see below) *dies transigebat, cum a scribendo vacaret.* (5) *scribebat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio, nonnumquam iudicia hominum recitationibus experiebatur.* (7) *. . . erat φιλόκαλος usque ad emacitatis reprehensionem. plures isdem in locis villas possidebat* (among them one which had formerly belonged to Cicero, perhaps his Cumanum or Tusculanum? see Mart. 11, 48 *Silius . . . iugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet.* Near Tusculum was found in 1882 the inscription *d. m. Crescenti Sili Italici* etc. (CIL. 14, 2653. JBdeRossi, bull. munic. di Roma 1882, 141), which probably refers to the elder son of the poet, *quem consularem* (cos. 93? Mart. 8, 66. Friedländer, SGesch. $3^5$, 434. 445) *reliquit* (Plin. ep. 3, 7, 2); the younger son (Severus, Mart. 9, 86) died before his father. Plin. 3, 7, 7 adds: *multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat modo verum etiam venerabatur, Vergilii ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat, Neapoli maxime, ubi monimentum* (Vergil's grave was on the property of Silius, § 242, 3 ad fin.) *eius adire ut templum solebat.* (9) *in hac tranquillitate annum LXXV$^{um}$ excessit, delicato magis corpore quam infirmo; . . . novissimus a Nerone factus est consul* (a. 68, cf. Mart. 7, 63, 9 and the inscription quoted above). . . . (10) *illud etiam notabile: ultimus ex Neronianis consularibus obiit quo consule Nero periit* (i.e. *Silio Italico*). His former occupation as an orator, Mart. 7, 63, 5 *sacra cothurnati non attigit ante Maronis implevit magni quam Ciceronis opus. hunc miratur adhuc centum gravis hasta virorum, hunc loquitur grato plurimus ore cliens.* After his consulship: (ib. 11) *emeritos Musis et Phoebo tradidit annos proque suo celebrat nunc Helicona foro.* His lively interest in philosophy: Epiktet. dissertt. 3, 8, 7 Ἰταλικὸς ὁ μάλιστα δοκῶν αὐτῶν φιλόσοφος εἶναι παρόντος ποτέ μου (at latest a. 93, see § 319, 5) χαλεπήνας τοῖς ἰδίοις ὡς ἀνήκεστα πάσχων, οὐ δύναμαι, ἔφη, φέρειν, ἀπόλλυτέ με, ποιήσετέ με τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι, δείξας ἐμέ. This also explains his relations with Cornutus, who dedicated to him his work on Vergil (§ 299, 2). Accordingly the Punica show a strong admixture of Stoic morality. FBücheler, RhM. 35, 390.

2. Martial's fulsome compliments to the wealthy poet and his work are a matter of course; see n. 1 and 4, 14 *Sili, Castalidum decus sororum, qui periuria barbari furoris ingenti premis ore perfidosque astus Hannibalis levesque Poenos magnis cedere cogis Africanis*, 6, 64, 10 *perpetui . . . Sili.* 7, 63 *perpetui numquam moritura volumina Sili qui legis et latia carmina digna toga* etc. From the fact that he never designates him as a countryman, it is clearly manifest that Silius was not a native of Italica in Spain. See also EHübner, eph. epigr. 2, 58. Quintilian's silence concerning Silius, even in his list of Roman epic poets 10, 1, 85–90, may be explained by the fact that Silius was still living when Quintilian composed his work, and that he had not yet published his epic poem. Statius

(silv. 4, 7, 14) alludes to Sil. 1, 233. Ritschl, op. 3, 593. Attempts to fix the date of the composition of the Punica more exactly in FBuchwald (n. 6) p. 3 and ACartault, rev. de phil. 11, 11.

3. The Emperors of the Flavian dynasty are praised by Sil. 3, 594–629, where he says of Domitian (607): *at tu transcendes, Germanice, facta tuorum* (of father and brother!) *iam puer auricomo praeformidate Batavo* (cf. Mart. 2, 2, 4 above § 275, 5 fin.) *nec te terruerint Tarpei culminis ignes: . . . servabere . . .; nam te longa manent nostri consortia mundi.* Then he adds bombastic praises of Domitian's failures in the East and North and finally (618) says: *quin et Romuleos superabit voce nepotes quis erit eloquio partum decus; hinc sua Musae sacra ferent, meliorque lyra* (than Orpheus) *. . . Phoebo miranda loquetur.* On the other hand 16, 533 he does not suppress the sigh: *quid iam non regibus ausum? aut quod iam regnis restat scelus?* Perhaps Nerva is referred to at the close of b. 14: *at ni cura viri qui nunc dedit otia mundo effrenum arceret populandi cuncta furorem, nudassent avidae terrasque fretumque rapinae.*—Praise of Vergil 8, 593: *Mantua Musarum domus atque ad sidera cantu evecta aonio et smyrnaeis aemula plectris.* On Silius' idolising admiration, see above n. 1. Mart. 12, 67 *qui magni celebras Maronis idus* is probably also an allusion to Silius.—On the incidental eulogy of Asconius see § 295, 1.

4. Silius, who lacks talent for poetical invention, almost pedantically imitates the Homeric poems and Vergil. He has of course his Ὄνειρος (3, 163) and Κατάλογος (3, 222), his Hector's (i.e. Hannibal's) parting (3, 62), his description of the shield (2, 395), his ἆθλα (16, 277), his μάχη παραποτάμιος (4, 667), his Proteus (7, 415) and his νεκυία (13, 395); also his description of the gates (3, 32) like the one in the Georgics. Like Herakles, Scipio (15, 20) stands at the cross-road between Virtus and Voluptas; like Turnus, Hannibal at Zama fights a phantom (17, 522). Juno has the same part as in the Aeneid and frequently interferes in favour of Hannibal (1, 548. 2, 526. 3, 163. 4, 417); on the other side Venus and Vulcan bestir themselves (4, 667). The delineation of characters is rather poor. The frequent descriptions of battles belong to the rhetorical appurtenances. In national colouring and also in local details Silius emulates the Aeneid. The poet decidedly declares his hostility to the Carthaginians, esp. Hannibal (e.g. 2, 696). After b. 12 the treatment is very unequal, and in b. 17 it is evident that the poet hastens to the end; not a word on Scipio's passage to Africa and Hannibal's landing there. The work closes with Scipio's triumph after the battle of Zama, after a prospective view has been disclosed of Hannibal's final fate and the destruction of Carthage (v. 371 sqq.).—Besides reminiscences of Vergil, which greatly preponderate, we find traces of Horace, Ovid and Lucan. JGroesst, quatenus Sil. Ital. a Vergilio pendere videatur, Halle 1887. For the history Livy is the chief authority, but Silius has used him with the freedom of a poet. Cf. in general the supplements to Sulzer 7, 374. WCosack, quaestiones Silianae, Halle 1844. EWezel, de Sil. It. cum fontibus tum exemplis, Lps. 1873 together with HBlass, JJ. 109, 471. FEBrandstäter, de Pun. Sil. argumento, stilo, ornatu poetico, Witten. 1877. MHeynacher, die Quellen des Sil. I, Ilfeld 1874; die Stellung des Sil. unter den Quellen des 2. pun. Kriegs, Ilfeld 1877. JSchlichteisen. de fide hist. Silii, Königsb. 1881. AKerer, d. Abhängigkeit des Sil. v. Liv., Botzen 1881. LBauer, Verhältnis des Sil. zu Liv., BlfbayrGW. 17, 145. 201; acta sem. phil. Erlang. 3, 103. JSvanVeen, quaestt. Sil., Leid. 1884.—The language: LCholevius, epitheta ornantia Vergilii comparata cum eis quibus Sil. Ital. carm. s. distinxit, Königsb. 1865. JSchinkel (n. 6) l.l. 35 (esp. de infinit. Sil.).

WBarchfeld, de comparationum usu ap. Sil., Gött. 1881. JSchmidt (§ 303, 11). JFranke, de Sil. Punicorum tropis, Münst. 1889.

5. Except by his own contemporaries the poet is mentioned only once, by Sidonius Apollinaris (excus. ad Felic. 261). On the supposed use of the work by Vibius Sequester (§ 445, 1) see HBlass, RhM. 31, 133. The Punica were forgotten during the Middle Ages, and Petrarch does not seem to have known the work when he wrote his Africa; OOccioni l.l. In 1416 or 1417 Poggio or his companion Barthol. di Montepulciano (§ 295, 2, cf. § 317, 4. 321, 7) found near Constance, probably at St. Gall, a MS. which was subsequently lost, as was the MS. found at Cologne by LCarrion (assigned to s. VIII/IX and extending to 16, 556). This excellent Coloniensis is known to us by the statements of Carrion and FModius. LCarrio, emendationum etc. libri (Antv. 1576. Par. 1583); FModii novantiq. lectt. (Frankf. 1584), both in Gruter's Lampas 3, 2, 90 and 5, 1. The extant MSS., all of s. XV (the best are Laur. 37, 16, Florent. eccles. 196, Oxon. colleg. Regin. 314, Vatic. 1652), are all derived from a copy of the SGallensis taken by the discoverer and now also lost. Cf. ADrakenborch in his praefatio. GThilo, quaestt. Sil., Halle 1858; in the symbola phil. Bonn. 399 and esp. HBlass, die Textesquellen des Sil., JJ. suppl. vol. 8, 159. On a (valueless) MS. in the Propaganda in Rome GWartenberg, JJ. 135, 431. On a MS. in Budapest LBauer, JJ. 139, 796.

6. Editions e.g. by DHeinsius (along with his crepundia Siliana), Leid. 1600. ClDausqueius (Par. 1618), ChrCellarius (Lps. 1695) and especially cum animadv. NHeinsii etc. ed. ADrakenborch, Utrecht 1717. illustr. JChThernesti, Lpz. 1791 II. ill. GARuperti, Gött. 1795–98 II. Reprinted by Lemaire, 1823. Ed. LBauer Leipz. 1890 (vol 1.6. 1–10). The text ed. by GHLünemann (Gött. 1823) and in WEWeber's corpus poett. latt. p. 799.—A metrical translation by FHBothe, Stuttg. 1855–57 and by an anonymous author, Brunswick 1866 II.—Quaestiones Sil. by WCosack (see n. 4), GThilo (see n. 5), CKoch, Münst. 1877, JSchinkel, Halle 1883, JSvanVeen, Leid. 1884; Mnem. 16, 289. 17, 368. Emendationes Sil. by JSchrader, Herm. 4, 345. 23, 211. GThilo, symb. phil. Bonn. 397, HBlass, Berl. 1867, AChory, Lps. 1877.—OOccioni, Silio Italico e il suo poema, Flor.[2] 1871; Antologia di Scienze 4 (1877) 275; the same author's Italian transl. with the text, Turin 1889 II. AZingerle, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. röm. Poesie 2 (Innsbr. 1878), 12. LBauer, JJ. 137, 193.

7. Homerus latinus. The best MSS. give the heading (and correspondingly the subscriptio) *incipit* (*explicit*) *Homerus* or *Homerus de bello Troiano* and so forth. Similarly Lactant. on Stat. Theb. 6, 121 quotes the lines 1048–50 from *Homerus in funere Hectoris*. The work, which was much used (e.g. in the gesta Berengarii imp. of. s. X, EDümmler, Forsch. z. deutsch. Gesch. 13, 415) was also during the Middle Ages generally designated as Homerus. Thus about a. 850 Ermenrich von Ellwangen, epist. ad Grimoldum (ed. EDümmler, Halle 1873) quotes *apud Homerum in* Iliade (l. 7), and so does in the tenth century Gualtherus Spirensis (ed. WHarster, Speyer 1878 p. 22 l. 93). In the eleventh century (the first demonstrable instance about a. 1087 in Benzo, bishop of Alba, in Monum. Germ. 13, 599) we find the name of the author given as *Pindarus seu Homerus* (*seu = et?* Dümmler l.l. 417). This designation was also known to Hugo von Trimberg, registr. auct. 154 ed. Huemer (Wien. SBer. 116, 145): *sequitur in ordine Statium Homerus, qui nunc usitatus est, sed non ille verus . . . hinc minori locus est huic Homero datus, quem Pindarus philosophus fertur transtulisse latinisque doctoribus in metrum convertisse.* The name Pindarus also occurs in late MSS. of the work itself; the origin of this has so far not been adequately explained (an attempt in LMüller, RhM. 24, 492). On the

employment of the work by later writers see HDunger, die Sage vom trojan. Kriege (Dresd. 1869) p. 28. 63. 78. CWagener, N. phil. Rundsch. 13, 199.—A reference to the anonymous author occurs in two acrostichs in the first eight and last eight lines of the poem (l. 1–8 *italices* and l. 1063–1070 *scripsit*), cf. Munk-Seyffert, Gesch. d. röm. Lit. $2^2$, 242. FBücheler, RhM. 35, 391. The concluding acrostich is easily solved by a transposition within l. 1065 *Remis quem paucis stringentem littora cernis*. The opening acrostich on the other hand cannot be made to represent *Italicus* (l. 7 *Ex quo contulerant discordi pectore pugnas* = Hom. *A*, 6 ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε). It seems plausible to take the Ital. in reference to Silius Italicus (see above) and to regard this abridgment of Homer as a youthful composition of that writer. MHertz, ZfGW. 31, 572 conjectured a dedication to S. I. (*Italice* as the vocative; cf. however ZfGW. 39, 424). In that case we might even, by the transposition of a single word (in l. 9 *Ira quis deus hos tristi contendere iussit*), derive from l. 8–11 the acrostich *Sili* (so also recently Friedländer, SGesch. $1^6$, xx). But the *scripsit* seems to prove that the author is designated. The long interval between the composition of the Ilias latina and the Punica, and the entirely different purpose of the two poems preclude us from founding any argument for or against Silius being the author of the Ilias on points of agreement or of variation between the two poems. There is certainly nothing in the diction or metre which should lead us to ignore the suggestion of the acrostich. RDöring, üb. d. Hom. lat., Strassb. 1884; de Silii Italici epitomes re metrica et genere dicendi, Strassb. 1886. PVerres, de Sil. Pun. et Italici Iliad. lat quaestt. gramm. et metr., Münst. 1888. IHilberg, Züricher Philol.-Vers. 234. ETrampe (§ 303, 5 ad fin.) p. 79.

8. Of the 1070 hexameters in the work 537, that is, half of the whole, are derived from Il. b. 1–5. The work is at first almost a translation, but gradually becomes more and more a brief and dry epitome. The catalogue of the ships is reproduced with especial care, and the numerous and frequently difficult names are brought in without a mistake. B. 19–22 are least accurately treated. The author has permitted himself frequent amplifications, especially by the addition of similes, speeches and descriptions. He makes extensive use of Ovid and Vergil, and is often put to straits by metrical necessities. The Roman poets before the Augustan period are not within his cognisance, though a few faint traces seem to point to Lucretius. The metre is treated with a strictness almost pedantic. That the work was composed under the Julian dynasty, at the very latest under Nero, appears from 899–902 *quem* (Aeneas) *nisi servasset magnarum rector aquarum, ut profugus latiis Troiam repararet in arvis augustumque genus caeli submitteret astris, non clarae gentis nobis mansisset origo*. Cf. 235, 483. CLachmann, kl. Schr. 2, 161 (before the death of Tiberius); cf. on Iwein p. 527 and on Lucr. 3, 11. LMüller l.l. (n. 9) 15, and Phil. 15, 479. 509.—Polybius' literary undertaking appears to have been of a similar description (Sen. consol. ad Polyb. 8, 2. 11, 5; cf. § 231, 5. 289, 4).

9. Numerous MSS. e.g. Laur. 68, 24 s. XI (collation in KSchenkl, ZföG. 26, 243), Monac. 19462 s. XI, Erfurt. Amplon. 20 s. XII (Ritschl, op. 3, 842, collation in ThKrafft, Studie z. lat. Hom., Nürnb. 1874), Leid. Voss. Q. 89 s. XII (collation in LMüller, JJ. 85, 729) and others (see Bährens l.l.). After the eleventh century, when the abridgment was read in schools, it underwent many interpolations and changes. Havet l.l. On a Brussels MS. 2718 s. XV see Reiffenberg in the Annuaire 3, 189; on a Prague MS. JKelle, d. class. Hss. in Prag. (1872).—Editions: e.g. esp. by Wernsdorf, PLM. 4, 551 cf. ib. 5, 621. Incerti auctoris, vulgo Pindari Theb. epitome Iliadis homericae e rec. et cum notis Thvan-

Kooten; edidit . . . HWeytingh, Leid. 1809. LMüller, üb. d. Auszug aus der Ilias des sog. Pindarus Theb. (Berl. 1857) p. 16–46 and supplements, Phil. 15, 483. In Bährens' PLM. 3, 7. Italici Ilias latina, ed., praef. est, app. crit. et nom. indic. locupl. instr. FPlessis, Par. 1885.—Criticism: KSchenkl, Zfög. 26, 247. ORossbach, Herm. 17, 515. LHavet, rev. de phil. 10, 46 and in Plessis l.l.

321. Under Domitian also wrote P. Papinius Statius of Naples (c. A.D. 40–96?), a man of exceptional poetical talent and vivid sensibility, highly polished in style and a skilful improvisatore. Nevertheless Statius displeases more than he attracts, owing to the want of truth perceptible throughout his poems; he interlards real thoughts and feelings with false, artificial and bespoken sentiments, and frequently overlays or replaces the thought with rhetorical and mythological verbiage. So it is with his five books of silvae, occasional poems (mostly in epic metre, but a few in melic metres) which, valuable as sketches of the period, are certainly the most attractive of Statius' works. His earliest and largest work, the Thebaid in twelve books, is a very dull production, in which he seems to have derived his subject-matter from Antimachos, while he follows Vergil in epic technicalities; his Achilleis is incomplete, even the second book being left unfinished.

1. Concerning the life of Papinius Statius (the cognomen Ursulus, Sursulus or Surculus is founded on a confusion with the author mentioned § 297, 10 ad fin.) almost all our information is derived from his poems. The time of his birth can only be inferred approximately from his father's age (§ 318, 3; CFWeber, panegyr. in Pis. p. 12) and from the son's performances during the father's life-time. When his father died at the age of 65 about a. 80, Statius had already won victories in poetical contests (silv. 5, 3, 225) in his native town of Naples (silv. 3, 5, 81), and had recited parts of his Thebaid at Rome (ib. 215; cf. 233 and Iuv. 7, 82). On the other hand he says silv. 4, 4, 69 (before a. 95): *nos . . . vergimur in senium* (cf. s. 5, 2, 158 of a. 95 or 96 *nos fortior aetas iam fugit*). In the year 94 he intends to return home to Naples *et patria senium componere terra* (see 3, 5, 13), and a. 95 he is already writing, at Naples, the praef. to silv. b. 4. Nothing entitles us to infer that Statius survived Domitian (see n. 5). We should not therefore be justified in fixing the date of his birth later than a. 45. On Statius' success in the Alban and failure in the Capitoline games see § 319, 3. That his migration to Naples (s. 3, praef. and 3, 5) was occasioned by his defeat, is possible, but not proved.—Statius married a Roman lady, a widow of the name of Claudia (s. 3, 5 is addressed to her), but had no children by her (s. 5, 5, 79). He lived in tolerable circumstances (an estate at Alba had been given him [by Domitian?] see 3, 1, 61. 4, 5, 2. 5, 3, 37); hence Statius in his intercourse with his aristocratic patrons never assumed such a beggarly attitude as does Martial (silv. 4, 9 is merely a joke). Iuv. 7, 86 (*Statius*) *cum fregit subsellia versu esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agauen* proves only that Statius did not derive any material gain from reciting his Thebaid. This Agaue was a mimus (cf. § 8, 13) and composed in the first years of Domitian's reign (Paris † a. 84). The venality of Statius' Muse in consideration of orders (e.g. from the eunuch and Imperial favourite Earinus

(silv. 3, 4) was probably rather due to political pressure than pecuniary wants. On his connection with Martial see § 322, 2. As his patrons appear C. Rutilius Gallicus (s. 1, 4; FRIEDLÄNDER, SGesch. 3⁵, 451. OHIRSCHFELD, Wien. Studd. 3, 268), Metius Celer (*rex meus*, silv. 3, 2, 92) and Plotius Grypus (4, 9, 48); with others his intercourse is on an equal footing, e.g. with Claudius Etruscus (*dilectus sodalis*, silv. 1, 5, 9; *meus*, ib. 3, praef.), Pollius Felix (*meus*, ib. 4, praef.) and his son-in-law Julius Menecrates (ib. 4, 8). Vettius Crispinus, a boy of 16 years, whose father is dead, receives from the poet (ib. 5, 2) exhortations which a father might give. Cf. LFRIEDLÄNDER, SGesch. 3⁵, 396. 399. But in respect of Domitian and everything connected with his person (silv. 4, praef. *latus omne divinae domus semper demereri pro mea mediocritate conitor; nam qui bona fide deos colit amat et sacerdotes*) his adulation is coarse and repulsive. Thus e.g. silv. 1, 1. 3, 4. 4, 1. 2, 3. 5, 1, 165 and elsewhere. But of the dead Caligula (3, 3, 70) and *ferus Nero* (5, 2, 33) he ventures to speak openly. HDODWELL, annales Statiani in the ann. Velleiani, Oxf. 1698 (altogether arbitrary, see AGROSSE [n. 9] p, 4). JDANGLARD (n. 6). LLEHANNEUR, de Statii vita et operibus, La Rochelle 1878. PKERCKHOFF, duae quaestt. Papinianae: I de vitae operumque Stat. tempp., II de Stat. facultate extemporali, Berl. 1884. LFRIEDLÄNDER, de personis non nullis a Statio commemoratis, Königsb. 1870; SGesch. 3⁵, 445. WRÜDIGER, quibus cum viris fuerit Statio usus consuetudo familiaritas, Marb. 1888.

2. Thebăis (cf. Theb. 12, 812. silv. 3, 5, 36 and IUV. 7, 83), dedicated to Domitian (1, 17–33), produced by the long-continued labour (silv. 3, 5, 35. 4, 7, 26. Vibius Maximus § 329, 1 encouraged the poet) of twelve years (Theb. 12, 811). Silv. 3, 2, 142 it is mentioned as not yet finished, but it appears to have been completed ib. 4, 4, 88 (*iam sidonios emensa labores Thebais optato colleyit carbasa portu* etc.), cf. ib. 4, 7, 7. 25. As Statius' father had already seen the first commencement of the work (silv. 5, 3, 233), the composition of the whole poem seems to have occupied the years 80–92. It was published shortly before b. 1 of the silvae (see silv. 1, praef.). Cf. KERCKHOFF l.l. 25. It turns on the contests of Polyneikes and Eteokles. After the action has in the first ten books scarcely made any progress, owing to the long-winded speeches, military preparations, descriptions and episodes (e.g. the story of Hypsipyle and Archemoros, which fills b. 5 and 6), it is summarily finished in the last two books, which contain not only the fight of the two brothers, Kreon's accession and prohibition to bury Polyneikes, but also Antigone's petition addressed to Theseus, his interference and the death of Kreon. The legend is treated very freely in details, Greek conceptions being mixed up with Roman (e.g. the abstract figures of Virtus, Furores etc.). The characters are arbitrarily and often coarsely delineated. The arrangement and motives are merely superficial. Epic similes are interspersed in great abundance. Descriptions of battles alternate with sentimental episodes. The mythological learning appears also in the paraphrasing of mythical names in the manner of Lykophron. The diction is frequently bombastic and not rarely obscured by artificial brevity. WELCKER, kl. Schr. 1, 396. We recognise the traces of the Augustan models nearly everywhere, but also an endeavour to outbid them by artificial and pathetic colouring. At the end, however (12, 816), Statius apostrophises his work in the following terms: *vive, precor, nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta, sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora.* He speaks more confidently Achill. 1, 10 and silv. 2, 3, 63. 5, 3, 213.—On the metrical tables of contents see ROPITZ, Lpz. Studd. 6, 306.—USAILER, Stazio e la sua Theb., Venez. 1886.

3. The design of the Achilleid (alluded to in the years 95–96 silv. 4, 4, 94. 4, 7, 23. 5, 2, 163) was conceived on a very grand scale and was to embrace also the

legends antecedent and posterior to the Iliad. Ach. 1, 1 *Magnanimum Aeaciden, . . . diva, refer, quamquam acta viri multum inclita cantu maeonio, sed plura vacant. nos ire per omnem (sic amor est) heroa velis Scyroque latentem dulichia proferre tuba, nec in Hectore tracto sistere, sed tota iuvenem deducere Troia.* The first book relates in 960 lines, how Thetis hides her son in female disguise in the house of Lykomedes, but Kalchas discovers his sojourn by prophetic art, after the supposed girl has already seduced Deidamia, one of the daughters of his unsuspecting host, and how Odysseus discovers Achilles and induces him to join in the war. The 167 lines of the second book, which are complete, relate the departure from Scyros and discourses (concerning the cause of the war, and the youth of Achilles) during the voyage. The style is less ranting and involved, but just as diffuse as in the Thebaid. On the division of the poem see OMüller's ed. of the Theb. p. xiii, Kohlmann, Phil. 34, 475 and pref. to his ed. p. xi.

4. Both Theb. 1, 17 and Ach. 1, 19 (*te longo necdum fidente paratu molimur, magnusque tibi praeludit Achilles*) Statius promises Domitian a special epic in celebration of his Germanic campaign; cf. silv. 4, 4, 93 *nunc . . . Troia quidem magnusque mihi temptatur Achilles. sed vocat arcitenens alio pater armaque monstrat ausonii maiora ducis. trahit impetus illo iam pridem retrahitque timor.* That a part of this work was finished and had been published appears from four hexameters in the scholia of GValla on Iuv. 4, 94 with the prefatory note: *Acilius Glabrionis filius consul sub Domitiano fuit, Papinii Statii carmine de bello Germanico quod Domitianus egit probatus 'lumina Nestorei'* etc. OJahn, RhM. 9, 627. Nohl, qu. Stat. 42. Bücheler, RhM. 39, 283.

5. As the title of a book (Gell. praef. 6.) silvae according to Quint. 10, 3, 17 denotes rapidly executed pieces, occasional poems, improvisations; cf. silv. 1, praef. *hos libellos, qui mihi subito calore et quadam festinandi voluptate fluxerunt. . . . nullum ex illis biduo longius tractum, quaedam et singulis diebus effusa.* 2, praef. *epicedio prosecutus sum adeo festinanter ut* etc. 3, praef. (*libellos*) *subito natos.* According to 4, praef. Statius was blamed by some *quod hoc stili genus (opuscula, leves libelli,* 2, praef.; *ioci,* 4, praef.) *edidisset.* The 32 pieces were first written separately and, when a number of them were ready, collected in a book (though perhaps not in strict chronological order) and dedicated with a prose-address to particular persons and then published, book 1 to Stella (§ 323, 1), 2 to Atedius Melior, 3 to Pollius Felix, 4 to Vitorius Marcellus (§ 326, 8); b. 5 is extant in an unfinished state (the preface addressed to Abascantus relates only to 5, 1) and appears to have been published only after the death of the author. In it e.g. 4 we have the sick poet's affecting prayer for sleep.—Except 5, 3 (*epicedion in patrem suum,* about a. 80, but with later editions, Nohl l.l. 21) all the pieces date from the last years of Statius' life (a. 90–96), as even b. 1 was not composed until about a. 90 and was not published before a. 92, for Rutilius Gallicus († beg. of a. 92, CIL. 6, 1984, 8. 5, 6988) is mentioned by Statius silv. 1, praef. (cf. ib. 1, 4) as already dead. LFriedländer, de tempp. Mart. libr. et silv. Stat. (Königsb. 1862) p. 14; SGesch. 3 [5], 440. HNohl, quaest. Stat. 5. Kerckhoff (n. 1 in fin.) 6. Cf. silv. 3, praef. *securus itaque tertius hic silvarum nostrarum liber ad te mittitur. habuerat quidem et secundus testem, sed hic habet auctorem.* 4, praef. *plura in quarto silvarum quam in prioribus.* Silv. 4, 1 celebrates Domitian's XVIIth consulate (a. 95). Other subjects are the deaths of friends (also of pueri delicati), in which epicedia he is often lachrymose, departures of friends (propemptica), their possessions (villae, balnea, works of art, even a psittacus), marriages, births and birthdays (Lucani 2, 7; cf. § 303, 1), Saturnalia etc. As made to order are

designated 1, 1 and 2. 2, 7. 3, 4. Phalaecean metre is used in 1, 6. 2, 7. 4, 3. 9., alcaic in 4, 5 and sapphic in 4, 7.

6. Copious diction, studied elegance, bold formations and innovations in the use of words Statius shares with his whole period; peculiar to him (at least in the silvae) is the rapidity of working, from which some carelessness (e.g. repetitions, KERCKHOFF l.l. 31) may be explained. Cf. APOLL. SID. carm. 9, 223. He imitated Vergil, Horace, Ovid and others; at first he follows these models more closely, while in the later works he becomes more independent. GLÜHR, de Statio in silvis priorum poetarum Roman. imitatore, Königsb. 1880. AZINGERLE, zu spät. lat. Dicht. 1873, 2. 23. 26. BDEIPSER, de Statio Vergilii et Ovidii imitatore, dissertt. Argentor. 5, 91. MKULLA (n. 9) 43. In general cf. the supplements to SULZER 8, 344, and HAND on Silv. p. x. JDANGLARD, Stace et ses Silves, Clermont-Ferrand 1864.—On his diction SURINGAR, obss. in Stat. silv., Ling. 1810. EGROSSE, obss. p. 11. 45. ENAUKE, obss. crit. et gr. in Stat. p. 16. CKRAUSE, de Statii comparationibus, Halle 1871. FLOHR, de infinitivi ap. Stat. et Iuv. usu, Marb. 1876. PJOESTERBERG (§ 317, 2 ad fin.). KERCKHOFF l.l. 49.—On Statius' metre: GROSSE, obss. p. 37. OMÜLLER, quaestt. Stat., Berl. 1861. His predilection for assonance and alliteration, HKÖSTLIN, Phil. 35, 494. 39, 67. EKRANICH, d. Alliteration bei Stat., Mähr. Neustadt 1886.—Statius' Thebaid and Achilleid were much used e.g. by Ausonius, Claudian, and more especially by Sidonius Apollinaris, who has moreover exploited the Silvae to a very large extent (RBITSCHOFSKY, de Sid. Apoll. studiis Statianis, Vienna 1881); cf. also IUL. CAPITOL. Gordiani tres 3, 3. Cf. in general KULLA l.l. At a later period, during the Middle Ages, these poems were admired (DANTE Purgat. XXI) and diligently read. The Achilleid was used by Jos. Iscanus (about a. 1200) and especially by Konrad von Würzburg (about a. 1280), HDUNGER, Sage vom trojan. Krieg. 25. 46. 52. The Silvae on the other hand are very rarely quoted (PRISC. GL. 3, 10, 21. SERV. georg. 4, 125. [SERG.] GL. 4, 499, 16 ?) and were almost unknown during the Middle Ages (OMÜLLER, RhM. 18, 189).

7. The numerous manuscripts of the Thebaid and Achilleid fall into two classes, of which the best is chiefly represented by Paris. 8051 (Puteanus) s. X (in this below b. 4 of the Theb. there is the subscriptio '*Codex Iuliani v. c.*'). The inferior class, the only one with which the scholiast (n. 10) was acquainted and to which belong by far the greater number of the MSS., is represented as regards the Thebaid especially by Bamberg. N. 4, 11 s. X, for the Achilleid by Par. 8052 s. XII, Guelferb. Gud. 52 s. XIV, Etonens. s. XI (KSCHENKL, Wien. Studd. 4, 96) and others. Cf. OMÜLLER and PHKOHLMANN praeff. to their edd., the latter also Phil. 34, 474. On fragments of a (Werden) MS. of the Theb. s. X see WSCHMITZ, RhM. 21, 438 and WCRECELIUS ib. 32, 632; to the same manuscript probably also belonged the fragments published by FDEYCKS in 1865 at Münster. EGROSSE, über eine Trierer Hs. des St., Königsb. 1866. CFWEBER, de cod. Casselano (s. XI), Marb. 1853. HSCHENKL, ein Fragm. d. Theb. s. IX zu Worcester, Wien. Studd. 8, 166.—The extant MSS. of the Silvae are all s. XV (esp. Rehdigeran. p. 1, 6, 17, Vindobon. 140 [Budensis], Matrit. M 31, see GGÖTZ l.l. p. VII; used for 1, 2 in HERZOG, n. 9) and are derived, through an intermediate link which also is not now extant, from a long lost MS. which Poggio in 1417 discovered at St. Gall (CWACHSMUTH, RhM. 29, 355. HBLASS, ib. 30, 461) and took to Italy. APOLIZIANO wrote the different readings of this Sangallensis in a copy of the ed. princ., now in the Corsini library in Rome (cf. NOHL, qu. Stat. 29; further Herm. 12, 255). Silv. 2, 7 only (Genethliacon Lucani ad Pollam) is also preserved in a Laur. 29, 32 s. X which is independent of the St. Gall. FHAND, ed. Silv. p. XX. AIMHOFF, de Silv. St. condicione critica, Halle 1859. HNOHL, quaestt. Stat. p. 27. BÄHRENS pref. to

his ed. GGötz, de Statii silvis emendandis, Jena 1884 (and on this HNohl, WschrfklPh. 1885, 48).

8. Editions e.g. by FTiliobroga (Lindenbrog), Par. 1600. JFGronov, Amsterd. 1653. Ex rec. et cum animadv. CBarthii, Cygn. 1664 sq. IV (with an ind.). Cum nott. varr. et ind. locupl., Lond. 1824 IV. Cum notis ed. FDübner, Par. 1835 sq. II. Rec. GQueck, Lps. 1854 II (cf. Imhof, de condic. p. 43. Rec. EBährens et PhKohlmann: I silv. ed. Bähr., Lps. 1876; II Achill. et Theb. ed. Kohlm., Lps. 1879–84 (cf. on this HNohl, WschrfklPh. 1884, 1823).—Thebais et Achilleis cum scholiis rec. OMüller (I: Thebais I–VI, Lps. 1870; cf. also PhKohlmann, St. Achill. 1, 1–396 cum scholiis ed., Emden 1877).—Silvae rec. et emend. IMarkland, Lond. 1728 (reprinted by JSillig, Dresd. 1827). Silv. rec. et cum nott. varr. ed. FHand, Lps. 1817 (only 1, 1–3).—Translations: St.'s works by KWBindewald, Stuttg. 1868 sqq. Silvae by JGDölling, Plauen 1837–47. The Thebaid in German by AImhof I (b. 1–6), Ilmenau 1865. II (b. 7–12), Ilmenau 1889.

9. Criticism and explanation: FGuyet on the Theb. in JUri, un cercle savant au XVII siècle: FGGuyet, Par. 1886. IGruteri suspiciones in St. Theb. I cum animadv. FHandii, Jena 1851. RBentley and JSchrader on Stat. in MHaupt, op. 3, 130. CLachmann, kl. Schr. 2, 47. MHaupt, op. 3, 126. OMüller, quaestt. Stat., Berl. 1861; RhM. 18, 189; electa Stat., Berl. 1882. ENauke, obss. criticae et grammaticae in Stat., Bresl. 1863. AImhof, emendatt. Stat., Halle 1867. HNohl, quaestt. Stat., Berl. 1871. CAppelmann, studia Papiniana, Demmin 1872. HHahn, quaest. Stat. I, Bresl. 1873. PhKohlmann, Phil. 34, 569. HKöstlin, Phil. 35, 493. 713. 36, 176. 37, 276. LGrasberger, JJ. 115, 419. 769. CESandström, stud. crit. in Stat., Upsala 1878. LPolster. quaestt. Stat. (silv.), Wongrowitz 1878; Ostrowo 1879. 1884 III. JJCornelissen, Mnemos. NS. 5, 277. 7, 308. AOtto, RhM. 41, 362. 42, 531. Mommsen (silv. 5, 1, 94), Korr.-Bl. d. Westdeutsch. Zeitschr. 5, 216. ESchäfer, § 303, 11.—IFGronovii in St. Silvas diatribe, Hag. Com. 1637 (cum annotatt. ed. FHand, Lps. 1811 II). Stat. epithalamium (silv. 1, 2) denuo editum adnotavit quaestt. que adi. archaeologicas AHerzog, Lps. 1882. Silv. 1, 4 e codd. et schedis Handii, in Jahn's Archiv. 18, 121. On Silv. 1, 4 EDesjardins, rev. d. phil. 1 (1877), 1. 189. CWachsmuth, on Stat. silv. 1, 6, RhM. 43, 21. Silv. 3, 5 emend. et adn. AImhof, Halle 1863. Silv. 4, 6 cum commentar. FHandii, Jena 1849. Ecloga ultima (silv. 5, 5) emendatiorem ed. RUnger; acc. de Statii locis coniectt., Neustrelitz 1868. EGrosse, obss. in St. silvis, Berl. 1861. EBährens, RhM. 28, 250. MKulla, quaestt. Stat., Bresl. 1881. OHirschfeld, Wien. Studd. 2, 268. REllis, Journ. of phil. 13, 88. WBrandes, ZföG. 36, 573. WWaller, excursus crit. in Stat. silv., Bresl. 1885. OStange, Statii carmm. quae ad Domitianum spectant interpretatio, Dresd. 1887. ESchwarz, ind. lect., Rost. 1889, p. 4.

10. There are extant scholia on the Thebaid by a certain Lactantius Placidus. This name is also mentioned on Theb. 6, 264 *sed de his rebus* (concerning the Antipodes) *prout ingenio meo conectere potui, ex libris ineffabilis doctrinae Persei praeceptoris seorsum libellum composui Lactantius Placidus:* but here the name has evidently been inserted subsequently; in this connection we also find in many MSS. (Kohlmann, Phil. 33, 130) *Caelius Firmianus Lactantius Placidus*, in consequence of the scholiast being confounded with the patristic writer (§ 397, 1). The scholiast should probably be identified with the author of a glossary named Luctatius (Lactantius?) Placidus, see § 42, 6. 472, 7; cf. also § 249, 2. The scholia, which are plentiful in the first books, gradually become scantier and almost cease in the last books; this in itself points to an incomplete preservation

of the commentary. So does the observation in Theb. 1, 56 (*Thebanarum*) *omnium seriem fabularum in argumento digessimus*. This argumentum is missing in most of the MSS., but is apparently preserved, although with many spurious additions, in the Rhedigeran. 155 s. XIV (MSchmidt, Phil. 23, 540). In other points also the substance of the scholia varies in the MSS., and no doubt the commentary in question contains much extraneous matter. Until a new edition is brought out, it is impossible to obtain a clear view of the character, date of composition, original form of and later additions to this work. The scholia contain a large number of extracts from Hyginus, Servius and others, and a smaller number of grammatical comments. On Theb. 8, 287 Sedulius carm. pasch. 1, 200 is quoted (so e.g. in the cod. Valentinian. 514 s. IX/X, but in the Monac. 6396 s. XI, 19482 s. XI/XII, Bamb. N. IV 11 s. XI this quotation is missing, Phil. 24, 156), likewise Boethius on 4, 106 (compare GThilo pref. to his Serv. 1, p. xxxvi) and in the Argumentum Phil. 23, 544 l. 11; lastly the scholion on Theb. 12, 62 seems to indicate recourse to Iordan. Get. 257 (Mommsen on Iord. p. xlv. 198). These scholia are printed e.g. in the edd. of Statius by Lindenbrog and Barth (see n. 8). Cf. FDübner pref. to his ed. p. viii. HSchottky, de pretio Lactantiani comm. in St. Th. etc. (b. 1), Friedl. 1863. EWölfflin, Phil. 24, 156. PhKohlmann, z. Krit. d. Statiusscholiasten, Phil. 33, 128; neue Scholien zur Theb. des Stat. (from Paris. 10317 s. X), Posen 1873; Lactantii Placidi in Stat. Theb. 3, 1–323 commentarii ad fid. codd. rec. PhKohlmann, Emden 1887. See also ThBirt, RhM. 34, 557.—We have unimportant scholia on the Achilleid in Lindenbrog (GThilo pref. to his Serv. 1, p. xxxvi) and in Mai, spicileg. rom. IX, appendix. Dommerich, ad Stat. Ach. ex membranis (now Guelferb. Gud. 292) anecdota, Wolfenbüttel 1758. See also PhKohlmann, Emdener Progr. of 1877 (above n. 8).

322. In Domitian's reign is included also the greater part of the literary career of M. Valerius Martialis (born about a. 40, † about a. 102–104) of Bilbilis in Spain; we possess by him 15 books of epigrams, which turn on the social life of the Rome of those days with all its filth and its servility. Martial is weak in character; living under necessitous circumstances, he drifts with the stream, shows himself pliable and accommodating in regard to the opinions and the vices of his time, and does not shrink from moral and aesthetic improprieties and personal debasement. Yet Martial's gifts are of a high order. He certainly is not conscious of any vocation as a moralist, but he keeps a sharp eye on the weaknesses of his fellow-men, and possesses quite an exceptional talent for surprising the reader with brief utterances couched in delicately polished verses, and for hitting the nail on the head. Thus he is, though within a small compass, a really creative poet, who loses nothing by comparison with the Greeks, and he has become the one classic model of epigrammatic poetry in the literature not only of Rome but of the world.

1. M. Valerius Martialis (on the supposed cognomen of Coquus see Schneidewin's edition of 1842, p. 21. 683) died at the latest a. 104, as the letter of Pliny con-

cerning his death (n. 7) cannot be later than that year (JAsbach, RhM. 36, 38). In Martial's poems nothing points with certainty beyond a. 101; Mommsen, Herm. 3, 120. His birth-day: 1 March (9, 52. 10, 24. 12, 60). His 57th birth-day is mentioned Mart. 10, 24 (*natales mihi Martiae kalendae, . . . quinquagesima liba septimamque vestris addimus hanc focis acerram*). The poems of b. 10 belong perhaps to the years 95–98 (n. 4). After 34 years spent at Rome (10, 103, 7; cf. 12, 31, 7. 34, 1), i.e. perhaps 64–98 a.d., he returned home, probably because under Nerva and Trajan a new spirit had begun to reign at Rome which was not congenial to Martial and from which he could not expect much. Even before, his manner of living at Rome was wretched enough, as he depised real work, such as e.g. that of an advocate, though his begging addresses to rich and powerful patrons did not procure him enough to live on; cf. 3, 38 and in many other places. Together with a small house in the metropolis he possessed (and that as early as a. 84 ?) a small and barren property near Nomentum in the Sabine country: this may have been a bequest from the inheritance of Seneca. Friedländer, SGesch. $3^5$, 397; on Mart. 1, 5. 1, 105. Both from Titus (3, 95, 5. 9, 97, 5) and Domitian, at his own request, he received for his poems the ius trium liberorum (2, 91. 92; cf. 4, 27, 3), and the dignity of tribunus (3, 95, 9), which elevated him into the equestrian order (3, 95, 10. 5, 13, 2. 5, 17, 2. 9, 49, 4. 12, 26, 2; Friedländer SG. $1^6$, 292). His parents were (Valerius) Fronto and Flaccilla (5, 34, 1). In his native country he received from the domina Marcella (12, 31), probably out of admiration for his literary performances (cf. 12, 21), the present of an estate. Portrait of the poet: Mart. 9, praef. (*Stertinium qui imaginem meam ponere in bibliotheca sua voluit*). Bernoulli, röm. Ikonogr. 1, 288.—On the life of M.: Friedländer pref. to his ed. 1, 3. ABrandt, de Martialis poetae vita, Berl. 1853. WvanStockum, de Mart. vita et scriptis, The Hague 1884. Cf. n. 10 ad fin.

2. Many are the patrons addressed by Martial; among them chiefly the nearest entourage of the Emperor, e.g. Parthenius (§ 324, 2), Crispinus (e.g. 7, 99), Earinus (§ 321, 1) and others. The literary characters of the age are also sufficiently represented in these poems; but Tacitus never appears, nor does Statius, just as vice versa Martial is never mentioned by Statius. This circumstance is all the more remarkable, as the two poets were contemporaries and moved simultaneously in the same circles, nay even treated the same subjects. Thus Stat. silv, 1, 2. 5=Mart. 6, 21. 42; silv. 2, 1. 7=Mart. 6, 28 sq. 7, 21–23; silv. 3, 3 sq.= Mart. 7, 40. 9, 11–13. 16. 36; silv. 4, 6=Mart. 9, 43 sq. This silence is no doubt due to the marked opposition in character, and to the competition and rivalry of the two poets. Martial may, therefore, be supposed to allude in his frequent remarks on the poets of long-winded epic poems (e.g. in twelve books like the Thebaid, Mart. 9, 50, 3 cf. § 324, 3 and Mart. 9, 19. 10, 21. 14, 1, 11) especially to Statius. LFriedländer, SG. $3^5$, 402; on Mart. 4, 49.

3. It is not Martial's fault that history does not admire Domitian as the embodiment of all human and princely virtues. He lauds all his actions in peace and in war as proofs of the highest wisdom and valour, and when the Emperor is in the field, can scarcely find language sufficient to express Rome's desire for the return of this benign prince and father of the fatherland, under whom Rome is stated to be freer than ever (5, 19, 6). B. 8 especially abounds in such sycophancy. Domitian indeed gains in our estimation on account of the insensibility which he showed to this continual flattery and shameless importunity; for he scarcely gave Martial any cause for gratitude (cf. n. 1, l. 19). Cf. also esp. 9, 3. On the other hand he is at a loss under Nerva, when *blanditiae* no longer pay and *rustica veritas* reigns (10, 72). The truth about Domitian is stated 12, 6, 11

sq., cf. 12, 15, 9 sq., and especially the lines preserved by SCHOL. IUV. 4, 38 (*Valerius Martialis in epigrammate;* (usually numbered as spect. 33); *Flavia gens, quantum tibi tertius abstulit heres! paene fuit tanti non habuisse duos.* His former expressions to the contrary were not due to self-deception, as appears from this epigram.

4. Books 1–12 are preceded by a book not counted in and which contains 32 (33) epigrams; it is called liber spectaculorum from its contents, but bears, in the MSS., only the title of epigrammaton liber. It was composed a. 80 (and later) and relates to the theatrical performances given by Titus (and Domitian). JKEHREIN in Jahn's Archiv 4, 541. FSCHMIEDER, Martial. de spect. liber, Brieg 1837. Mart.'s Buch der Schauspiele m. Anmm. von LFRIEDLÄNDER, Königsb. 1884. ADAU l.l. 8. The last two books also are not counted in the MSS. as b. 13 and 14 (cf. at the end of b. 12 the subscriptio: *Mart. epigrammaton liber XII et ultimus explicit . . . M. Val. Mart. xenia incipit*), but bear the special title *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, and these two alone (published Dec. 84 or 83?) received from Martial himself headings to the single distichs. The epigrams in b. 13 and 14 are intended as presents on the festival of the Saturnalia, and consist mostly of epigrams in the original sense of the word, i.e. inscriptions on some subject, while the other epigrams correspond to the later sense of the word, being occasional and witty compositions, written as though on some special event or person. In b. 14 the epigrams are regularly arranged in pairs (cf. 14, 1, 5 *divitis alternas et pauperis accipe sortes.* THBIRT, antikes Buchwes. 73. FRIEDLÄNDER, on Mart. 2, p. 295. RULLRICH, Studd. Tibull., Berl. 1889, 75).— It was only after the publication, from practical motives, of these three collections, that Martial undertook the gradual collection of the rest of his epigrams in a single edition. Each book generally has at its beginning a dedication with a preface, some (b. 1, 2, 8, 12) in prose, like the prefaces in Statius. Each book contains on an average 100 epigrams, arranged so as to make them more interesting by variation (also in point of metre). Their dates are frequently uncertain: b. 1 and 2 appeared a. 86; b. 3–11 at intervals of a year or thereabout (10, 70, 1; cf. 9, 84, 9) from 87 to Dec. 96. Book 11 was mostly written under Domitian, but published under Nerva, in December 96. The next was a purified excerpt from 10 and 11, presented to the Emperor (12, 5), perhaps middle of 97. Then the extant (expurgated) second edition of 10, immediately before the poet's return to Bilbilis (a. 98); finally b. 12 from Spain, after *contumacissima trienni desidia* (12, praef.), at the end of a. 101: Stobbe and Friedländer assume a twofold version of this, a *brevis liber* put together *paucissimis diebus* for Terentius Priscus (end of 101) and an enlarged edition for Rome (beg. of 102). The three separate collections were combined with the principal collection after the poet's death.—See the details in LFRIEDLÄNDER, de tempp. librr. Mart., Königsb. 1862. 1865; a new investigation of this subject in his SGesch. Roms $3^5$, 424 and in his ed. of Mart. 1, p. 50. HFSTOBBE, Phil. 26, 44 and (against MOMMSEN, see n. 1) ib. 27, 630 and in FRIEDLÄNDER's Sittengesch. $3^5$, 424. OHIRSCHFELD, Gött. gel. Anz. 1869, 1506. ADAU, de Mart. libellorum ratione temporibusque I, Rost. 1887 and on this WGILBERT, WschrfklPh. 1888, 1068.—Epigrams under the name of M. which are not found in his collection are given e.g. AL. 26. 276 PLM. 4, 116. 117 (see further in FRIEDLÄNDER's ed. 1, p. 68). Cf. above n. 3 ad fin.

5. The subjects of these epigrams are derived from real life (8, 3, 20 cf. 10, 4, 10), though mostly in its obscene side to suit the taste of the vulgar public. *Epigrammata illis scribuntur qui solent spectare Florales* (1, praef.) Chaste or bashful persons are requested not to read them (ib. and 3, 69. 11, 16). B. 11 is the

most impudent, in excuse of which the Saturnalia are alleged (c. 2. 6. 15, 11). But the books dedicated to the Emperor (5 and 8) are commended by the author for their (relative) decency; b. 4 also contains only seven pieces of this kind, perhaps for a similar reason (cf. 4, 1). But even then these epigrams did not please all readers. Martial repeatedly guards himself against the supposition that his life was unclean like his epigrams (1, 4, 8 *lasciva est nobis pagina, vita probast;* cf. 7, 55, 6. 11, 15, 3), and his revision of b. 10 was probably calculated to remove the worst obscenities, and perhaps this purifying process might also have been extended to b. 11, if Martial had not left Rome (Stobbe, Phil. 26, 72).

6. Living characters are introduced with their real names only when Martial either praises them or speaks of them indifferently. Cf. 1, praef. *spero me secutum in libellis meis tale temperamentum ut de illis queri non possit quisquis de se bene senserit, cum salva infimarum quoque personarum reverentia ludant; quae adeo antiquis auctoribus defuit ut nominibus non tantum veris abusi sint sed et magnis.* 7, 12, 3 *mea nec iuste quos odit pagina laesit.* It is in vain that he frequently endeavours to represent as humanitas or good-nature or even principle (*parcere personis, dicere de vitiis*, 10, 33, 10) what is merely the obverse of his servility. In all offensive epigrams he chooses names merely to suit his metre and even disdains any personal allusions (2, 23. 3, 11. 9, 95b; cf. 1, 96, 14). Some names he uses in a typical sense, e.g. Fidentinus of a plagiarist, Selius of a parasite, Ligurinus of a recitator, and Caecilianus, Gargilianus, Candidus, Classicus, Ponticus, Zoilus, Flaccus, Tucca etc. for anything. But with regard to deceased persons Martial like Statius (§ 321, 1 ad fin.) is candid, e.g. particularly concerning Nero (1, 20, 4. 4, 63. 7, 21, 3. 7, 44 sq. 7, 34, 4 *quid Nerone peius?*); he praises Arria (1, 13) and Thrasea (1, 8, 1. 4, 54, 7) undisguisedly; they have become for him definite types in the same way as Cato or Porcia. See the list in PGiese, de personis a Mart. commemoratis, Greifsw. 1872. LFriedländer, de personis quibusd. a Mart. commemoratis, Königsb. 1870; pref. to his ed. 1, p. 7 and the indd. pers. in Friedländer's and Gilbert's editions.

7. Plinius ep. 3, 21, 1 *audio Valerium Martialem decessisse et moleste fero. erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis* (cf. Mart. 7, 25, 3) *nec candoris minus.* (2) *prosecutus eram viatico secedentem: dederam hoc amicitiae, dederam etiam versiculis quos de me composuit* (Mart. 10, 19). His juvenile poems (1, 114; cf. 12, 94) have perished without leaving any trace, and the renown he had won in his time, and of which he speaks so ostentatiously, is based only upon his epigrams. On account of these he repeatedly places himself on a par with Domitius Marsus and Catullus. That he could not attain anything higher, he attributes, with manifest self-deception, chiefly to his indigent circumstances. Cf. 1, 107. 7, 99, 5. 8, 56. 10, 78, 14. 11, 3. 24. Martial in his diction, metre and poetical style leans principally on Catullus, Ovid and the Priapea, which he largely exploits, then on Vergil and to a less extent on Horace. He maintains his literary independence with regard to his contemporaries Lucan and Silius. RPaukstadt, de Martiale Catulli imitatore, Halle 1876. KPSchulze, JJ. 135, 637. AZingerle, Martials Ovidstudien, Innsbr. 1877; Beitr. z. Gesch. d. röm. Poes. 2 (Innsbr. 1878), 12. EWagner, de Mart. poetarum aetatis August. imitatore, Königsb. 1880 and his arguments in Friedländer's edition. Cf. also JSüss, act. semin. Erlang. 1, 11. EStephani, de Martiali verborum novatore, Bresl. 1889. ERenn, d. griech. Eigennamen b. M., Landsh. 1889. On Martial's versification, clever, tasteful and careful without being pedantic (he employs chiefly the elegiac distich, then hendecasyllabics and choliambics, other metres in particular instances) see

LFriedländer and ThBirt in the edition by the former 1, p. 26. On Martial's orthography see WGilbert in the same ed. 1, p. 108.—Martial continued to be much read during the following centuries. Spartian. Hel. Ver. 5, 9 (§ 283, 2) *idem Martialem, epigrammaticum poetam, Vergilium suum dixisse.* Quotations from grammarians in Keil's GL. 7, 608. The work was largely used by Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris.

8. The subscriptio of several MSS. indicates a critical study of Martial: *Ego Torquatus Gennadius emendavi. lege feliciter* or *Emendavi ego Torquatus Gennad. cum ceteris Gennadi vatibus qui reflorui* (?). *lege feliciter* and (in the Arondell.) *in senatu Vincentii et Frangitii cc.* (this refers to the consuls of a. 401 Vincentius et Fravitta) *XV Febr. epigrammaton l. XIII de xeniis M. Val. Mart. emendavi ego Torquatus in foro divi Augusti* (cf. § 325, 12. 367, 8). According to this the Gennadius here alluded to might be the son of the one mentioned § 417, 1 (Friedländer, ed. 1, p. 69).—The MSS. fall into three classes, showing variations which in part appear to be traceable to the poet himself. To class A belong Paris. 8071 s. IX (T), which has however been over-estimated by Schneidewin (Friedländer, de Mart. codice T, Königsb. 1879), and Vindob. 277 s. X (H), also Leidensis Voss. Q. 86 s. IX (R, supplements to Schneidewin's collation are given by HDeiters, JJ. 121, 184); to class B, which is derived from the edition of Torquatus Gennadius (see above), belong Gruter's MS. (ℬ.) now lost, the Palatinus 1696 s. XV (P), Arondellianus 136 s. XV (Q). Lastly class C (divisible into Ca and Cb): to this belong the Edinburgensis (E) s. X, Putaneus (X) s. X (and closely related to this the Eporediensis s. XI, Leipz. Studien 1, 363), two Vossiani A. s. XI and B. s. XII, a Vaticanus (V) s. X/XI.—An enumeration and estimate of the MSS. in Schneidewin's and Friedländer's edd.

9. Editions: (Schneidewin's prolegg. p. xi) e.g. by IGruter, Francof. 1602. Cum notis varr. ed. PScriverius, Leid. 1619. 1621. Cum animadv. JFGronovii ed. CSchrevelius, Amsterd. 1661. 1670. illustr. VCollesso in usum Delphini (with an ind. verbb., another by JLang, Strassb. 1595), Par. 1660. Edidit FGSchneidewin, Grimma 1842 II; ex rec. sua denuo recognita, Lps. 1853. Published with explanatory notes by LFriedländer, Lpz. 1886 II (containing also a list of words). Recogn. WGilbert, Lpz. 1886.—Mart. b. 1. 2. edited with introd. and notes by JEBMayor (Lond., forthcoming). Selected epigrams, with introd., notes and appendices by HMStephenson, Lond.² 1888; extracts by Sellar and Ramsay, Edinb. 1884; by FAPaley and WHStone, London 1881.—A metrical translation abridged, by Ramler (Lpz. 1787), in a complete form by ABerg, Stuttg. 1864 sqq.

10. AdeRooy, coniectt. crit. in Mart., Utr. 1764. OGuttmann, obss. in M. (esp. on the use of the dative p. 1–30; de metris. M. p. 46–52), Bresl. 1866. LFriedländer, de nonnullis locis corruptis in M. epigr., Königsb. 1867; obss. de M. epigr., Königsb. 1877. 78 II; recensio locorum in M. libris corruptorum, Königsb. 1878; epimetrum de locis corruptis in M. epigr. (lib. spect.), Königsb. 1878. AScotland, Phil. 29, 184. vanEldik in the Verslagen en Med. der Akad. v. W. 1868, XI. MHaupt, op. 3, 499. Köstlin, Phil. 36, 269. OHirschfeld, Wien. Studd. 1, 113. WGilbert, Phil. 41, 359; ad Mart. quaestt. crit., Dresd. 1883; JJ. 127, 643. 135, 143; RhM. 39, 511. 40, 210. PGiese, zu Mart., Danzig 1885. JEBMayor (b. 3). Journ. of phil. 16, 229.—On Martial cf. Lessing's Werke 1, 190. Martial als Mensch u. Dichter, Berl. 1843. Teuffel, PRE. 4, 1600. Cf. n. 1 ad fin.

323. Among the many other poets who lived in the reign of

Domitian, the more notable are Arruntius Stella (cos. c. 101), the friend of Statius and Martial and author of erotic elegies on Violentilla, afterwards his wife; the satirist Turnus and his brother, the tragic poet Scaevus or Scaevius (?) Memor; Verginius Rufus and Vestricius Spurinna, both of whom after retiring from an honourable career of civic and military service wrote trifles in lyric metre; lastly Calenus' wife Sulpicia, who also wrote erotic poems. The so-called satira which bears the name of Sulpicia is however of later origin. The names of Turnus and Spurinna are connected with modern forgeries.

1. CIL. 6, 1492 (Orelli 784 Wilm. 2853) *L. Arruntio Stella, L. Iulio Marino coss. XIIII Kal. Nov.*, probably the end of a. 101 (Mommsen, Herm. 3, 124; Stobbe, Phil. 26, 76. 27, 632. Friedländer's SGesch. $3^5$. 429; on Mart. 1, p. 66). The identity of this consul with the Stella frequently mentioned by Martial and Statius is rendered nearly certain by the fact that the latter was *iuvenis patriciis maioribus ortus* (Stat. silv. 1, 2, 71), held the office of a XVvir libr. sibyll. (ib. 177), gave festival games in honour of the Dacian triumph (Stat. silv. 1, 2, 180) end of a. 89 and in 93 at the celebration of the Northern (or Sarmatic) triumph of Domitian (Mart. 8, 78, 3) probably as praetor (cf. Mart. 10, 41), aspired to the consular dignity (Mart. 9, 42, 6; cf. Stat. silv. 1, 2, 174) and also obtained it (*consul meus*, Mart. 12, 3, 10). He was born at Patavium (Mart. 1, 61, 3), and was on friendly terms with Statius (silv. 1, 2, 256), who composed the epithalamium silv. 1, 2 in honour of Stella's marriage with Violentilla. On the same occasion in his own manner Mart. wrote 6, 21. He was younger than Statius, who (silv. 1, praef.) addresses him as *iuvenis optime*. Stella had celebrated in elegiac metre (Mart, 4, 6, 4. Stat. silv. 1, 2, 253) his mistress, the beautiful and wealthy (Stat. silv. 1, 2, 121) Violentilla of Naples (Stat. silv. 1, 2, 260) under the name of *Asteris* (Stat. silv. 1, 2, 197; Martial in allusion to her real name generally calls her *Ianthis;* 7, 14, 5. 7, 15, 1. 7, 50, 1. 12, 3, 12 cf. 6, 21, 1). Stella had also dwelt on the death of her favourite pigeon (Mart. 1, 7. 7, 14). Martial calls him *disertus* (5, 59, 2), *facundus* (12, 3, 11), *meus* (5, 11, 2. 5, 12, 7. 6, 47, 1. 9, 55. 12, 3, 10). Cf. also Mart. 9, 89. Apoll. Sidon. carm. 9, 264. Dölling, der Dichter Stella, Plauen 1840.

2. Valla's schol. on Iuv. 1, 20 *Turnus hic libertini generis ad honores ambitione provectus est, potens in aula Vespasianorum Titi et Domitiani.* Mart. 11, 10 *contulit ad saturas ingentia pectora Turnus;* cf. 7, 97, 7 *nam me diligit ille proximumque Turni nobilibus legit libellis.* Rutil. Namat. 1, 603 *huius vulnificis satura ludente Camenis nec Turnus potior nec Iuvenalis erit.* Ap. Sidon. carm. 9, 266. Lyd. magistr. 1, 41 (above § 28, 1). Schol. Iuv. 1, 71 *unde ait Turnus in satura* (followed by two corrupt hexameters on the poisoner Lucusta under Nero).—The 30 lines (Indignatio in poetas Neronianorum temporum) edited as the work of a poet of the Neronian period, by JLGBalzac, professedly from an old MS., were in his own life-time admitted into the collection of his poems, under the title of '*Ficta pro antiquis*,' and somewhat enlarged (3, 194 in the edition of 1650). Wernsdorf at first attributed this to Turnus. LQuicherat, Mélanges de philologie (Par. 1879), 259.

3. Valla's schol. on Iuv. 1, 20 *Lucilium dicit . . . vel, ut Probus exponit, Turnum* (n. 2) *dicit Scaevi* (*Scaevae* in Bücheler) *Memoris tragici poetae fratrem.*

Mart. 11, 9 (of a. 96) on a portrait of him: *clarus fronde Iovis* (i.e. a victory in the Capitoline games) *romani fama cothurni, spirat Apellea redditus arte Memor.* ib. 11, 10 *contulit* etc. (n. 2). *cur non ad Memoris carmina? frater erat.* Hence probably Ap. Sidon. 9, 263 (*non Turnus, Memor*). Six anapaests by *Scaevus in tragoedia* (Hecuba or Troades) are quoted in Sergius GL. 4, 537, 17. The title of Hercules for a tragedy by Memos or Memmius rests solely on the testimony of Fulgentius (expos. s. ant. s. v. *suppetias*, p. 563, 23 M.). MHertz, de Scaevo Memore poeta tragico, Bresl. 1869.

4. L. Verginius Rufus of Milan, cos. a. 63 (under Nero), a. 69 (through Otho, cf. CIL. 5, 5702 and Herm. 6, 127) and a. 97, who died in this same year 97 (EKlebs, RhM. 44, 273) aged 83 (see Plin ep. 2, 1); a fatherly friend to Pliny the Younger, who mentions him ep. 5, 3, 5 among the authors of erotic poems, and 6, 10, 4. 9, 19, 1 quotes the epitaph which he had composed for himself. Cf. PRE. 6, 2666, 26. Mommsen in HKeil's Plin. p. 428.

5. Pliny ep. 3, 1 (a. 101?) describes the aged Vestricius Spurinna's disposition of his days, e.g. (7) *se cubiculo ac stilo reddit. scribit enim, et quidem utraque lingua, lyrica doctissima. mira illis dulcedo, mira suavitas, mira hilaritas, cuius gratiam cumulat sanctitas scribentis.* (10) *cui post septimum et septuagesimum annum* (which shows that he was born A.D. 24) *aurium, oculorum vigor integer.* Cf. ib. 4, 27, 5 (*gravissimus senex*). 2, 7, 1 *heri a senatu Vestricio Spurinnae principe auctore triumphalis statua decreta est*, for his successes against the Bructeri; so also to his son Cottius, *quem amisit absens* (ib. 2, 7, 3). In the wars of a. 69 he had sided with Otho; Tac. hist. 2, 11. 18. 23. 36. Plut. Oth. 5–7. He was consul at least twice, the second time probably a. 100; Mommsen, Herm. 3, 39. A letter addressed to him and his wife Cottia Plin. ep. 3, 10; to him alone ib. 5. 17.—CBarth also edited as by him, ostensibly from a Merseburg MS. (*Incipit Vesprucius Spurinna de contemtu seculi. Ad Martium*) four poems in Horatian metre; see the same author's Venatici et bucolici latini (Hanov. 1613) p. 158 and advers. 14, 5. Reprinted and discussed by Wernsdorf, PLM. 3, 325. 351. 4, 839 AL. 918–922 PLM. 5, 408. These however have long since been recognised as forgeries: their last defender was CAMAxt, Vestr. Sp. reliquiae recog. etc., Frankf. 1840 (and Bährens l.l.); see on the other side FWOtto and LLersch, ZfAW. 1842, 845. 873. Kasp. Barth, moreover, is otherwise known as a forger: CBursian, ex Hygini geneal. excerpta, Zür. 1868 p. vii and § 233, 3. 342, 1. ad fin. 452, 6 and the other very suspicious poems published by him alone, amongst them one under the name of Patricius, AL. 2, p. 339–358 PLM. 5, 411–425.

6. Mart. 10, 35, 1 *omnes Sulpiciam legant* etc. *haec castos docet et pios amores* etc. *cuius carmina qui bene aestimarit nullam dixerit esse sanctiorem, nullam dixerit esse nequiorem.* 10, 38, 1 *o molles tibi quindecim, Calene, quos cum Sulpicia tua iugales indulsit deus et peregit annos!* Apoll. Sidon. carm. 9, 262 *quod Sulpiciae iocus Thaliae scripsit blandiloquum suo Caleno.* A fragment of this (in senarii) in Valla's Probus-scholion to Iuv. 6, 537 *unde ait Sulpicia 'si me Cadurcis restitutis fasciis nudam Caleno concubantem proferat.'* Besides senarii her opusculum also contained phalaeceans and choliambics (see Sulp. sat. 5 and n. 7). Auson. 28 (cento nupt.), 4 p. 146 Sch. *prurire opusculum Sulpiciae, frontem caperare.* Fulgentius also knew of Sulpicia from Ausonius, cf. myth. praef. p. 616 *Sulpicillae Ausonianae loquacitas* and ib. p. 598 *Sulpicillae procacitas*, see MHertz, JJ. 109, 573.

7. In strong contrast with this (n. 6) characterisation of the poetess Sulpicia is the extant poem in 70 hexameters which, in the form of a dialogue between this Sulpicia (Calenus—see n. 6—is also mentioned v. 62) and the Muse, contains a

lament on the time of Domitian, and at the conclusion a prophecy of the speedy fall of the tyrant; this was formerly attributed without hesitation to Sulpicia Caleni. But the clumsy and insipid language, the absence of characteristic traits, such as a contemporary writer would have had at command, the oddities in metre and diction (*palare* 43, *captivus* 52) prove that the poem was composed at a very late period, and merely brought out under the mask of Sulpicia. It is probably elaborated from a school-theme (see below) *heroicum Sulpiciae carmen. queritur de reip. statu et temporibus Domitiani* (the ordinary title Sulpiciae satira has no MS. authority); hence the pronounced differences, both as regards metre and contents, between the poem in question and the genuine (polymetrical and jocose, see n. 6) poems of Sulpicia (v. 1–9); hence also the prominence given to the expulsion of the philosophers under Domitian (v. 37 sqq.). Vergil is chiefly imitated (even quoted v. 34) and so is Horace (perhaps also Claudian?, cf. v. 12 with Claud. laus Serenae 1).—The poem was discovered in the monastery of Bobbio a. 1493. Raph. Volaterr. comment. urb. fol. LVI ed. a. 1506: *Bobii anno* 1493 *huiuscemodi libri reperti sunt: Rutilius Namatianus* (§ 454, 4), *heroicum Sulpiciae carmen* LXX (the poem comprises 70 lines) etc. It was published from the Bobbio MS. (long since lost) at Ven. a. 1498 (together with Latin poems by Italians) and bears the heading *Sulpitiae carmina, quae fuit Domitiani temporibus: nuper a Georgio Merula Alexandrino cum aliis opusculis reperta*, cf. in the table of contents of the same edition *Sulpitiae carmina* LXX, *quae fuit Domitiani temporibus. Nuper G. Merulae opera in lucem edita*, then (probably from the same MS. but with rather less care) by ThUgoletus in his Ausonius, Parma 1499. Printed e.g. in Wernsdorf's PLM. 3, 83 (cf. p. LX), in Bährens PLM. 5, 93, in the ed. of Persius and Juvenal by Jahn-Bücheler (Berl. 1886) p. 223, in Peiper's Ausonius, p. 413. Separate editions by CGSchwartz and JGurlitt (Hamb. 1819 II), ChLSchläger (Mitau 1846), DCarutti (Turin 1872), EBährens, de Sulpiciae quae vocatur satira, Jena 1873 (including the text p. 37–40). The opinion of JCGBoot, de Sulpiciae quae fertur satira, Amst. 1868 (treatises of the Acad. of the Netherlands), with which Bücheler l.l. p. XIV agrees, that the poem is as late as the fifteenth cent., is at once refuted by the notices on the discovery at Bobbio (see above). Cf. also REllis, Academy 1, 87; Journ. of philol. 5, 265. Teuffel, Jen. L.-Z. 1874, 223. EPiccolomini, riv. di filol. 2, 574. EBährens, JB. 1873, 223. PThomas, rev. de l'instr. publ. Belg. 24, 327.

324. Besides these, Martial mentions a number of other persons of all ranks who composed verses in their leisure-time and recited them in public, an institution which had settled on Rome like an epidemic, or published them as books.

1. Many had retired from public life, e.g. Atedius Melior (Stat. silv. 2, 3, 64), Marius of Atina (Mart. 10, 92, 1), Pollius Felix of Puteoli (Stat. s. 2, 112–141. 3 praef.). The least dangerous way of employing one's leisure was to compose verse, as Pollius did (silv. 3, 1, 67; cf. *facundus* ib. 65 and 3, praef.). Literary exertion might therefore appear as a form of idleness (Mart. 2, 7). To what extent the recitations had been carried appears e.g. from Iuv. 1, 1–14. Mart. 3, 44 sq. 50. 10, 70, 10–12. Attendance at them was for many a way of earning their livelihood (Mart. 2, 14, 2. 2, 27). Friedländer, SG. $3^5$, 372.—On the places where recitations were held see GBoissier, rev. de phil. 4, 97. On the so-called auditorium Maecenatis discovered in Rome 1875 see AMau, bullett. arch. 1875, 89.

2. Poets in various or unknown branches were during this time Bassus

(according to MART. 5, 53—if indeed the name be not altogether fictitious—a writer of epic poems and tragedies); Canius Rufus of Gades (MART. 1, 61, 9. 3, 20. 3, 64, 6. 7, 69: is a poem Pantaenis here referred to? HIERON. ep. 49 mentions a certain *Canius a Gadibus Herculis, poeta facundiae lenis et iucundae* as a contemporary of Livy? Cf. § 19, 1); Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito (§ 332, 2); Carus (who obtained a prize at the Alban contest, MART. 9, 23 sq.); Collinus (§ 319, 3); Faustinus (MART. 1, 25); Flaccus of Patavium (§ 317, 1 ad fin.); Manlius Vopiscus (*vir eruditissimus et qui praecipue vindicat a situ literas iam paene fugientes*, STAT. silv. 1. prooem., cf. ib. 1, 3, 1 *facundi Vopisci*, and v. 99–104 as the author of satires and other works); Novius Vindex (art-critic and poet, STAT. silv. 4, 6, 22. 97; cf. MART. 9, 43 sq.); Domitian's chamberlain Parthenius, assassinated a. 97 (*vates*, MART. 9, 49, 3; cf. 5, 6, 2. 12, 11, 2. 11, 1, 6); Rufus (poet and orator, according to the epitaph in MART. 12, 52); Septimius Severus (§ 326 9); L. Stertinius Avitus, cos. 92 (*sublimi pectore vates*, MART. 9, 1, 1; cf. praef.); L. Valerius Pudens (§ 319, 3); Varro (a tragic, elegiac and lyrical poet, MART. 5, 30); Atticus (?? MART. 2, 7, 3, *componis belle mimos*).

3. Epic subjects, like the Theseis of Codrus (IUV. 1, 2), were treated by Statius and Julius Cerealis (MART. 10, 48, 5. 11, 52 *tuos nobis relegas licet usque Gigantas, rura vel aeterno proxima Vergilio*). The name of Gaurus is fictitious (MART. 9, 50 *bis senis grandia libris qui scribis Priami proelia*). Is Statius intended? FRIEDLÄNDER ad loc. and § 322, 2 ad fin.

4. Elegiac poets (besides Stella): Voconius Victor, a writer of elegies on Thestylus in the manner of the Alexandrines (*doctos . . . libellos*), MART. 7, 29; cf. 8, 63 (vates); Nerva (§ 330, 1); Unicus, a relation of Martial, who wrote poems in the manner of Catullus and Ovid (MART. 12, 44). Another is mentioned by MART. 7, 46, 5. Besides Martial, epigrams were written by Brutianus (MART. 4, 23, 4) and Cerrinius (MART. 8, 18); *graeca epigrammata* and *iambi* by Arrius Antoninus (PLIN. ep. 4, 3, 3; cf. 4, 18. 4, 27, 5 *gravissimus senex.* 5, 15), cos. I a. 69, the grandfather of Antoninus Pius on the mother's side. QUINT. 8, 3, 19 *risimus, et merito, nuper poetam qui dixerat 'praetextam in cista mures rosere camilli'*; cf. 9, 4 90.

5. Tragedies (Telephus, Orestes etc. IUV. 1, 5) were written by Scaevus (§ 323, 3), Bassus (§ 318, 2), Canius Rufus and Varro (note 2); perhaps also by Tucca and Ligurinus with fictitious names (MART. 3, 45), Paccius (Alcithoe, IUV. 7, 12), Faustus (Thebais, Tereus, IUV. 7, 12) and Rubrenus Lappa (Atreus, IUV. 7, 72). Cf. also § 340, 4. (MART. 10, 99 *si romana forent haec Socratis ora, fuissent Iulius in Satyris qualia Rufus habet* perhaps signifies: if such a Sokrates (Silenus) countenance would pass for that of a Roman, we might also declare to be such the mask in which Julius Rufus appears as Silenus.) New togatae are indicated by IUV. 1, 3. Palliatae were written, perhaps at this time, by Bassulus (§ 332, 8). For mimographers see § 285, 1. SUET. Domit. 10 *occidit et Helvidium filium, quasi scenico exodio sub persona Paridis et Oenonis divortium suum cum uxore taxasset.* On the Agave of Statius see § 321, 1 middle. Famous actors of mimi in this period were Latinus (§ 326, 5. PRE. 4, 801) and his *secundarum actor Panniculus* (MART. 2, 72, 4. 3, 86, 3. 5, 61, 11), also Tettius Caballus (MART. 1. 41, 17). Perhaps also Julius Rufus? see above l. 8.—Obscene literature. MART. 12, 43 *facundos mihi de libidinosis legisti nimium, Sabelle, versus* etc.

325. A prominent place among the prose-writers of this period belongs to M. Fabius Quintilianus (c. A.D. 35–95). He was a native

of Calagurris in Spain, but was educated at Rome and long remained there an honoured public professor of oratory; ultimately he was entrusted by Domitian with the education of his (grand-) nephews and made consul by him. He did not publish anything until the later years of his life, when he composed first a work on the causes of the decay of oratory, and then the extant twelve books on the complete training of an orator (Institutio oratoria), in which he summed up the results of his life's work. The subject is treated in a manner midway between the popular rhetorical writings of Cicero and technical works on rhetoric. The writer aims at the simplification of technicalities: the work is founded on large experience, and exhibits both skill and taste in the exposition, together with mature and moderate criticism. Of great value to us is book X, which contains a list of the literature useful for rhetorical studies. Though thoroughly belonging to and coloured by his own time, Quintilian is still fully alive to its great defects, and attempts to correct them at least in his style by reverting to the manner of a better period. He everywhere holds up Cicero in particular as a model.—Of the scholastic orations (declamationes) which pass under the name of Quintilian neither the more voluminous (19 pieces) nor the shorter sketches (145 in number) are his work. But the latter at least belong to a good period (2 cent.?).

1. Quintilian was born at Calagurris in Spain (see below Hieron. and Auson. proff. Burd. 1, 7 *asserat usque licet Fabium Calagurris alumnum*). He received his education in Rome, where his father was a rhetorician (9, 3, 73 *pater meus contra eum qui* etc. Sen. contr. 10, praef. 2 *quomodo . . . Quintilianus senex declamaverit*, and 10, 33, 19 *circa hunc sensum est et ille a Quintiliano dictus*). Cf. Quint. 10, 1, 24 *nobis pueris insignes pro Voluseno Catulo . . . orationes ferebantur.* These were delivered under Tiberius († 37, see § 276, 5 and 8); but they were esteemed and circulated even later. 6, 1, 14 *nobis adulescentibus accusator Cossutiani Capitonis* (a. 57) etc. 10, 1, 86 *quae ex Afro Domitio* († 59) *iuvenis excepi.* 5, 7, 7 *quem* (Domitium Afrum) *adulescentulus senem colui* (cf. 12, 11, 3. Plin. ep. 2, 14, 10). Cf. also Quint. 8, 3, 31 (see § 290, 5 ad fin.). According to these notices the date of Quintilian's birth was a.d. 35–40. Cf. also 10, 3, 12 *Iulium Secundum* (§ 315, 4), *aequalem meum atque a me . . . familiariter amatum.* Quintilian's rhetorical training was influenced by the men enumerated above § 297 and by Nonianus (§ 291, 2) both as teachers and models; also by Palaemon (§ 282, 2). After this complete preparation Q. returned to his native town as a teacher of rhetoric: thence he was taken back to Rome by Galba (at the time governor of Hispania Tarraconensis), when he became Emperor: Hieron. a. Abr. 2084=68 a.d. *M. Fabius Quintilianus Romam a Galba perducitur.* Abr. 2104=88 a.d. *Quintilianus ex Hispania Calagurritanus primus Romae publicam scholam et salarium e fisco accepit* (cf. on this CIL. 2, 2892 Wilm. 2485) *et claruit.* The latter date is too late (Quintilian is certainly alluded to in Suet. Vesp. 18, above § 311, 1) and has originated in a confusion with

the period in which, after twenty years of activity (below, 3, l. 8), Quintilian retired from work.

2. His exertions as a pleader in the law-courts. QUINT. 7, 2, 24 *Naevi Arpiniani . . . actionem, et quidem solam in hoc tempus, emiseram, quod ipsum me fecisse ductum iuvenali cupiditate gloriae fateor. nam ceterae quae sub nomine meo feruntur neglegentia excipientium in quaestum notariorum corruptae minimam partem mei habent.* 4, 1, 19 *ego pro regina Berenice* (under Vespasian) *apud ipsam causam dixi.* 9, 2, 73 *equidem et in personas incidi tales et in rem quoque quae* etc. *ream tuebar quae subiecisse dicebatur mariti testamentum* etc. (74) *ita ergo fuit nobis agendum ut iudices illud intellegerent factum* etc., *et contigit utrumque. quod non inseruissem . . . nisi probare voluissem in foro quoque esse his figuris locum.* 4, 2, 86 *me certe . . . fecisse hoc in foro . . . scio.* 7, 2, 5 *fuerunt tales nostris etiam temporibus controversiae, atque aliquae in meum quoque patrocinium inciderunt.*

3. Q. as professor of oratory. Cf. n. 1. MART. 2, 90, 1 *Quintiliane, vagae moderator summe iuventae, gloria romanae, Quintiliane, togae.* PLIN. ep. 2, 14, 10 *ita certe ex Quintiliano, praeceptore meo, audisse memini.* 6, 6, 3 *prope cotidie ad audiendos quos tunc ego frequentabam Quintilianum, Niceten Sacerdotem ventitabat.* QUINT. 3, 6, 68 *frequenter quidem, sicut omnes qui me secuti sunt meminisse possunt, testatus* etc. On the direction of his teaching 10, 1, 125 sq. (where he cautions against Seneca's style). 1, prooem. 1 *post impetratam studiis meis quietem, quae per viginti annos erudiendis iuvenibus impenderam.* 2, 12, 12 *quando et praecipiendi munus iam pridem deprecati sumus et in foro quoque dicendi.* He subsequently became tutor of the princes. 4, prooem. 2 *cum mihi Domitianus Aug. sororis suae* (Domitillae, SUET. Vesp. 3) *nepotum delegaverit curam ;* cf. SUET. Dom. 15 *Flavium Clementem patruelem suum, . . . cuius filios etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat et abolito priore nomine alterum Vespasianum appellari iusserat, alterum Domitianum.* AUSON. gratiar. act. p. 23 Sch. *Quintilianus consularia per Clementem ornamenta sortitus* (cf. IUV. 7, 197 *si fortuna volet fies de rhetore consul*). Q. appears also to have become rich by teaching ; IUV. 7, 186 *unde tot Quintilianus habet saltus?* a fact mentioned as exceptional good fortune. Quintilian married late in life (about a. 81 ?) a young wife, by whom he had two sons: but the wife and children died before him, the wife first in her 19th year (about a. 87 ?), shortly afterwards the youngest son aged 5 years, and last the elder one at the age of 9 (about a. 91 ?): see the touching lament, 6 prooem. Where the younger Pliny mentions Quintilian, it is implied that he is already dead (see above, about a. 100 ?). The Quintilian to whom PLIN. ep. 6, 32 is addressed is not the rhetorician.—HDODWELL, annales Quintilianei, Oxon. 1698 (also in BURMAN's ed. p. 1117). EHUMMEL, Quint. vita, Gött. 1843. LDRIESEN, de Q. vita, Cleves 1845. Cf. also FMÜLLER, quaest. Quint., Halle 1840. MBRATSANOS, *περὶ τῆς παρὰ Κοϊντυλιανῷ παιδαγωγικῆς* (Lpz. Diss.), Athens 1879. THFROMENT, ann. de Bordeaux 2, 224. 4, 1.

4. IUV. 6, 75 mentions Q. as the pattern of a serious, steady man and the very opposite of a comedian. The extant work proves him to have been a gentle, humane (cf. 1, 3, 13 sqq. 2, 4, 10 sqq.) character, averse to captious criticism (10, 1, 26 ; cf. 56 sq. 80) and disposed to recognise merit (10, 1, 40 sq.), honourable (cf. 12, 7, 3) and genial (6, 2, 36), as is attested also by the depth of his grief under his domestic affliction ; see n. 1 in fin. The homage which he renders to Domitian 4, prooem. 3–5 (cf. § 319, 2 ad fin.) and 10, 1, 91 sq. (cf. § 319, 1) is indeed very wide of the truth (e.g. 10, 1, 92 *nunc ceterarum fulgore virtutum laus ista*—as poet—*praestringitur*) and grossly overdone (4, prooem. 5 *mihi . . . poterit ignosci si . . . nunc omnes in auxilium deos ipsumque in primis quo neque praesentius aliud nec*

*studiis magis propitium numen est invocem ut . . . tantum ingenii adspiret* etc.), but may perhaps be excused by his gratitude for the confidence which the Emperor had shown him (see n. 3) and by the official style of the period. He praises Cato of Utica 12, 7, 4; cf. also § 277, 1.

5. His earlier works. 2, 4, 42 *an ab ipso* (Demetrio Phal.) *id genus exercitationis sit inventum, ut alio quoque libro sum confessus, parum comperi.* 5, 12, 23 *haec et in alio nobis tractata sunt opere* etc. 8, 3, 58 *de hac parte* (κακόζηλον) *et in alio nobis opere plenius dictum est* etc. More definitely he expresses himself ib. 6, prooem. 3 *quem de causis corruptae eloquentiae emisi.* 8, 6, 76 *eundem locum plenius in eo libro quo causas corruptae eloquentiae reddebamus tractavimus.* This work was published a few years before the Inst. orat.: while he was engaged on it his younger son died (about a. 88), see 6, prooem. 3 (see n. 3 in fin.). It differed from the (previously published, § 334, 2) dialogus of Tacitus probably in that it dealt rather with the literary than the political and ethical aspects of the question. Quintilian specially opposed the fashionable style of writing of the period and the influence of Seneca. This work is also referred to by Quint. 10, 1, 125 (cf. § 288, 1): *quod accidit mihi dum corruptum et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus* (Senecae) *revocare ad severiora iudicia contendo.* Conjectures as to the relation between Tacitus and Quintilian (he, like the younger Pliny [see above 3, l. 4. 5.] is frequently supposed to have been a pupil of Quintilian) and their works: EWölfflin, JB. 1874/75 1, 763. AReuter, de Quint. libro de causs. corr. eloq., Gött. 1887. ThVogel, JJ. Suppl. 12, 254. LKleiber (§ 334, 7). EGrünwald, quae ratio intercedere videatur inter Quint. inst. et Tac. dial., Berl. 1883, 41. Cf. § 334, 1.—Speeches which had been taken down while he was reciting them (see n. 2) and lectures by him were published against the wish of Quintilian. Cf. p. 135 fin., ib. also concerning Quintilian's declamations.

6. The institutio oratoria. Q. says in his preface, which he addresses to his publisher Trypho: *efflagitavisti . . . ut libros quos ad Marcellum meum de institutione oratoria scripseram iam emittere inciperem. nam ipse eos nondum opinabar satis maturuisse, quibus componendis . . . paulo plus quam biennium tot alioqui negotiis districtus* (as tutor of the princes, n. 3) *impendi*, the greater part of which time was taken up by collecting the materials. He says that he would have liked to revise his work at his leisure, but was unwilling to keep it back much longer. The treatise is dedicated (cf. 1, prooem. 6. 4, pr. 1. 6, pr. 1. 12, 11, 31) to Vitorius Marcellus (*cum amicissimus nobis tum eximio literarum amore flagrans*, 1, pr. 6), whose son Geta showed talent: Quint. 1, pr. 6 *erudiendo Getae tuo.* Stat. silv. 4, 4, 72 *parvoque exempla parabis magna Getae.* The same appears in the acta of the Arvales of the years a.d. 118–120 (CIL. 6, 2078–81) as C. Vitorius Hosidius Geta. Mommsen, Herm. 13, 429. On the father Vitorius Marcellus see § 326, 8. In writing the book the author had also in his mind his own elder son (6, pr. 1). In general, however, his work was not intended for *pueri* (8, 6, 13), but for *boni* and *studiosi iuvenes* (3, 6, 64. 6, pr. 1. 12, 11, 31; cf. 5, 10, 96. 7, 3, 30. 11, 1, 5. 55). It was composed after Quintilian had retired, a. 88–89 (n. 1 ad fin. and above, 3, l. 8), and it took rather more than two years to write (see above), hence perhaps a. 89–91. After its completion the author still withheld his work (praef. 2 . . . *dabam libris otium ut refrigerato inventionis amore diligentius repetitos tamquam lector perpenderem*) but afterwards, urged by his friends, he published it sooner than he had originally intended (a. 92–94?). The first three books were already completed, when Quintilian was entrusted with the education (*cura*) of the sons of Flavius Clemens, who had been executed by Domitian at the beginning of 96 (n. 3). Cf. Reuter (n. 5) 52.

7. Plan and execution. 1, prooem. 5 *ego . . . non aliter quam si mihi tradatur educandus orator studia eius formare ab infantia incipiam.* 21 *liber primus ea quae sunt ante officium rhetoris* (i.e. the work of a grammaticus) *continebit. secundo prima apud rhetorem elementa et quae de ipsa rhetorices substantia quaeruntur tractabimus.* (22) *quinque deinceps* (III–VII) *inventioni, nam huic et dispositio subiungitur, quattuor* (VIII–XI) *elocutioni, in cuius partem memoria ac pronuntiatio veniunt, dabuntur. unus* (XII) *accedet in quo nobis orator ipse informandus est, ubi qui mores eius, quae in suscipiendis, discendis, agendis causis ratio, quod eloquentiae genus, quis agendi debeat esse finis, quae post finem studia, . . . disseremus.* (25) *nos quidquid utile ad instituendum oratorem putabamus in hos XII libros contulimus, breviter omnia demonstraturi.* He repeatedly opposes the *affectata subtilitas* of the ordinary manuals on rhetoric (1, prooem. 24. 3, 11, 21; cf. 2, 15, 37) and their unpractical pedantry (5, 13, 59. 5, 14, 27–32). His own theory is based on personal experience (6, 2, 25) and the practice of the principal orators (5, 13, 60). He is eclectic. 3, 1, 5 *hic liber . . . pleraque non inventa per me, sed ab aliis tradita continebit.* ib. (22) *neque me cuiusquam sectae velut quadam superstitione imbutus addixi.* 3, 4, 12 *nobis et tutissimum est auctores plurimos sequi et ita videtur ratio dictare.* 2, 8, 6 *libera vel contra receptas persuasiones rationem sequenti sententia est.* 6, 2, 25 *quodsi tradita mihi sequi praecepta sufficeret, satisfeceram huic parti; . . . sed eruere in animo est quae latent, . . . quae quidem non aliquo tradente, sed experimento meo ac natura ipsa duce accepi.* Oratory has an ethic basis: 1, prooem. 9 sqq. 2, 2. 2, 15, 1. 32 sqq. 2, 16, 11. 2, 20, 4. 8. 12, 1, 1; hence also 12, 7, 7 *non convenit oratori iniusta tueri scientem;* cf. 5, 7, 32. Somewhat more loosely he expresses himself 2, 17, 27 sq. 36; cf. 6, 2, 5. 24. He opposes the prevailing taste of the period (above p. 5) and falls back upon nature (2, 5, 11, sq.; cf. 10, 7, 15 *pectus est quod disertos facit et vis mentis*) and the veteres (2, 5, 22 sqq. 5, 12, 20. 8, prooem. 24 sqq. 8, 5, 34. 10, 1, 43 sq.), especially Cicero, who is always spoken of with the highest respect and defended even in his weak points (cf. 11, 1, 17–21. 23 sqq. 12, 1, 16 sq. 8, 3, 51); Quintilian's exposition is founded mainly on him and only reluctantly differs from him (e.g. 4, 2, 64. 5, 11, 2. 7, 3, 8. 9, 4, 2. 16. 55 sq. 11, 3, 123). 6, 3, 3 he speaks of his *amor immodicus praecipui in eloquentia viri*, and exclaims 10, 1, 112: *hunc spectemus, hoc propositum nobis sit exemplum, ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit.* His theoretic explanations are throughout supported with specimens from the orators of the classical period. These Quintilian knows exceedingly well, while he ignores the prose-writers anterior to Cicero (such as Cato), as superfluous for a good Latin style.

8. Quintilian's authorities are, besides various rhetorical προγυμνάσματα, especially Dionysios of Halicarnassus (HUsener, Dion. Hal. de imit., Bonn 1889, 110), Caecilius of Cale Acte, and Chrysippos περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς; among Roman authors pre-eminently Cicero (n. 7), Cornificius ad Herenn. (§ 162), Rutilius (§ 270), Celsus (§ 280), perhaps Cornutus (§ 299, 2), lastly for prosody and for grammar probably his master Remmius Palaemon (§ 282, 3). JDDClaussen, JJ. Suppl. 6, 339. CvMorawski, quaestt. Quint., Berl. 1874. PTeichert, de fontt. Q.i rhett. (esp. on Aristotle and auct. ad Herenn.), Königsb. 1884. ThBirt, RhM. 34, 24. HBabucke, de Q.i doctrina et studiis, Königsb. 1866. GSteffen, de canone q. d. Aristoph. et Aristarchi (Lps. 1876), 27. Were the Hebdomades of Varro used in b. X? LMercklin, de Varr. hebdom., Dorp. 1857, 11. His diction is often rhetorically coloured; cf. 3, 1, 3 *admiscere temptavimus aliquid nitoris, . . . ut hoc ipso alliceremus magis iuventutem.* He has numerous similes and comparisons derived from nature and husbandry (1, 2, 14. 2, 6, 7. 2, 10, 6. 2, 16, 13 sq. 12, 10, 76; cf. 2, 19, 2. 8, 5, 26 10, 3, 2. 10, 7, 28. 12, 1, 7. 12, 10, 19), but also many

taken from other departments of human life (4, 5, 5. 14. 22. 5, 10, 21. 9, 4, 113. 129. 10, 3, 6. 10, 7, 23. 12, 2, 11. 12, 8, 10. 12, 9, 2 sq.). In his style he aims at classicality, though he is not free from the influence of his time. EBonnell, de grammatica Quint., in Spalding's ed. 6, p. xxi and his Lexicon Quintilianeum (ib. vol. 6). RTörnebladh, de elocutione Q., Upsala 1858; de usu particularum apud Q., Holm 1861. Voigtland, de brevitate Q., Schleusingen 1846. ChHauser, de Q. praeceptis et usu nomina graeca declinandi, Saaz 1875. FRitschl, Grammatisches bei Q., op. 3, 709. JStänder (n. 9 ad fin.) p. 14 (de Q. grammatico). FBöttner, de Q. grammatico I (de accentu et de nominum verborumque declin. praecepta), Halle 1877. FBecher, quaestt. gramm. (preps. and pronouns) et critt. ad libr. X Quint., Ilfeld 1879; Phil. 39, 181. EGünther, de coniunctt. causal. ap. Q. usu, Halle 1881. DWollner § 181, 1 in fin. AMarty, de Quintilianeo usu et copia verborum cum Ciceronianis comparatis, Glaronae 1887. PHirt, d. Substantivierung des Adjektivs bei Quint., Berlin 1890.

9. Among the manuscripts of the Inst. or. the most important is the Ambrosianus E 153 sup. s. XI, written, by several hands and much more negligently in the later books (9, 4, 135–12, 11, 22 are wanting in it) than in the first four. The gaps are filled up and the errors corrected by an earlier class of MSS., which have also lost nearly two-sevenths of the text owing to the repeated loss of leaves, chiefly represented by the Bern. 351 s. X and the Paris. 18527 (Nostradamensis) s. X (on this see EChatelain and JLeCoultre, Quintilien, collation d'un manuscrit, Paris 1857). The Bamberg. M. 4, 14 s. X was copied from the Bern., while a later hand supplied the parts originally missing from a complete MS. nearly related to the Ambros. (cf. Halm, RhM. 23, 218). With the exception of the Ambros. the complete MSS. are late (s. XV) and largely interpolated (e.g. Monac. 23473 and Argentorat. Obrechtii). In many cases the extracts in the Paris. 7530 and Julius Victor (§ 427, 7) are useful. CHalm, d. Textesquellen d. Rhet. d. Q., Münch. SBer. 1866, 493; RhM. 22, 38; pref. to his ed. p. v., and Münch. SBer. 1869 2, 1. AReifferscheid, die Quintilianhs. des Poggio, RhM. 23, 143. RSabbadini, studj di Gasp. Barzizza su Quint., Livorno 1886. HBlass, RhM. 30, 458. FLEnderlein, de Bamberg. cod. Quint., Schweinfurt 1842–65 V. FBahlmann, quaestt. Quint. (de Ambros.), Berl. 1859. JStänder, quaestt. Quint. (Bonn 1865) p. 5–13 (de Ambr. I et Bamberg. codd.). On the French MSS. of Quintilian see ChFierville, de Quintil. codicibus etc., Bayeux 1874; on those at Montpellier MBonnet, rev. de phil. 11, 89; on the Spanish MSS. ChFierville, archives des missions scientif. 3 sér. 5 (1878), 85; by the same author, Étienne de Rouen (s. XII), auteur du premier abrégé connu de Quintilien, Bull. de la soc. des antiq. de Normandie 8, 421. JYoung, a mscr. of Quint., Athenaeum no. 3184.

10. Editions e.g. cum nott. varr., Leid. 1658; by EGibson Oxon. 1693 and subsequently. UObrecht, Strassb. 1698 II. PBurman, Leid. 1720 II. ClCapperonnier, Par. 1725. JMGesner, Gött. 1738. Ad codd. fidem rec. et annot. expl. GLSpalding, Lps. 1798–1816 IV, vol. V by CGZumpt, 1829, VI (Lexicon Q. et indices) by EBonnell, 1834. Notas critt. adiecit AGGernhard, Lps. 1830 II. Rec. CGZumpt, Lps. 1831. Ad codd. rec. et illustr. HMeyer, Lpz. 1833, Vol. I. Ad fidem codd. rec. EBonnell, Lps. 1854 II. Principal edition: rec. CHalm, Lps. 1868 sq. II. ed. FMeister, Prague 1886. 87 II.—A translation by Bossler and Baur, Stuttg. 1863. B. 10 translated by HBender, Stuttg. 1874.—Editions of b. X by CHFrotscher, Lps. 1826, CGHerzog, Lpz.[3] 1833, FWAugusti (=Schneidewin), Helmst. 1831, GAHerbst, Lpz. 1834, EBonnell and FMeister, Berl.[5] 1882, EAlberti, Lpz. 1858, GTAKrüger and GKrüger, Lpz.[3] 1888. CHalm, Lps. 1869, FMeister, Prague 1887. SDosson, Par. 1884. JAHild, Par. 1885. JEBMayor, Lond. 1872 (pt. 1).

Criticism and explanation. RRegii ducenta problemata, Ven. 1492. Quaestt. Quintilianeae by FMüller (n. 3 ad fin.), FBahlmann (n. 9), FMeister (Liegn. 1860. Bresl. 1865; see also his Jahresberichte über Q. in the Phil. 18, 487. 34, 740. 35, 534. 635. 38, 160. 42, 141), RTörnebladh (Calmar 1860), JStänder (n. 9 ad fin.), CvMorawski (n. 8). Madvig, op. 2, 352; Phil. 2, 137; adv. 2, 535. Haupt, op. 3, 453 and elsewhere. JDDClaussen, JJ. Suppl. Bd. 6, 319. GFaber, krit. Beitr. zu Q. b. 1 and 2, Aschaffenb. 1875. GAndresen, RhM. 30, 506 (on b. 1). MCGertz, emendatt. Quint. (esp. on b. 6–12), in the opuscula ad Madvigium (Copenh. 1876) 92. MKiderlin, Beitr. z. Krit. u. Erkl. von Q., Augsb. 1877; JJ. 131, 113. 133, 200. 137, 489; BlfbayrGW. 22, 1. 199. 349. 24, 83; Herm. 23, 161; ZföG. 39, 385; ZfGW. 42, Jahresber. 62. FBecher, Herm. 22, 137; JB. 1887 2, 1. —On book 10 adnott. critt. by FOsann, Giessen 1841–58 VI. JJeep, de locis al., Wolfenb. 1863. LMercklin, RhM. 19, 1. GAndresen, RhM. 30, 519; acta soc. Lips. phil. 4, 361. FSchöll, RhM. 34, 84. FBecher, see n. 8 ad fin. HPeters, Cassel 1889. MKiderlin (b. 5 and 6), JJ. 139, 484; BlfdbayrG. 25, 324. 445. 508.

11. Under the name of Quintilian we have two collections of Declamationes, the one containing 19 longer, the other 145 shorter pieces; the latter (as is shown by the numbering of the pieces) formed the second part of a collection which once comprised 388 pieces. Cf. Trebell. Poll. XXX tyr. 4, 2 *fuit autem* (Postumus iunior) . . . *ita in declamationibus disertus ut eius controversiae Quintiliano dicantur insertae, quem declamatorem Romani generis acutissimum vel unius capitis lectio prima statim fronte demonstrat.* There was therefore in circulation during the 3rd century under the name of 'Quintilianus' a collection of declamations, which notoriously contained scholastic orations by other composers as well. This is alluded to Auson. proff. Burd. 2, 15 p. 56 Sch. *seu libeat fictas ludorum evolvere lites, ancipitem palmam Quintilianus habet* and Jerome in Esaiam 8, praef. speaks of Quintilian's *concinnae declamationes.* Passages from the extant (longer) declamations are quoted by Serv. Aen. 3, 661 (*Quintilianus dixit*), Jerome (de cer. pasch. 11, 2 p. 210. quaest. hebr. in Gen. 3, 1 p. 302), Pompeius (GL. 5, 186), Ennodius, Isidorus; passages from declamations no longer extant by Jerome (quaestt. hebr. in Gen. 3, 1 p. 353), then by Lactantius (1, 21. 5, 7. 6, 23). Quintilian, who in the instit. orat. frequently alludes to his earlier writings (n. 5), nowhere mentions any published declamationes, but his profession would necessitate the delivery of these (cf. 11, 2, 39 . . . *si quando interventus aliquorum qui hunc honorem mererentur iterare declamationis partem* [*me*] *coegisset. nec est mendacio locus salvis qui interfuerunt.* Iuv. 6, 280 *dic, Quintiliane, colorem*), as well as the discussion and treatment of the most varied themes in the course of his teaching.

There are, however, most cogent reasons for doubting Quintilian's authorship of the extant collection. First the 19 longer declamations, which may be divided into several groups according to their contents, diction etc. (Ritter l.l.), cannot be assigned to Quintilian and must be (at least the majority of them) of considerably later date. On the other hand, PAerodius (n. 12) and recently Ritter l.l. have proposed to assign to Quintilian the 145 shorter declamations. Some of these are fuller, others shorter sketches, frequently containing theoretical hints and, to judge from their style and subject-matter, belonging to a good period (1–2 cent.) and derived from courses of instruction and school-teaching. We might suppose that, just as Q.'s legal speeches were published against the author's wish, in the same way the collection of scholastic speeches, of which we possess only about the last third, may have been brought out: Ritter l.l. supposes the latter of the two publications mentioned inst. orat. 1, prooem 7 to refer to this circumstance: *duo iam sub nomine meo libri ferebantur artis rhetoricae neque*

*editi a me neque in hoc comparati. namque alterum sermonem per biduum habitum pueri quibus id praestabatur exceperant, alterum pluribus sane diebus quantum notando consequi potuerant interceptum boni iuvenes, sed nimium amantes mei, temerario editionis honore vulgaverant* (cf. also 3, 6, 68 *in ipsis etiam illis sermonibus* [on rhetoric] *me nolente vulgatis*). But such a collection of school themes could not be designated as *ars rhetorica*, and still less could this very voluminous work be taken down in writing by the pupils *pluribus sane diebus* (as distinguished from *biduum*); cf. FMeister, phil. Anz. 16, 126. We might also expect, if such a collection of essays had been published by Quintilian, that in the inst. or. he would refer in quotation to this work of his, instead of quoting only the themes and treatises of other rhetoricians. Lastly the style of the themes is often at variance with Quintilian's principles as known to us in the inst. orat. Thus even as regards the lesser declamations we have in support of Quintilian's authorship only the MS. tradition, and even this is not incontrovertible: only the MS. of Campanus (n. 12=the MS. of Ugoletus? Ritter, ed. p. xiv) appears to have had the name of Quintilian (cf. however above n. 11 l. 15). But even if the MS. attribution to Quint. were as firmly established as in the case of the longer declamations, it could not of itself prove Q.'s authorship any more in the one case than in the other. Const. Ritter, d. quintilianischen Declamationen, Untersuchung über Art und Herkunft derselben, Freib. 1881, and on the other side ATrabandt, de minoribus quae sub nomine Quintiliani feruntur declamm., Greifsw. 1883. FMeister, phil. Anz. 16, 126.—Some remarks on the diction by CvMorawski, ZföG. 32, 1. FZverina, Arch. fd. Stud. d. neueren Sprach. 70, 351. Fleiter, de minor. Q.i decll., Münst. 1890.

12. The greater and lesser declamations are separately given in the MS. text. The greater are contained in numerous MSS. (Ritter, Unterss. 204), e.g. Bamberg. s. X (on this see FLEnderlein, Schweinf. 1870) with the subscriptio: *descripsi et emendavi Domitius Dracontius de codice fratris Hieri* (§ 426, 4) *mihi et usibus meis et dis* (*diis* Paris., *discipulis* FHaase) *omnibus*, and the same subscriptio in the Paris. 16230 s. XV p. 72; on the other hand we have in the same Paris. p. 35 the following: *Legi et emendavi ego Dracontius cum fratre Ierio incomparabili arrico* (? oratore) *urbis Romae in scola fori Trajani feliciter* (cf. § 322, 8. 367, 8). Compare ERohde in Ritter l.l. 206. On fragments of the greater declamations in the Paris. 7900 see UvWilamowitz, Herm. 11, 118.—Of the lesser declamations only three MSS. are now known: the Montepessulan. 126 s. X (§ 269, 7) used already by PPithou, which alone comprises 145 pieces, Monac. 309 s. XV and Chigian. fol. H. viii. 262 s. XV containing only 136 pieces. Now lost are the *codex vetustus nuper e Germania missus*, mentioned by IACampanus († 1477; see Ritter's ed. p. xii), also containing only 136 pieces, the *declamationum Senecae X libri*, then *Calpurnii Flacci* (§ 351, 4) *excerptae*, followed by *finis excerptarum* and the titles *Antonii Iuliani* (§ 356, 1) and *extemporaneae Quintiliani*.—In the early editions, e.g. Treviso 1482, we find only the greater declamations. The lesser ones, but only the 136 pieces (=no. 253–388), were first published by ThUgoletus, Parma 1494, then PAerodius, Paris 1563; the same supplemented by 9 pieces (=no. 244–388) ex vet. exemplari (i.e. the Montepess., see above) added by PPithoeus, Par. 1580. M. Fab. Quintil. declamationes quae supersunt CXLV, rec. Const. Ritter, Lps. 1884 (and on this KSchenkl l.l.).—General editions: cum nott. varr. ed. JFGronov., Leid. 1665. Notis illustr. Oxon. 1675. 1692. In the ed. of the Inst. or. by Obrecht, and esp. by PBurman, Leid. 1720 II.—Criticism: K Schenkl, WschrfklPh. 1886, 73. FMeister, phil. Anz. 16, 125. Morawski, Berlph Wschr. 1886, 1099. FBecher, JB. 1887 2, 74. ROpitz, commentt. Ribbeck. 43.

326. In the time of Quintilian we meet with Tutilius as a writer on rhetoric, and Princeps as a rhetorician. Among the orators the unprincipled M. Aquilius Regulus, who also composed literary works, Baebius Massa, Mettius Carus, and Palfurius Sura, made themselves feared as delatores. As pleaders we may mention besides Tacitus, Pliny and Herennius Senecio, especially Vitorius Marcellus, Septimius Severus from Africa, Flavius Ursus, Vettius Crispinus, Satrius Rufus, Licinius Sura and others.

1. QUINT. 3, 1, 21 *scripsit de eadem materia* (rhetoric) . . . *aetatis nostrae Verginius, Plinius* (§ 312, 3), *Tutilius.* MART. 5, 56, 5 *famae Tutilium suae relinquas.* Cf. also PLIN. ep. 6, 32, 1.

2. SUET. gr. 4 *me quidem adolescentulo repeto quendam Principem nomine alternis diebus declamare, alternis disputare solitum.* Julius Tiro (cf. PLIN. ep. 6, 31, 7) is mentioned after Quintilian in the list of rhetoricians treated of by Suetonius (SUET. p. 99 Rffsch., against Reifferscheid's [l.l. 418] emendation M. Tullius Tiro see GBECKER, JJ. 87, 649). The same person is called in the CIL. 2, 3661 *C. Iulius C. f. Gal. Tiro Gaetulicus quaest. urb., tr. pl., praet.*, JASBACH, anall. hist. et epigr. 35.

3. PLIN. ep. 1, 5, 1 *vidistine quemquam M. Regulo timidiorem, humiliorem post Domitiani mortem? sub quo non minora flagitia commiserat quam sub Nerone* (*admodum iuvenis*, TAC. hist. 4, 42), *sed tectiora.* (2) *Rustici Aruleni periculum foverat, exultaverat morte, adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque in quo Rusticum insectatur atque etiam Stoicorum simiam appellat; adicit Vitelliana cicatrice stigmosum. agnoscis eloquentiam Reguli.* (3) *lacerat Herennium Senecionem . . . intemperanter. . . .* (4) *praeterea reminiscebatur quam capitaliter ipsum me apud centumviros lacessisset.* (5) *aderam Arrionillae, . . . Regulus contra* etc. (14) *scripsit* (Mettius Modestus) *in epistula quadam quae apud Domitianum recitata est* '*Regulus omnium bipedum nequissimus.*' . . . (15) *est* (Regulus) *locuples, factiosus, curatur a multis, timetur a pluribus.* 2, 11, 22 *est Regulo tam mobile ingenium ut plurimum audeat, plurimum timeat.* 4, 2, 1 *Regulus filium amisit. . . .* (3) *amissum luget insane.* 4, 7, 2 *nuper adhibito ingenti auditorio librum de vita eius recitavit; . . . eundem in exemplaria mille transcriptum per totam Italiam provinciasque dimisit.* (6) *hunc luctuosum Reguli librum* etc. (7) *est tam ineptus ut risum magis possit exprimere quam gemitum; credas non de puero scriptum, sed a puero. . . .* (4) *inbecillum latus* (of Regulus), *os confusum, haesitans lingua, tardissima inventio, memoria nulla, nihil denique praeter ingenium insanum; et tamen eo impudentia ipsoque illo furore pervenit ut orator habeatur.* As such, the servile Martial praises this influential and wealthy man, 1, 111 (cf. 1, 12 and 82). 2, 74, 2 (*quanta reduci Regulus solet turba, ad alta tonsum templa cum reum misit*). 4, 16, 6. 5, 28, 6 (*licet vincas . . . oratione Regulos*). 5, 63, 4 (*ipse tuo cedet Regulus ingenio*). 6, 38. 6, 64, 11. MART. CAP. 5, 432 *oratores . . . conspiceres . . . in togatis agminibus . . . Regulum, Plinium, Frontonem.* He is perhaps meant (but not mentioned by name, as he was still alive) by IUV. 1, 33–36. He was an elder brother of Vipstanus Messalla, above § 314, 3. He died c. a. 105?; cf. PLIN. ep. 6, 2, 1 *soleo nonnumquam in iudiciis quaerere M. Regulum. . . .* (2) *habebat studiis honorem, timebat, pallebat, scribebat, quamvis non posset ediscere. illud ipsum quod . . . semper haruspices consulebat de actionis eventu a nimia superstitione,*

*sed tamen et a magno studiorum honore veniebat.* (3) *iam illa perquam iucunda una dicentibus, quod libera tempora petebat, quod audituros corrogabat.* PRE. $1^2$, 1391. Mommsen's ind. to Keil's Plin. p. 402.

4. On Baebius Massa, who was overthrown under Domitian, see Plin. ep. 7, 33, 4; on Mettius Carus see PRE. 4, 1905, 6. Schol. Iuv. 1, 35 *Massa morio fuisse dicitur et Carus nanus. . . . hi omnes Neronis fuerunt liberti, sed et nequissimi delatores. . . . Massa et Carus Heliodoro deferente occisi sunt.*

5. Iuv. 4, 53–55 *si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato, quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto res fisci est, ubicumque natat.* On which the Schol. says: *Palfurius Sura consularis filius, sub Nerone luctatus est* [*cum virgine lacedaemonia in agone* is added by the schol. Vallae]; *post inde a Vespasiano senatu motus transivit ad stoicam sectam, in qua cum praevaleret et eloquentia et artis poeticae gloria, abusus familiaritate Domitiani acerbissime partes delationis exercuit. quo interfecto senatu accusante damnatus, cum fuisset inter delatores. potentes apud Domitianum hi, Armillatus, Demosthenes et Latinus archimimus* (§ 324, 5), *sicut Marius Maximus* (§ 381, 2) *scribit.* Cf. Suet. Dom. 13 *capitolino certamine cunctos ingenti consensu precantis ut Palfurium Suram restitueret, pulsum olim senatu ac tunc de oratoribus coronatum* etc.

6. On Tacitus and Pliny as forensic speakers § 333, 5 and 340, 2.

7. Herennius Senecio, from Hispania Baetica (Plin. ep. 7, 33, 5), defended Licinianus (ib. 4, 11, 12) and prosecuted (with Pliny) Baebius Massa (Plin. ep. 7, 33, 4 sqq.). Concerning his work on Helvidius Priscus and his execution by Domitian see § 329, 2.

8. To Vitorius (on the name see HNohl, Herm. 12, 518. Mommsen, Herm. 13, 429) Marcellus is addressed Quintilian's work (§ 325, 6) and Stat. silv. 4 (prooem. *Marcelle carissime*), 4 (of a. 95), in which e.g. he is invited to take rest: . . . *cessat centeni moderatrix iudicis hasta, qua tibi . . . iam nunc celeberrima fama eminet et iuvenes facundia praeterit annos* (v. 39–45). *nec tibi sola potentis eloquii virtus, sunt membra accommoda bellis* (v. 64 sq.). Hence, *si latii ducis* (i.e. Domitian) *sic numina pergant, quem tibi posthabito studium est coluisse Tonante, quique tuos alio subtexit munere fasces et spatia antiquae mandat renovare Latinae* (i.e. curator viae latinae), *forsitan ausonias ibis frenare cohortes* (v. 56–61) etc. *magna pater dignosque etiam nunc belliger actus poscit avus praestatque domi novisse triumphos* (v. 72 sq.).

9. Stat. silv. 4, prooem. (to Vitorius Marcellus) of a. 95 *proximum est lyricum carmen* (silv. 4, 5) *ad Septimium Severum, iuvenem . . . inter ornatissimos secundi ordinis, tuum quidem etiam condiscipulum, sed mihi . . . artissime carum.* So also Mart. 5, 80 *meus Severus* and 7, 38, 1 *noster S.?* (Friedländer gives a different reading, see him on Mart. 2, 6, 3). A native of Africa, he had come to Italy while yet a puer (Stat. silv. 4, 5, 29), and seems to have been the grandfather of the later Emperor of the same name (born in Africa a. 146). *Est et frementi vox hilaris foro, venale sed non eloquium tibi, ensisque vagina quiescit, stringere ni iubeant amici. sed rura cordi saepius et quies* (Stat. l.l. 49) . . . *hic plura pones vocibus et modis passu solutis, sed . . . interim . . . barbiton ingeminas* (ib. 57; cf. Mart. 11, 57?). Cf. § 315, 5.

10. Statius silv. 2, 5 *consolatio ad Flavium Ursum de amissione pueri delicati*, in which v. 95 *ubi (tua) nota reis facundia raptis?* 2, prooem. *ad Ursum nostrum, iuvenem candidissimum et sine iactura desidiae doctissimum.* He is probably the son of Ursus mentioned by Dio 67, 3 and 4 (a. 84) Οὔρσον τῆς Ἰουλίας αἰτησαμένης ὕπατον ἀπέδειξεν.

11. STATIUS silv. 5, 2, 99 (of a. 95–96) praises Crispinus, the son of Vettius Bolanus, as having pleaded for an innocent friend who was unjustly accused. A certain C. Clodius Crispinus was consul, a. 113.

12. STAT. silv. 4, pr. *Plotio Grypo* (§ 321, 1 after the middle), *maioris gradus iuveni*. To him he addresses ib. 9, where v. 14 *tua dicta, . . . quae trino iuvenis foro tonabas aut centum prope iudices* etc.

13. According to PLIN. ep. 1, 5, 11 Aquilius Regulus (n. 3) had, under Domitian *in centumvirali iudicio, cum responderet . . . Satrio Rufo*, said ironically: *Satrius Rufus, cui non est cum Cicerone aemulatio* (like Pliny) *et qui contentus est eloquentia saeculi nostri*. Cf. ib. 9, 13, 17. 35.

14. L. Licinius Sura, cos. II a. 102 and III a. 107, the fellow-countryman (he also came from Hispania Tarrac.) and patron of Martial (6, 64, 12 *has nugas . . . quas . . . laudat . . . Sura*); cf. ib. 1, 49, 40. 7, 47, 1 (*doctorum Licini celeberrime Sura virorum, cuius prisca graves lingua reduxit avos*). Addressed to him is a question concerning a phenomenon, PLIN. ep. 4, 30 (1 *quaestionem altissima ista eruditione dignissimam*. 11 *scrutare tu causas, potes enim*). He composed speeches for Trajan, cf. § 330, 2. DIO 68, 15 (a. 107) τῷ Σούρᾳ τῷ Λικινίῳ καὶ ταφὴν δημοσίαν καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἔδωκε (Trajan) τελευτήσαντι. VICTOR Caes. 13, 8; epit. 13, 6. OR.-HENZEN 150. 5448. (WILM. 635). BBORGHESI, oeuvr. 5, 32. CIL. 2, 4282. 4508. MOMMSEN's ind. Plin. 417.

15. L. (MART. 4, 55, 1) Valerius Licinianus of Bilbilis (ib. and 1, 61, 11), an advocate (ib. 1, 49, 35. 4, 55, 1, where his fellow-countryman even compares him to Cicero). Under Domitian he was exiled, but Nerva allowed him to live in Sicily (PLIN. ep. 4, 11, 11), where he then became a professor of oratory. PLIN. ep. 4, 11, 1 (a. 104?) *audistine Valerium Licinianum in Sicilia profiteri? . . . praetorius hic modo inter eloquentissimos causarum actores habebatur, nunc eo decidit ut exul de senatore, rhetor de oratore fieret*. (2) *itaque ipse in praefatione* (a declamatio or some treatise?) *dixit* etc. (3) *. . . latine, inquit, declamaturus sum*. Cf. ib. 14.

16. Maternus from Spain (*iuris et aequarum cultor sanctissime legum, veridico latium qui regis ore frenum*) in MART. 10, 37 cf. 2, 74, 4.

17. The epithets *facundus* or *disertus* are also given to Pollius Felix (§ 324, 1), Marcus (Antonius Primus, MART. 10, 73. 9, 99 and FRIEDLÄNDER), Sextus (Imperial director of studies? MART. 5, 5, 1 and on this FRIEDL.), Restitutus (MART. 10, 87, 2; cf. § 341, 4), Caecilius Secundus (MART. 7, 84; cf. 5, 80), Atticus (MART. 7, 32. 9, 99), Aelianus (MART. 12, 24, 3), Rufus (*Cicero Allobrox*, IUV. 7, 214). The Votienus who held a high charge at Narbo (MART. 8, 72) was no doubt a son of the orator (§ 276, 1).

327. A highly respectable position was held in this period by Sex. Julius Frontinus (c. 40–103), equally excellent as an engineer and as a field-officer and tactician, and at the same time a man of upright, unassuming character. He also left records of his varied experience and studies. Of these we possess a carefully compiled manual of strategy in three books (strategematon libri III), which the author published as a supplement to a lost work on the theory of warfare, for the convenience and use of officers.

A fourth book, which does not correspond with the plan and character of the rest, has been added by some other writer. We also have by Frontinus a work in two books de aquis urbis Romae, which is important on account of an abundance of historical notices and documents, and is written in terse and concise, though refined diction. Excerpts from a work on gromatics have also been preserved.

1. The praenomen Sex. is extant in the inscriptions (see below) and in the cod. Paris. (and the later MSS., see n. 5 in fin.; cf. GUNDERMANN praef. to his ed. p. XII). Life: TAC. hist. 4, 39 (a. 70) *Iulius Frontinus praetor urbanus.* He thus appears to have been born a. 41 at the latest. FRONTIN. strat. 4, 3, 14 *auspiciis imperatoris Caesaris Domitiani Augusti Germanici* (a title given by way of anticipation) *eo bello quod Civilis in Gallia moverat* (a. 70) *Lingonum . . . civitas . . . ad obsequium redacta LXX milia armatorum tradidit mihi.* TAC. Agr. 17 *sustinuit molem Iulius Frontinus* (in Britain as successor of Petilius Cerealis, probably 76–78, after his first consulship), *vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit* etc. Cf. EHÜBNER, RhM. 12, 52. His participation in the war with the Chatti may be inferred from strat. 1, 1, 8. 1, 3, 10. 2, 3, 23. 2, 11, 7. He lived a studious life in retirement on the coast of Campania, MART. 10, 58. Cos. I under Vespasian (before his departure for Britain), cf. KNIPPERDEY, op. 520; II beginning of a. 98 (CIL. 3, p. 862; *bis Frontino consule*, MART. 10, 48, 20; JASBACH, Jahrbb. d. Altertumsfr. im Rheinl. 72, 30); III. a. 100 (OR.-HENZEN 6545 WILM. 1104[a]. CIL. 8, 7066). Curator aquarum a. 97 (aq. 1 102). He appears to have died about a. 103, as Pliny (a. 103 or 104?) succeeded him in the dignity of augur (PLIN. ep. 4, 8, 3; cf. ad Trai. 13). According to PLINY (PLIN. ep. 9, 19, 1) *Frontinus vetuit omnino monumentum sibi fieri*, with the characteristic addition: *impensa monumenti supervacua est: memoria nostri durabit si vita meruimus* (ib. 6).

2. Under Domitian was written the gromatic work p. 54, 11 *praestantissimus postea Domitianus ad hoc beneficium procurrit et uno edicto totius Italiae metum liberavit* (in reference to the *subsecivae*), and likewise that on stratagems, the latter after a. 84, approximately a. 88? GUNDERMANN JJ. Suppl. 16, 318. He always adheres to the official fiction of ascribing to the Emperor what was in reality the work of his generals, just as he subsequently does (de aq.) with regard to Nerva. Real flattery towards Domitian does not occur (*tantus dux* 1, 1, 8 is said of his position), and PLINY can therefore justly say ep. 5, 1, 5: *duos quos tunc* (under Domitian) *civitas nostra spectatissimos habuit, Corellium et Frontinum.* Cf. ib. 4, 8, 3 *Iulio Frontino, principi viro.* The work on the aqueducts was written by Frontinus a. 97, shortly after he had been intrusted with the cura aquarum. Cf. n. 6. Significant is c. 118 *quem reditum . . . proximis temporibus in Domitiani loculos conversum iustitia divi Nervae populo restituit, nostra sedulitas ad certam regulam redegit.* 101 *nobis circumeuntibus rivos fides nostra et auctoritas a principe data pro lictoribus erit.* 130 *officii fidem etiam per offensas tueri praestiterit.*

3. Of the gromatic work, which embraced at least two books (*uno enim libro instituimus artificem, alio de arte disputavimus*, röm. Feldm. 1, 64), we possess only explanatory excerpts (best edited in the works of the Roman agrimensores by LACHMANN and others 1, 1), which treat de agrorum qualitate, de controversiis (in general), de limitibus, de controversiis agrorum. Cf. LACHMANN l.l. 2, 101.

Was it still complete in the Middle Ages?? EZarncke, commentt. in hon. Studem. 194.—On the treatise by Balbus, which is in corrupt MSS. attributed to Frontinus see § 344, 3. On the supposed remains of Frontinus in the so-called Anonymus of Chartres see MCantor, röm. Agrimensoren 134; cf. ib. 93. 179; Gesch. d. Mathem. 1, 500. From a work on some agricultural subject, see a quotation in Gargil. Martial. in Mai's Auct. class. 1, 410 (*Iulius Frontinus*).

4. A theoretic work on tactics anterior to the Strat. is alluded to at the beginning of the Strat.: *cum ad instruendam rei militaris scientiam unus ex numero studiosorum eius accesserim, eique destinato, quantum nostra cura valuit, satisfecisse visus sim, deberi adhuc institutae arbitror operae ut sollertia ducum facta . . . expeditis amplectar commentariis.* To this probably refers Veget. 1, 8 and 2, 3 (§ 56. 2 above). His interest extended also to the military art of the Greeks; Aelian. tact. praef. (Köchlys Kriegsschriftst. 2, 236) *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός σου* (Trajan's) *Νέρουας παρὰ Φροντίνῳ τῶν ἐπισήμων ὑπατικῶν ἐν Φορμίαις ἡμέρας τινὰς διέτριψα, δόξαν ἀπενεγκαμένῳ περὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐμπειρίαν, . . . εὗρον οὐκ ἐλάττονα σπουδὴν ἔχοντα εἰς τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τεθεωρημένην μάθησιν* (than for the Roman). Of him we should probably also understand Aelian. de ordin. inst. 1 *περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον τακτικῆς ἐνετύχομεν συγγραφεῦσι Στρατοκλεῖ τε καὶ Φρόντωνι* (read *Φροντίνῳ*, the same confusion occurs several times in the Goth. of Frontinus, Gundermann, praef. edit. p. xii), *τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπατικῷ ἀνδρί.* RFörster, Herm. 12, 446. No military writer of the name of Fronto is known. It cannot be decided for certain who is the Fronto mentioned in Mart. 1, 55 (*clarum militiae togaeque decus*); see Friedl. ad loc. BBorghesi, oeuvr. 3, 382. WHenzen, act. Arv. (Berl. 1874) 182.

5. Strategemata (on the name see Wachsmuth l.l. 580, LDindorf ad Steph. Thes. ling. gr. s. v. *στρατηγηματικός*, Gundermann, JJ. Suppl. 16, 320). 1 praef. *sollertia ducum facta, quae a Graecis una strategematon appellatione comprehensa sunt, expeditis amplectar commentariis. ita enim consilii quoque et providentiae exemplis succincti duces erunt* etc. . . . *in tres libros ea diduximus. in primo erunt exempla quae competant proelio nondum commisso, in secundo quae ad proelium et confectam pacationem pertineant; tertius inferendae solvendaeque obsidionis habebit strategemata.* The examples are skilfully chosen and chiefly, though not exclusively, selected from Roman military history. Among extant authors special recourse has been had to Livy, then to Caesar, Sallust (Jugurtha and the historiae) and others, but a good deal has also been taken from books which are now lost, and thus may be explained most of the variations from the general tradition. Gundermann, JJ. Suppl. 16, 344. An index of the quotations and connected passages on particular subjects in Gundermann's ed. p. 144. ABludau, de fontibus Frontini, Königsb. 1883. As regards the contents of the books there is a combined arrangement, according to persons and subjects, in b. 3 a subdivision according to nationality (*exempla romana, externa*), as in Cornelius Nepos (and Val. Max.).—Frontinus himself (1, praef.) was almost compelled to make additions to the book; *verum facile erit sub quaque specie suggerere . . . adiuvari me ab illis qui aliquid illi adstruent, non argui credam.* The fourth book then adds to the *strategemata* (=military manœuvres) of the first three books *strategica* (=operations and manifestos in connection with the commander's office, previously wrongly entitled *strategematica*). It begins in a boastful vein quite foreign to Frontinus: *multa lectione conquisitis strategematibus et non exiguo scrupulo digestis, ut promissum trium librorum implerem*, the work was now to be augmented with what could not be placed in the rubrics, and was *exempla potius strategicon quam strategemata;* here also the arrangement was to be according to the subject-matter, i.e. *de disciplina*,

*de effectu disciplinae, de continentia, de iustitia, . . . de variis consiliis.* This distribution according to moral notions does not bear much resemblance to the manner of Frontinus, but strikingly agrees with that of Valerius Maximus, from whom the greater part of the exempla in this book are derived. The interpolator has also provided the preface of b. 1 with a preparatory allusion to b. 4. The diction of b. 1–3 also agrees with Frontinus de aquis (n. 6),—it shows many traces of the popular speech,—whereas this is not so in the case of b. 4 (Wölfflin l.l. 73. 90), and the added book cannot well be later than s. IV/V, the time of Julius Paris, Exuperantius, Vibius Sequester and similar writers. CWachsmuth, RhM. 15, 574. EWölfflin, Herm. 9, 72. GGundermann, JJ. Suppl. 16, 326 would place b. 4 as far back as the beginning of the 2nd cent.—Even after the addition of b. 4 the work underwent various later interpolations, to which it was laid open by the character of the subject. These betray themselves by their unskilful adjustment to the plan of Frontinus, by being introduced with *dicitur, traditur* etc., by other divergencies of style and expression, by repetitions etc.—The manuscripts (a list of them in Gundermann, commentatt. Ien. 1, 16; also before his ed. p. x) fall into two classes. To the first (and best) belong the altogether most important MS., the Harleianus 2666 s. IX/X, then the extracts in the Gothan. I. 101 s. IX. and Cusan. C. 14 s. XII; to the second the rest of the (largely interpolated) MSS., mostly of late date with the exception of the valuable Paris. 7240 s. X/XI.—On a transposition of leaves extending beyond the extant MSS. see FHaase, RhM. 3, 312 and EHedicke, Herm. 6, 156.—Editions of the Strateg.: cum notis Stewechii ed. FModius, Leid. 1607. Principal edition by FOudendorp, Leid. 1731. 1779. Ed. NSchwebel, Lps. 1772 and esp. ed. GGundermann, Lpz. 1888 (a separate edition of b. 4 had previously appeared in the commentatt. philol. Ienens. 1 [1881] 83). See the same author's quaestt. de Front. strateg. libris, JJ. Suppl. 16, 315.—Criticism: AEussner, BlfbayrGW. 7, 84. JZechmeister, Wien. Studd. 5, 224. WHartel, ib. 6, 98. PEsternaux, d. Compos. von Fr. strat., Berlin 1889. EFritze, de Fort. strat. libro IV, Halle 1889. MSchantz, Phil. 48, 674.

6. In only one MS. 361 of Monte Cassino (s. XIII? cf. MPetschenig, Wien. Studd. 6, 249; here too is a recent collation), from which all the other MSS. were merely copied, we possess the treatise de aquis urbis Romae (so Heinrich and Bücheler; the Casin. reads *de aquaeductu u. R.;* Sauppe l.l.: *de cura aquarum u. R.* or *de officio aqq.*), composed in the main a. 97 and published after the death of Nerva (*divus Nerva* 87. 118), under Trajan (93 *novum auctorem imperatorem Caesarem Nervam Traianum Augustum praescribente titulo*), perhaps a.d. 98. Just as in the Strat., there is a preface containing an account of the purpose and plan of the work: *cum . . . sit nunc mihi ab Nerva Augusto . . . aquarum iniunctum officium, . . . primum ac potissimum existimo, sicut in ceteris negotiis institueram, nosse quod suscepi.* (2) *. . . quapropter ea quae ad universam rem pertinentia contrahere potui more iam per multa mihi officia servato in ordinem et velut in corpus diducta in hunc commentarium contuli. . . . in aliis autem libris, quos post experimenta et usum composui* (cf. n. 3–5), *succedentium res acta est; huius commentarii fortassis pertinebit et ad successorum utilitas, sed cum inter initia administrationis meae scriptus sit imprimis ad meam institutionem regulamque proficiet.* Then follows the arrangement. Frontinus exclaims c. 16 with patriotic pride: *tot aquarum tam multis necessariis molibus pyramidas videlicet otiosas compares aut inertia, sed fama celebrata, opera Graecorum?* Book 2 begins with c. 64.—Editions: often published together with Vitruvius; the principal separate edition by JPolenus, Patav. 1772. His notae are also given in the edition of GCAdler, Altona 1792. Rec., illustr. et germanice redd. (with the notes of Heinrich and Schultz) ADederich, Wesel

1841. Rec. FBücheler, Lps. 1858. Cf. HSauppe, Gött. GA. 1859, 990. RSchöne, Herm. 6, 248.—RLanciani, Topografia di Roma antica, i commentari di Frontino intorno le acque etc.: silloge epigrafica aquaria, Rome 1881.

7. A complete edition of Frontinus by RKeuchen, Amst. 1661. Texts in the Bipont edition 1788 and by ADederich (Lps. 1855). For Frontinus' life see the edition of Polenus (n. 6). ADederich, zum Leben d. Front., ZfAW. 1839, 834. 1077.

328. To the time of Domitian belongs also the juridical writer Aufidius Chius, while Juventius Celsus and Neratius Priscus did not attain any prominent influence until the time of Trajan and his successor. Perhaps to this period belongs the grammarian Aemilius Asper, the ingenious and erudite commentator of Terence, Sallust and Vergil; also Martial's friend Apollinaris and perhaps Claranus.

1. Mart. 5, 61, 10 *acrior* (as a manager of women's property) *hoc Chius non erit Aufidius*. Cf. Iuv. 9, 25. Fragm. vat. 77 *contra quam Atilicinum respondisse Aufidius Chius refert*. Cf. § 298, 4.—On Neratius Priscus and Juventius Celsus (the son) see § 342, 1 and 2.

2. Among the famous grammarians Ausonius opusc. 3, 20 (*Aemilius*, see § 300, 2) and epist. 18, 27 (*quem Claranus, quem Scaurus et Asper, quem sibi conferret Varro*) mentions Aemilius Asper: cf. Augustin. de util. cred. 17 (*Asper, Cornutus, Donatus*). His period cannot be exactly fixed. He was not earlier than Cornutus (§ 299, 2), as he opposed and contested his opinions (schol. Veron. on Aen. 3, 691). On the other hand, as he was not discussed in Suetonius de gramm., he has been supposed to be later than Probus of Berytus, of whom an account is given in that work (§ 300), to have been still living when Suetonius wrote, and to have been passed over for that reason, Steup, de Probis 71. Against this it is argued that Asper is repeatedly mentioned in Probus' scholia to Vergil (p. 15, 24 *Aemilius Asper cum hunc locum adnotaret;* p. 19, 9 *non, ut Asper putat*). This is however no proof, if we consider the nature of these scholia (§ 300, 5), nor yet the circumstance that Asper is quoted before Probus in schol. Veron. ad Aen. 9, 373 and in Serv. Aen. 10, 539: moreover Probus himself lived until the time of Domitian. The fact that Suetonius does not mention Asper may, if necessary, be explained on the ground that A. was not a teacher but only a scholar, see § 347, 7 and JVahlen, ind. lect. Berol. 1877/78 p. 7. Gellius never mentions him. In the Vatic. 1492 (s. XV) Keil, GL. 5, 527 we read *Asper grammaticus civis rom. tempore Antonini philosophi fuit*, through a confusion with Trosius Aper (§ 257, 4) in Capitol. Ant. phil. 2, 3.—Asper's commentary on Terence is quoted by Donatus on Phorm. 1, 2, 24. Ad. 3, 2, 25. 4, 2, 20; cf. Rufin. GL. 6, 555, 1. 565, 5; *Aspri in Vergilium et Sallustium commentarios* Hieron. adv. Rufin. 1, 16 (4, 1. p. 367 Bened.). The commentary on Sallust is frequently mentioned by Charisius; see esp. GL. 1, 216, 28 *Asper commentario Sallustii historiarum*. Cf. also Pompei. GL. 5, 273, 12 and above § 205, 7. His commentary on Vergil is best known to us; Ribbeck prolegg. p. 128. From the numerous extant fragments of it we may infer that A. was conservative in his criticism of the text, and paid equal attention to the explanation of the subject-matter and of the language, always showing good judgment and taste. Asper also treated systematically of the deviations of Vergil from ordinary usage

both in accidence and syntax. The fragments of the sections de praepositione, de interiectione, de casibus, de generalibus et specialibus, de verbo belonging to these quaestiones Vergilianae or grammatica Vergiliana from a palimpsest of Corbie, Paris. 12161 s. IV? (*Aspri-Vergilius* is the regular heading of both columns) in KEIL, Probi comm. (Halle 1848) p. 109 (cf. ib. p. xv) and with additions in ECHATELAIN, rev. de philol. 10, 83. Cf. HHAGEN, Phil. 25, 353. FBÖLTE, de artium scriptt. lat., Bonn 1886, 55. From this perhaps also: *sic* (*pexui vel pectui*) *Asper de verbo* in PRISC. GL. 3, 489, 36; cf. ib. 2, 536, 6. 499, 18), unless this refers to a general grammar (Ars). In general cf. SURINGAR, hist. crit. schol. lat. p. 95. 124. 255. THBERGK, ZfAW. 1845, 118. 125. 129 (who considers him to be an adherent of Aristarchos). GRÄFENHAN, Gesch. d. class. Philol. 4, 75. 285.—On the works extant under the name of Asper see § 482, 3, On his period (beginning of 3rd cent.) GLÄMMERHIST, comment. Iensens. 4, 401.

3. MART. 4, 86 *si vis auribus atticis probari, exhortor moneoque te, libelle, ut docto placeas Apollinari*, a refined aesthetic critic. Cf. 7, 26 (*meum . . . facetae aures*). 7, 89, 2 (*noster*). 10, 30. 11, 15, 12. Probably the Domitius Apollinaris to whom PLIN. epist. 2, 9 and 5, 6 are addressed; cf. ib. 9, 13, 13 (cos. design. for a. 97). CIG. 4236.

4. MART. 10, 21, 1 *quae vix intellegat ipse Modestus* (see § 231, 6. 240, 3 and 282, 1) *et vix Claranus*. Cf. above n. 2 init. PORPHYRIO on Hor. s, 2, 3, 83 *Anticyra oppidum et insula hoc nomine, sicut Claranus testatur*. Did this author write a commentary on Horace? He is probably also meant in SERV. Aen. 11, 316 (*Clanarius ait*) and is perhaps identical with the person mentioned in SEN. epp. 66, 1–4: *Claranum, condiscipulum meum, vidi post multos annos . . . senem . . . viridem animo ac vigentem*. If so, an earlier date must be assigned to him. Cf. OJAHN, RhM. 9, 626.

5. MART. 10, 70, 2 *doctus Potitus*. ib. 1, 41, 12 *de Gadibus improbus magister*.

6. In this period we should perhaps place *Largius* (thus the MSS. of Gellius 17, 1, 1; in the Lemma ib. they give *Lartius* or *Larcius*) *Licinus*, the author of a work entitled Ciceromastix (§ 276, 3 in fin.), which seems to point to a period when Cicero's name had already become the shibboleth of a certain party. He probably wrote after Asinius Gallus and certainly some time before Gellius; cf. § 276, 3. An earlier date must be assigned to him if he is, as seems probable (MHERTZ), identical with the Largius (or Larcius, see on the name MOMMSEN's index Plin. 416) Licinus, who is mentioned repeatedly in the two Plinii, PLIN. ep. 2, 14, 9 as a declamator in the time of Claudius; ep. 3, 5, 17 (see § 312, 2 ad fin.) as a bidder for the learned collections of the elder Pliny. And he certainly put himself at Pliny's disposal in Spain, where he died as *legatus praetorius ad ius dicendum* according to PLIN. NH. 31, 24, cf. ib. 19, 35 (perhaps about a. 70?).

329. Historical works were composed in the reign of Domitian by C. Vibius Maximus, Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio; the two last were at once adherents of the Stoic system and in opposition to the government—which cost them their life. A certain Fronto is also mentioned as a Stoic, as well as Decianus of Emerita, who however knew how to couple his philosophy with caution. Pollius Felix was an Epicurean. The work on gastronomy by Priscus seems also to belong to this time.

1. Statius silv. 4, prooem. *Maximum Vibium* (we should read thus, and not *Iunium*, HNohl, Herm. 12, 517; cf. Mart. 11, 106 and CIL. 3, 38 and p. 859) *et dignitatis et eloquentiae nomine a nobis diliyi satis eram testatus epistula quam ad illum de editione Thebaidos meae publicavi; sed nunc quoque eum reverti maturius e Delmatia rogo* (in silv. 4, 7). C. Vibius Maximus was a. 93 stationed in Dalmatia as praef. cohortis III Alpinorum; a. 104 he was praefectus Aegypti. Nohl l.l. Cf. silv. 4, 7, 45 *tu tuos parvo memorabis enses quos ad eoum tuleris Orontem signa frenatae moderatus alae Castore dextro* etc. and 53 *tuas artes, . . . omne quis mundi senium remensus orsa Sallusti brevis et Timavi reddis alumnum.* The work would thus appear to have been a Universal History, resembling neither Sallust nor Livy in respect of the subject-matter.

2. Junius Rusticus Arulenus, trib. pleb. a. 66 (Tac. a. 16, 26), praetor a. 69 (Tac. hist. 3, 80), according to Suet. Dom. 10 killed by Domitian (a. 93) *quod Paeti Thraseae et Helvidi Prisci laudes edidisset* (a laudatory biography) *appellassetque eos sanctissimos viros.* More accurately Tac. Agr. 2 (above § 319, 4). Dio 67, 13 *τὸν Ῥούστικον τὸν Ἀρουληνὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι ἐφιλοσόφει* (cf. § 326, 3 ad init.) *καὶ ὅτι τὸν Θρασέαν ἱερὸν ὠνόμαζε, καὶ Ἐρέννιον Σενεκίωνα ὅτι τε οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν πολλῷ βίῳ μετὰ τὴν ταμιείαν ἠτήκει καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Πρίσκου τοῦ Ἑλουιδίου τὸν βίον συνέγραψεν.* Plin. ep. 7, 19, 5 *cum Senecio reus esset* (through Mettius Carus) *quod de vita Helvidi libros composuisset;* and ib. 6 *illos ipsos libros . . , abolitos senatus consulto.*

3. Mart. 14, 106 *stoicus hoc* (urceo) *gelidam Fronto petebat aquam*, § 52, 4. On Palfurius Sura see § 326, 5. For other philosophers § 319, 5.—Mart, 1, 8 *Thraseae atque Catonis dogmata sic sequeris salvus ut esse velis, pectore nec nudo strictos incurris in enses, . . . Deciane* (a native of Emerita in Lusitania, Mart. 1, 61, 10). Cf. 1, 24. 1, 39 (*cecropiae madidus latiaeque Minervae artibus* etc.). Martial dedicated to him his b. 2, cf. praef.—*Chaeremon stoicus* in Mart. 11, 56, 1 and Friedl. ad loc. *Heliodorus stoicus* in the scholia on Iuv. 1, 35.—Stat. silv. 2, 2, 112 *hic ubi sidereas exercet Pollius artes, seu volvit monitus quos dat Gargettius auctor* etc. The villa of this Pollius Felix (§ 321, 1. 324, 1) on the bay of Naples, described by Statius silv. 2, 2 and 3, 1, 147, is also mentioned in inscriptions. Mommsen, Herm. 18, 159.—*Flavius Archippus, philosophus*, in Domitian's eyes *bonus vir et professioni suae etiam moribus respondens*, but *sententia Veli Paulli proconsulis . . . crimine falsi damnatus in metallum;* see Plin. ad Trai. 58–60.

4. Mart. 9, 77 *quod optimum sit disputat convivium facunda Prisci pagina.* On 14, 196 (*Calvus de aquae frigidae usu*) see § 213, 7 in fin.—Mart. 12, 95 *Musaei pathicissimos libellos* (in Greek?), *qui certant Sybariticis libellis, . . . lege* etc. Cf. § 324, 5 ad fin.

### 3. THE TIME OF NERVA AND TRAJAN, A.D. 96–117.

330. What had grown up under the judicious rule of Vespasian, but had timidly concealed and excused itself under Domitian's despotism, ventured to show itself in broad daylight under the mild sway of Nerva and Trajan. During that time we find accordingly a large number of writers in all departments of literature. Recitations were still kept up, but they had begun to decline owing to the insignificance of most of the productions, the satiety of the hearers, and the greater scope now accorded to

real oratory by the increase of general freedom. No wonder that the recollection of the time which they had undergone filled most writers with bitterness and indignation, not only such men as Juvenal and Tacitus, but even the humble Pliny. Nerva himself took a certain interest in poetry and literature, but his reign was too short (Sept. 96–Jan. 98) to allow him to manifest it much. Trajan (who reigned from 98–117) had little inclination for theoretical studies, and only indirectly encouraged them. The old complaints regarding the unprofitableness of the pursuit of art and poetry are accordingly renewed in his reign as loudly as before.

1. M. Cocceius Nerva, son and grandson of jurists (§ 281, 2. 298, 2), Mart. 8, 70, 1 *tanta est facundia Nervae* (cf. 9, 26) . . . *hunc* (Nerva) *nostri scit temporis esse Tibullum, carmina qui docti nota Neronis habet:* hence Nero had mentioned Nerva, who belonged to his circle, in his poems as a second Tibullus. Plin. ep. 5, 3, 5 (above § 31, 1). An edict by him on his accession to the throne forms a document inserted by Pliny ad Trai. 58.

2. M. Ulpius Traianus of Italica, born 18th Sept. 53, reigned a. 98–117. Dio 68, 7 *παιδείας ἀκριβοῦς, ὅση ἐν λόγοις, οὐ μετέσχε. τό γε μὲν ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ ἠπίστατο καὶ ἐποίει.* Victor epit. 13, 7 *magis simpliciora ingenia aut eruditissimos, quamvis ipse parcae esset scientiae moderateque eloquens, diligebat.* Iulian. Caess. p. 22 *καίπερ δυνάμενος λέγειν—ὑπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰώθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Σούρᾳ* (Licinius Sura, § 326, 14) *γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ—φθεγγόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ λέγων ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτοῖς* etc. Plin. paneg. 47 *quem honorem dicendi magistris, quam dignationem sapientiae doctoribus habes! ut sub te spiritum et sanguinem et patriam receperunt studia! quae priorum temporum immanitas exiliis puniebat* etc. . . . *at tu easdem artes in complexu, oculis, auribus habes. praestas enim quaecumque praecipiunt* etc.; cf. ib. 49 (*in mensis principis . . . studiorum honor*) and n. 3. It is therefore probable that we should understand of Trajan Iuv. 7, 1 *et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum; solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas respexit* etc. See Teuffel's translation p. 233, Weidner ad loc. A different view is held by Friedländer, SGesch. 3 [5], 461 (cf. § 331, 4 towards the middle). Trajan favoured especially the rhetorician Dion Chrysostomos (or. 45, 2, 3 Emp.). Cf. JBurckhardt, N. schweiz. Mus. 4 (1864), 97. He founded libraries, especially the Ulpia (Dio 68, 16). Memoirs by Trajan are indicated by Prisc. GL. 2, 205, 6 *Traianus in I Dacicorum: inde Berzobim . . . processimus.* On a speech of Trajan in the Senate on 1 Jan. 100 see Plin. paneg. 67. But Fronto ad Ver. p. 123 *Nerva* (Trai.) *facta sua in senatu verbis rogaticiis commendavit.* See above the quotation from Julian. Trajan's replies to Pliny's inquiries (see § 340, 6 and 9) are brief and concise, but always pertinently expressed. A decree of Trajan in Plin. ep. 5, 13, 8. Remains of a letter of Trajan in Henzen's acta fr. arval. (Berl. 1874) p. cxliii.

3. Plin. ep. 5, 14, 6 *tandem homines non ad pericula, ut prius, verum ad honores virtute perveniunt.* 8, 14, 2 *priorum temporum servitus . . . reducta libertas.* 9, 13, 4 *reddita libertas.* 3, 18, 6 *liberius ideoque etiam libentius scribitur.* 3, 18, 5 *studia, quae prope extincta refoventur* (historical writing, oratory, philosophy). Cf. n. 2 and 8, 12, 1 *litterarum senescentium reductor* (Capito). 5, 17, 6 *faveo saeculo, ne*

*sit sterile et effetum.* But 1, 10, 1 *si quando urbs nostra liberalibus studiis floruit, nunc maxime floret.* Cf. n. 5.

4. PLIN. ep. 1, 13, 1 *magnum proventum poetarum annus hic* (a. 97?) *attulit. toto mense aprili nullus fere dies quo non recitaret aliquis. iuvat me quod vigent studia, . . . tametsi ad audiendum pigre coitur;* he proceeds to give particulars. Cf. 3, 18, 4 *numquam aut valde vacat Romae aut commodum est audire recitantem.* 6, 17. IUV. 1, 1. 7, 40. TAC. dial. 8. Pliny himself set great store by these recitations (7, 17, 13. 8, 21, 4) and extended them to speeches which had already been delivered (ib. 7, 17).

5. Orators were numerous, see § 341, 1–5. But cf. also PLIN. ep. 2, 14, 2 *pauci* (sunt) *cum quibus iuvet dicere. ceteri audaces atque etiam magna ex parte adulescentuli obscuri* etc. (4) *sequuntur auditores actoribus similes, conducti et redempti* etc. 6, 2, 5 *et qui dicunt egisse malunt quam agere et qui audiunt finire quam iudicare.* TAC. dial. 19 *apud iudices, qui . . . saepe ultro admonent* (oratorem) *atque alio transgredientem revocant et festinare se testantur.*—On the standing of scholars and writers at Rome see Juvenal's seventh satire.—JGHULLEMANN, de literarum ap. Rom. studiis Trai. imp., Leid. 1858. HTHIERSCH, Politik u. Philosophie im Verh. z. Religion unter Trai., Hadr. u. den Antoninen, Marb. 1853.

6. Important inscriptions of the time of Trajan (cf. OR.-HENZEN 782–804. 5440–5451). a) The will of Dasumius of a. 109; CIL. 6, 10229. WILM. 314. BRUNS, font.[5] 292. The younger Pliny, Tacitus and Fabius Rusticus (§ 314, 4) are among the recipients of bequests.—b) The will of a Gaul, a copy of which is preserved on a sheet of parchment s. X in Basle (published by AKIESSLING, anecd. Basileensia, Bas. 1863. EHÜBNER, ann. d. inst. 36, 200. WILM. 315. BRUNS font.[5] 297), not much later than that of Dasumius. OCUNTZ, de Aug. Plinii auctore 51 differs.—c) The documents on the foundation of a charity (tabulae alimentariae) from Veleia, CIL. 11, 1147, WILM. 2845, BRUNS[5] 285 and (of the Ligures Baebiani) from Beneventum (a. 101), CIL. 9, 1455, OR.-HENZEN 6664, BRUNS[5] 288, WILM. 2844. Cf. PRE. 1[2], 774. 6, 1556.

331. Among the poets of the age of Trajan the most prominent is D. Junius Juvenalis of Aquinum (about A.D. 60–140), who had originally devoted himself to the study of rhetoric, but subsequently began to publish satires. We possess sixteen of them, divided into five books. Those which are most characteristic portray the vices of Roman society with passionate, unsparing ferocity; he depicts them in all the glaring colours of rhetoric, frequently with horrible vividness, and hardly ever indulges the reader with more peaceful scenes by way of rest or relief. His strong, earnest spirit is bent upon the subject itself more than the artistic construction; unconcerned about inequalities of style (repetitions, afterthoughts etc.) he lays the chief stress on the picturesque elaboration of details, in which he is lavishly minute. Hence also the uniformly elevated and pregnant diction, which presents great difficulties to complete comprehension. In the later satires the moral indignation is toned down and the poetical faculty is markedly weaker. The last are senile.

1. Our knowledge of Juvenal's life, apart from his poems, is mostly derived from the inscription placed by him in the temple of Ceres (Helvina, sat. 3, 320) at Aquinum, CIL. 10, 5382. Or.-Henzen 5599, cf. CLGrotefend, Phil. 12, 489): *(Cere)ri sacrum (D. Iu)nius Iuvenalis, (trib.) coh(ortis I) Delmatarum, II(vir) quing(uennalis), flamen divi Vespasiani, vovit dedicav(itq)ue sua pec(unia)*. The extant vitae (printed from the latest MS. materials in the most complete form in JDürr, d. Leben Juv. p. 21: seven in OJahn's larger ed. p. 386; an eighth from cod. Harl. 3301 s. XV see JJ. 109, 800, cf. acta Lips. 4, 304; cf. also Stampini, riv. di filol. 12, 201, ORossbach, de Senecae philos. libris recens. 77) are very closely related to each other, but exhibit many contradictions in detail and dubious statements: nevertheless they afford a nucleus of solid fact which, although it can hardly ever be extracted quite free of alloy, is more than could be obtained from the mere reading of the satires. In the existing state of the sources, a restoration of the original vita (most recently attempted by Dürr l.l.) cannot be successful. The origin of the vitae is unknown: Suetonius' viri illustres is out of the question (§ 347, 7). —The date of the poet's birth and death cannot be exactly determined. The attempt of LFriedländer, de Iuv. vitae temporibus, Königsb. 1875, SGesch. $3^5$, 458; JB. 1886 2, 204, from 13, 17 *Fonteio consule natus* (cf. BBorghesi, oeuvr. 5, 76) to fix a. 67 as the year of Juvenal's birth has failed. LSchwabe, RhM. 40, 25. This passage only proves that J. was born not later than that year, but probably earlier. The consulate of L. Aemilius Juncus a. 127 (BBorghesi l.l., WDittenberger, ephem. epigr. 1, 247. CIL. 3, p. 874, xxxi) mentioned 15, 27 (*nuper consule Iunco*) is the latest event which is demonstrably referred to in Juvenal. According to the vitae 1. 2. 3 Jahn J. attained or even lived beyond his eightieth year; on the other hand Juvenal only began to write his satires at a ripe age (1, 25 and the vitae 1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 8 *ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit*) and not until the reign of Trajan (see n. 4). Martial, who being a friend of Juvenal often mentions him (7, 24. 7, 91 *facunde Iuvenalis* [end of a. 92?]. 12, 18 [at earliest end of a. 98?]), knows him only as a rhetorician, not as a satirist.—According to this Juvenal may perhaps have lived from a. 60 (cf. vit. 2, 3 *oriundus temporibus Neronis Claudii imperatoris*) down to about a. 140 (cf. vita 4 *decessit . . . Antonio Pio imperatore*). In the cod. Barberini viii 18 we read (in Dürr, l.l. p. 28): *Iunius Iuvenalis Aquinas Iunio Iuvenale patre, matre vero Septumuleia ex Aquinati municipio Claudio Nerone et L. Antistio consulibus* (808/55 a.d.) *natus est. sororem habuit Septumuleiam quae Fuscino* (Iuv. sat. 14, 1) *nupsit* etc. This isolated notice of a vita of Juvenal composed by some Italian of the Renaissance (s. XVI?), which Dürr l.l. 28 believes to be derived from the original vita, although plausible in its substance, can lay no claim to acceptance until it receives further corroboration. The praenomen *D* is preserved in the cod. Laur. 34, 42 s. XI (cf. JJ. 109, 868) and in the Vossiani 18 s. X and 64 s. XI (Hosius l.l. 45), see also p. 151 below; *Iunius Iuvenalis* in the inscription (see above), the cod. P, the scholia and in the vitae 1. 2 (in vita 4 *M. Iunius Iuvenalis*); simply *Iuvenalis* in other authors. An estate of Juvenal's at Tibur? see 11, 65. 69, his *paternus agellus* at Aquinum: 6, 57. EHübner, WschrklPh. 1889, 1340. 1369. HJdeDompierre de Chaussepié, de titulo IRN. 4312 (=CIL. 10, 5382) ad Iuv. perperam relato, Hagae Com. 1889.

2. We can hardly (with VFrancke, CKempf, ChrStrack, Nettleship, Vahlen and others) doubt that Juvenal was exiled; the reason, time and place are however uncertain. The circumstance of his banishment is mentioned by all the vitae, the scholia on 1, 1. 4, 38. 7, 92, Sidonius Apoll. 9, 269 (*non qui tempore Caesaris secundi aeterno incoluit Tomos reatu nec qui consimili deinde casu ad vulgi tenuem strepentis auram irati fuit histrionis exul*), lastly IoMalal. chron. 10, p. 341

and in agreement with him SUIDAS. All the vitae (also the SCHOL. on 1, 1), likewise SIDONIUS and MALALAS—though differing as to details—connect the motive of the banishment with sat. 7, 90 sqq. (*quod non dant proceres dabit histrio* etc.), whereby a *histrio*, an Imperial favourite, had been offended, the Emperor avenging the insult by decreeing the poet's exile, which according to all the vitae (also the SCHOL. on 4, 38) took the form of a military appointment in a distant country. Who enforced the banishment? The vitae (1, 3, 5 give no name) are divided between Nero—who is chronologically impossible—(7. SCHOL. on 7, 92), Domitian (2. 4. 8. SCHOL. on 1, 1. 4, 38 and MALALAS-SUIDAS) and Trajan (6). As regards the date, vita 1 and 2 place this military command in the 80th year of the poet, vita 4 *in extrema Domitiani tempora*. As the place of exile the majority (1. 2. 4. 7. Schol. on 1, 1. 4, 38. 15, 27) mention Egypt, but a few (5. 6) Britain. The statement with regard to Egypt may easily have been deduced from sat. 15, 45, while in favour of Britain we have the circumstance that the cohort to which Juv., according to the inscription (n. 1), was appointed was stationed in Britain at the time in question (demonstrably a. 105 and 124, see CIL. 7, 1194. 1195. 367. 387. 400. 1055, EHÜBNER, ib. 7, p. 85; RhM. 11, 30. Herm. 16, 566). It is impossible to ascertain the truth in this medley of conflicting statements.—CHRSTRACK, de Iuvenalis exilio, Laubach 1880. JVAHLEN, Juv. u. Paris, Berl. SBer. 1883, 1175. KRITTWEGER, d. Verbannung Juv.s u. die Abfass. s. Sat. 7, Bochum 1886 and n. 3.

3. JVFRANCKE, examen crit. Iuv. vitae, Altona 1820; de vita Iuv. quaestio II, Dorpat 1827. CABAUER, einige Nachrichten aus d. Leben des Juv., Regensb. 1833. CPINZGER, JJ. 14, 261. TEUFFEL, ib. 43, 103; Stud. und Charakt.[2] 535. BBORGHESI (intorno all' età di Giovenale), oeuvr. 5, 49. CSYNNERBERG, de temporibus vitae carminumque Iuv., Helsingf. 1866. LFRIEDLÄNDER, de Iuv. vitae tempp., Königsb. 1875; SGesch. 3[5], 458. ESTAMPINI, de Iuv. vita, riv. di filol. 9, 417; de Iuv. vita controv., riv. di filol. 12, 196. DNAGUIEWSKI, de Iuv. vita, Riga 1883. JAHILD, Juvénal, notes biographiques, Par. 1884. HNETTLESHIP, life and poems of J., Journ. of phil. 16, 41. ASEEHAUS, de Iuv. vita, Halle 1887. JDÜRR, d. Leben Juv.s, Ulm 1888.

4. The 16 Satires are in the MSS. (esp. in the Pithoean., n. 8) divided into 5 books (b. I=sat. 1–5; II=6; III=7–9; IV=10–12; V=13–16). It is according to this division that e.g. Priscian quotes (see the passages GL. 3, 537). The books follow each other in chronological order; they were published separately like the books of Martial and the Silvae of Statius. B. 1 was published under Trajan, certainly after a. 100 (1, 49) and probably considerably later, as it is scarcely likely that there would be long intervals especially between the publication of the first books; b. 2 after a. 116 (6, 407 sqq.); b. 5 after a. 127 (13, 17. 15, 27). The Emperor praised at the beginning of b. 3 (7, 1) as a patron of the poets is therefore probably Hadrian (FRIEDLÄNDER, SGesch. 3[5], 451 supposes Juv. to have added to the satire already written under Trajan an exordium addressed to Hadrian): thus this book would have been published about a. 120, and b. 4 probably about a. 125. LFRIEDLÄNDER, de Iuv. vitae tempp., Königsb. 1875; SGesch. 3[5], 458.—Of the last satire (16) the scholia say: *ista a plerisque exploditur et dicitur non esse Iuvenalis*. In accordance with this the genuineness of this and of the preceding satire has been controverted, though on insufficient grounds, by CFHEINRICH and CKEMPF (observationes in Iuvenalis aliquot locos, Berl. 1843), see TEUFFEL and HERTZBERG in their translation 153. 341. GPALM, de Iuv. sat. XV, Nordhausen 1882. Moreover the last satire is incomplete at the end, which may perhaps be explained by the accidental loss of some leaves. FBÜCHELER,

RhM. 29, 636 and Beer, spicil. 46.—In vita 4 (cf. schol. on 1, 1): *in exilio ampliavit satiras et pleraque mutavit.* Many indications might point to a twofold version by the poet himself; Teuffel, Stud. u. Charakt.[2] 549, but against this see e.g. JVahlen, ind. lect., Berl. 1884, 30 and GSchönaich, quaestt. Iuv., Halle 1884, 13. GMosengel, vindic. Iuv., Erl. 1887.—Against the immoderate criticism of ORibbeck (in his ed., Lps. 1859; symb. phil. Bonn. p. 1; der echte und der unechte Juv., Berl. 1865) see Teuffel in his translation 154. 209. 246. 252. 259, the vindiciae Iuvenalianae of BLupus, Bonn 1864, OMeinertz, Königsb. 1866, RWeise, Halle 1884, also OJahn in his small ed. of 1886 p. x. OMeinertz, z. Krit. u. Erkl. d. Juv., Conitz 1871 (on the correspondence in language etc. of the 'genuine' and the 'spurious' Juvenal). JVahlen, ind. lect. Berol. 1884. WSchulz, Herm. 21, 179, OHänicke, d. Echtheit der zwölften Sat. d. Iuv., Putbus 1877, HPolstorff, de vv. aliquot Iuv. male suspectis, Rostock 1882.

5. Iuv. 1, 22 *cum tener uxorem ducat spado* etc. . . . (30) *difficile est satiram non scribere.* 79 *si natura negat, facit indignatio versum, qualemcumque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus* (§ 332, 9). 150 *dicas hic forsitan: unde . . . illa priorum scribendi quodcumque animo flagrante liberet simplicitas? . . .* 170 *experiar quid concedatur in illos quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.* This shows that the poet intends to satirise persons no longer living; the names are partly typical or fictitious, partly derived from the past, especially the time of Nero and Domitian. Of living characters he mentions only Marius Priscus, Isaeus, Archigenes and Gallicus, and perhaps Philippus (3, 125), all (except the first) in a complimentary manner; that is, Juvenal follows the method also observed by Martial (§ 332, 6), and Pliny (§ 340, 6). But all the characters named by Juv. appear to denote real persons (Borghesi, oeuvr. 5, 533. LFriedländer, de nominibus, see below). The majority belong to the past, frequently a very distant past, e.g. in the case of Cicero or even Lucilius. They are shadows against whom the satirist fights, but such as may be considered the types of living characters of his time; he attacks them accordingly as though living. The rhetorical pathos of Juvenal only rarely (as in the case of 2, 29 sqq. 4, 37 sqq. 8, 212 sqq.) discloses any definite chronology. Cf. Epkema, prosopographia Iuv., Amsterd. 1864. See FStrauch, de personis Iuvenalianis, Gött. 1869. LFriedländer, de nominibus personarum in Iuv. satiris, Königsb. 1872; SGesch. $3^5$, 465. AThChrist, d. Art u. Tendenz d. Juvenal. Personenkritik, Lpz. 1886. This pathos affects by preference the darkest colours and makes the satirist appear a morbid pessimist and the reverse of an idealist. Wit and humour (JJessen, Phil. 47, 320) are rarely met with. In general, Juvenal retained in his satires the habits of his rhetorical training (1, 15). On this see LBergmüller, quaestt. Iuv., acta sem. phil. Erlang. 4, 395. EStrube, de rhetorica Iuv. disciplina, Brandenb. 1875. Hence he lays down definite themes for each piece, and works out each in a sober and almost scholastic manner, now with monotonous transitions, now in mechanical subdivisions without any connecting links. See the tables of contents in KFHermann's ed. JAGyleing, de argumenti dispositione in sat. I—XVI, Lund 1886. 89 II. His metre is intentionally sonorous and powerful. HWilcke, quid elocutio Iuv. a Persiana differat, Stendal 1869. JRahn, selecta capita de syntaxi Iuv., Halle 1875. FWeiss, die Fragesätze bei Juv., Stockerau 1882. Also RWeise (n. 4 in fin.). LKiaer, sermonem Iuv. certis legibus astrictum esse, Copenh. 1875. LGenther, die Metaphern bei Juv., Wittenb. 1878. FLohr (see § 321, 6). HJattkowski (§ 302, 4 ad fin.). MWolff, de usu coniunctionum ap. Iuv., Amsterd. 1888. GMosengel (n. 4) 29 (on case-syntax).

6. Among the earlier writers Juvenal is chiefly acquainted with Horace (e.g. 5, 107=Hor. ep. 1, 1, 40; PSchwartz, de Iuv. Horatii imitatore, Halle 1882) and Vergil (e.g. 2, 100=Aen. 12, 94; 3, 198=Aen. 2, 311; 5, 138=Aen. 4, 328. 12, 475; 6, 133=G. 3, 282; JGehlen, de Iuv. Vergilii imitatore, Erl. 1886); very frequent are his allusions to his friend Martial (e.g. 6, 184=M. 10, 68; 6, 196=M. 6, 23; 6, 492=M. 2, 66).

7. We possess two classes of Scholia on the Satires of Juvenal. The bulk of the first class probably goes back to the end of the fourth century (at 10, 24 Neratius Cerealis praefectus urbi a. 352 is mentioned as belonging to the past). In this period there was the more demand for commentators as Juvenal was diligently read at the time: Ammian. Marc. 28, 4, 14 *quidam detestantes ut venena doctrinas, Iuvenalem et Marium Maximum curatiore studio legunt, nulla volumina praeter haec in profundo otio contrectantes:* see also Rutil. Namat. 1, 604 (§ 323, 2). In spite of its being very corrupt this collection of scholia contains not a few traces of genuine ancient scholarship. It is preserved in the codex Pithoeanus s. IX (see n. 8) and the Sangallensis 870 s. IX (on this HWirz, Herm. 15, 443) and was edited therefrom by PPithoeus (Par. 1585, see n. 9), AWCramer (Hamb. 1823), and LSchopen in Heinrich's ed. (1839) 1, p. 156 (annotationes criticae on them p. 325); the best reprint in OJahn's ed. of 1851, p. 171 (emendations to this from the MSS. in Stephan and Beer l.l. l.l.) and (a selection) in Jahn-Bücheler (n. 9 ad fin.). —The scholia which GValla published Ven. 1486 very inaccurately as the Scholia of Probus (§ 300, 6), and which extend only to sat. 8, 193, were derived from a MS. belonging to the same class, though more complete. On the Aarau fragments see n. 8. EMatthias, de scholiis in Iuv., Halle 1875 (also in the Dissertt. phil. Halens. 2, 255). ChrStephan, de Pithoeanis in Iuv. scholiis, Bonn 1882; RBeer, de nova schol. in Iuv. recensione instituenda, Wien. Studd. 6, 297. 7, 311.—The second class bears like the scholia on Persius (§ 302, 6) the name of Cornutus (*Cornuti expositio super toto libro Iuvenalis*), is found in more recent MSS. (esp. Laur. 52, 4 s. XV), probably belongs to the Carlovingian period (at 9, 27 a *Heiricus magister* is quoted; cf. AEbert, Lit. d. MA. 2, 285) and is both verbose and empty; see OJahn's ed. of Persius p. cxiv. Specimens of them were published by Schopen (unedierte Scholien zu Juv. III, Bonn 1847), KFHermann (schediasma de scholiorum ad Iuv. genere deteriore, Gött. 1849) and IvGigch (apparatus criticus ad Iuv., Leid. 1849; tria capita ad Iuv. eiusque scholiastas spectantia, ib. 1850). AZingerle, kl. philol. Abhh. 4 (Innsbr. 1887), 1 (on an Innsbr. MS. s. XIV with scholia). Cf. also on these scholia Schönaich l.l. cap. 1. Hosius (n. 8) 95. On their diction HRönsch, Roman. Forsch. 2, 280.—Quite late glosses on Juv. which, worthless in themselves, only deserve some attention because their readings of the text generally agree with the Pith., are preserved in the Paris. 7730 s. X; published by HKeil, Halle ind. schol. 1877; cf. GLoewe, prodr. gloss. p. x; HWirz, Herm. 15, 448; Phil. Anz. 10, 479. CBeldame, scolies inédites de Juv. (at Nice), rev. de philol. 6, 76 (worthless, of the 15th cent.! Bücheler, RhM. 38, 132). Cf. n. 8 l. 19. WHoehler, schol. Iuv. inedita, Kenzigen 1889. WSchulz, Herm. 24, 481.

8. In the same manner the manuscripts of the Satires are divided into two classes. Of the sounder and better class only one complete MS. is preserved, the Montepessulanus 125 s. IX, which issued from Lorsch, and was subsequently in the possession of PPithoeus, whence it was named Pithoeanus (P). On the other hand see in RBeer, Wien. Studd. 8, 342 the evidence that it belonged for a time to the library of Matthias Corvinus (whence it was also called Budensis). Specimens of the Pithoeanus in RBeer's spicil. Iuvenal., Lpz. 1885. A collation (imperfect)

in OJahn's larger ed., cf. FRühl, Phil. 30, 676; a subsequent collation for 1, 1–2, 133 by FRühl, Wissensch. Monatsbl. [Königsb. 1877] 139, in addition see esp. the notices of RBeer in his spicil. Iuv.—Fragments of a MS. s. X/XI containing the text and scholia and very closely related to the Pithoeanus have been discovered at Aarau, HWirz, Herm. 15, 437. The similar MS. of GValla (n. 7) and the SGallensis D 304, of which the scholia but not the text are preserved in the copy SGall. 870 (see n. 7), have entirely disappeared. The very ancient Vatic. 5750 (Bobiensis) in capitals contains on p. 78 Juv. 15, 18–43: specimen of the writing in Zangemeister-Wattenbach's exempla codd. latt. t. 5 (cf. § 302, 5). Iuven. et Persii fragm. Bobiensia ed. GGoetz, Jena 1884. Cf. in general on the superior version and the history of the text RBeer spicil. 9. 39. On abridgments of Juvenal generally and the Florilegium in SGall. 870 (which agrees in its readings with P.) see especially ChrStephan, RhM. 40, 263.—There are very numerous MSS. of the second exceedingly corrupt class (collations in Hosius l.l. 3). The Pith. itself and the Aarau MS. are corrected throughout from MSS. of class II, and vice versâ many MSS. of the latter class from a MS. of class I. Two of them (Laur. 34, 42 and Leid. 82 s. XI) have the subscriptio: *Legi ego Niceus Romae apud Servium* (the one mentioned § 431 ?) *magistrum et emendavi.* The grammarians who quote passages from Juv. generally follow the readings of class II (see however Hosius l.l. 55). Traces of another recension in the Paris. 9345 s. XI (at the end of Sat. 6) *decē iuvenalis . . . incipit lib. III legente Aepicarpio scribentis Exuperantio servo.* OKeller, JJ. 131, 576. Hosius l.l. 62.—CFHermann, de codd. Iuv. recte existimandis, Gött. 1847; vindiciae Iuvenalianae, ib. 1854. OJahn in his ed. of 1868, p. 5. CHosius, apparatus criticus ad Iuv., Bonn 1888. Abortive attempts to prove the class of Nicaeus to be superior were made by AHäckermann, d. pithoean. Cod. d. Juv. I, Greifsw. 1856 and elsewhere (n. 12).—AGasté, sur un mscr. (worthless) de Juv., Ann. de la fac. de lettr. de Bordeaux 2, 274; mém. de l'acad. de Caen 1880, 308. AZingerle (n. 7 in fin.). Schenkl, Wien. Studd. 3, 313 (two worthless MSS. Cantabrig. s. IX).

9. Editions (an enumeration in Ruperti 1, clxiv). DCalderinus (Ven. 1475. 1495). GValla (Ven. 1486). IBritannicus (Brix. 1501 and frequently). Th Pulmannus et HJunius (Antv. 1565). FPithoeus (Par. 1585). NRigaltius (Par. 1613. 1616). IGrangaeus (Par. 1614). HCHenninius (with Persius, Utr. 1685. Leid. 1695). Cum perp. comm. ed. GARuperti (Lps.[2] 1819 II). Ed. NLAchaintre (Par. 1810 II), NELemaire (Par. 1823 II). Rec. et ann. EWWeber (Weim. 1825). Ex emend. et c. comm. CFHeinrichii; acc. scholia vetera (Bonn 1839 II).—Cum scholiis veteribus recensuit et emendavit OJahn, Berl. 1851. Thirteen satires of Juvenal (omitting 2. 6. 9) with a commentary by JEBMayor, Lond. I[4] 1886, II[3] 1881. AJMacleane and GLong, Lond.[2] 1867. HPrior, Lond. 1862. THSEscott, Lond. 1868. GASimcox, Lond.[2] 1873. EGHardy, Lond. 1883. CHPearson and HAStrong, Oxf. 1887. Explained by AWeidner, Lpz.[2] 1889. Cum lectt. var., commentariis (in Russian) etc. ed. DNaguiewski I (satt. 1–3), Kasan 1888.—Texts by CFHermann, Lps. 1854, ORibbeck (see n. 4), and esp. (with a scanty apparatus chiefly after RBeer's collation of the P) Jahn-Bücheler, Berl.[2] 1886.

10. Translations e.g. by JJCDonner (Tüb. 1821), WEWeber (Halle 1838), ECJvSiebold (with Latin text and elucidations after CFHermann, Lpz. 1858), ABerg (Stuttg. 1862 sq.), WHertzberg and WTeuffel (Stuttg. 1864–67). English (verse) by WGifford, Lond. 1817 (with Persius), (prose) by JDLewis, with text and notes, Lond.[2] 1882, by HAStrong and ALeeper, Lond. 1882.

11. On Juvenal see Manso in the Nachtr. to Sulzer 6, 294. DNisard, études

. . sur les poètes lat. de la décadence (Par. 1834) 1, 241. 2, 101. TEUFFEL, PRE. 4, 535. VÖLKER, Juvenal; Lebens- u. Charakterbild, Elberf. 1851. CFHERMANN pref. to his ed. (1854) p. III. AWIDAL, Juvénal et ses satires; études littéraires et morales, Par. 1869. GBOISSIER, J. et son temps, rev. des deux mondes, June 1870, p. 141. GDBELLETTI, studj sulle satire di Giov., Genoa 1885.

12. Textual criticism and explanation: GPINZGER, de versibus Iuv. spuriis et male suspectis, Bresl. 1827. MADVIG, op. 1, 29. 2, 167. CFHERMANN, annotatt. ad sat. 3, Marb. 1839; de sat. 7 tempp., Gött. 1843. NMOHR, annotatt. ad Iuv. sat. 1 et 2, Dorp. 1845. ALDÖLLEN, Beitr. zur Kr. u. Erkl., Kiew 1846. AHÄCKERMANN, Jahn's Archiv 15, 550. 16, 351. 370. 568. 17, 356. 500; ZfGW. 15, 538 and elsewhere; Greifsw. 1872. 1877. AGÖBEL, Iuvenaliana, Conitz and Berl. 1859. XPRINZ, Rev. de l'instr. Belg. t. IX and X. BBORGHESI, oeuvr. 5, 509. ASCHOLTE, obss. critt., Utr. 1873. HVHERWERDEN, Mnemos. NS. 1, 395. OHIRSCHFELD, Herm. 8, 475. JBERNAYS, ges. Abhh. 2, 71. HWIRZ, Phil. 37, 293; z. Krit. d. 5. Sat. Juv., Aarau 1868. MJHOFMANN, zur Krit. u. Erkl. einiger Satt. des J., Amberg 1878. FBÜCHELER, RhM. 29, 636. 35, 391. 41, 634. WALTER DE JONGE, adnott. critt. in saturas Juv., Gron. 1879. FGÖRRES, Phil. 41, 719. AWEIDNER, JJ. 135, 279; emendatt. Iuv., Dortm. 1887. LURLICHS, Dessauer Philol.-Vers. 231. WSCHULZ, quaestt. Iuv. (de lacunis), Berl. 1885. JEBMAYOR, Journ. of phil. 16, 220. RBEER, spicil. Iuv. 53. ASMIT, adnotatio in satt. Iuv., Utr. 1886. See further notes 4. 5. 8. —GLEHMANN, antiquitates Rom. domesticae in Iuv. satt. illustratae I, Halle 1867. JBMISPOULET (on sat. 4) rev. de phil. 12, 32. NBOB, z. Krit. und Erkl. v. Iuv. Satt. Kaiserslautern 1889. LNIESSEN, quaestt. Iuv., Münst. 1889.

332. The widely diffused skill which the age of Trajan possessed in various forms of poetry is evidenced by the great number of men who (as we know chiefly from the pages of the younger Pliny) composed and published verse. Such were Octavius Rufus, the influential Titinius Capito, Passennus Paulus, who imitated Propertius and Horace, Caninius in the department of epic poetry, Augurinus in melic metres, Vergilius Romanus, who wrote mimiambi and comedies, and others.

1. PLIN. ep. 1, 7 (Octavio Rufo), 5 *tu me tuis* (versibus) *agere non pateris, quorum tanta cupiditate ardeo ut* etc. 2, 10 (Octavio), 1 *hominem te . . . crudelem qui tam insignes libros tam diu teneas! . . .* (3) *enotuerunt quidam tui versus* etc. Perhaps the same Rufus of whom ib. 9, 38 *legi librum* (by him) *omnibus numeris absolutum.*

2. Inscription perhaps of a. 100 (CIL. 798 OR. 801 WILM. 1248) *Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito, . . . proc(urator) ab epistulis* (Domitian's), *. . . iterum ab epistulis divi Nervae . . . ab epistul(is) tertio imp(eratoris) . . . Traiani.— Clarissimi cuiusque vitam egregiis carminibus* (epigrams?) *exornat*, PLIN. ep. 1, 17, 3; cf. 8, 12, 4 *scribit exitus inlustrium virorum . . . quasi funebribus laudationibus.* 5, 8 (Titinio), *suades ut historiam scribam.*

3. *Caninius* (Rufus) *bellum dacicum scribere parat*, in the heroic style of the Greeks, PLIN. ep. 8, 4, 1. 3; cf. 9, 33, 1. 11. 1, 3 (Caninio Rufo), 1 (*quid agit Comum, tuae meaeque deliciae?*) and 3.

4. Plin. ep. 6, 15, 1 *Passennus Paulus, splendidus eq. rom. et in primis eruditus, scribit elegos. gentilicium hoc illi: est enim municeps Properti atque etiam inter maiores suos Propertium numerat.* In agreement with this is the inscription (in MHaupt's op. 1, 283) found at Assisi (§ 246, 1), in which he is called: *C. Passennus C.f. Serg. Paullus Propertius Blaesus.* 9, 22 *magna me sollicitudine affecit Passenni Pauli valetudo. . . . si elegos eius in manus sumpseris leges opus tersum, molle, iucundum et plane in Properti domo scriptum. nuper ad lyrica deflexit, in quibus ita Horatium ut in illis illum alterum effingit. . . . magna varietas, magna mobilitas. amat . . ., dolet . . ., laudat . . ., ludit* etc. ChrHeinrich (symb. phil. Bonn. 647) attributes to him several pieces from Propertius' b. 5.

5. Plin. ep. 5, 17, 1 *nuntio tibi fuisse me hodie in auditorio Calpurni Pisonis* (cos. 111?). *recitabat κατασπερισμῶν eruditam sane . . . materiam. scripta elegis erat fluentibus et teneris et enodibus, sublimibus etiam* etc.

6. Plin. ep. 4, 27 *audivi recitantem Serium* (thus Borghesi, oeuvr. 6, 299 for the MS. *Sentium*) *Augurinum* (cos. 132) *cum . . . admiratione. poematia appellat. multa tenuiter, multa sublimiter, multa venuste, multa . . . cum bile.* He subjoins a specimen in hendecasyllabics in the manner of Catullus, Calvus and Pliny (§ 330, 4). Cf. ib. 9, 8 *omnia scripta tua pulcherrima, maxime tamen illa de nobis.*

7. Plin. ep. 6, 21, 2 *nuper audivi Vergilium Romanum paucis legentem comoediam ad exemplar veteris comoediae scriptam.* (4) *scripsit mimiambos tenuiter, argute, venuste atque in hoc genere venustissime.—scripsit comoedias Menandrum aliosque aetatis eiusdem aemulatus. . . . nunc primum se in vetere comoedia . . . ostendit. non illi vis, . . . non amaritudo, non lepos defuit. ornavit virtutes, insectatus est vitia, fictis nominibus decenter, veris usus est apte. circa me . . . benignitate nimia modum excessit* etc.

8. M. Pomponius M. f. Bassulus in an inscription of Aeclanum (see CIL. 9, 1164 Or.-Henzen 5605 Bücheler, anthol. epigr. spec. 1 [Greifsw. 1870], no. 29) *ne more pecoris otio transfungerer, Menandri paucas vorti scitas fabulas, et ipsus etiam sedulo finxi novas. id quale qualest chartis mandatum diu.* The correctness of the lines and the personal circumstances of the author render it probable that these lines should be assigned to the second half of the first century (Mommsen, Herm. 3, 465. CIL. 9, 1165) or to the time of Trajan (Bücheler). Ritschl, op. 4, 16. Bergk, JJ. 101, 826. LQuicherat, mélanges de philol. (Par. 1879), 89.

9. As poets are mentioned (in general terms) Silius Proculus (Plin. ep. 3, 15: is he identical with the contemporary satirist Silius in the scholia Vallae on Iuv. 1, 20 *vel Silium et ipsum sui temporis satiricum*?) and Cluvienus (Iuv. 1, 80 and probably also Mart. 7, 90, 3 *Cluvienus et Umber* according to Schneidewin, Phil. 3, 131; cf. besides ORibbeck, RhM. 39, 315); as authors simply Julius Avitus (*quantum legit, quantum scripsit!* Plin. ep. 5, 21, 5), Geminus (ib. 9, 11, 1), Atrius or Satrius (ib. 9, 35; cf. § 326, 13), Nonius Maximus (ib. 4, 20; cf. 5, 5).—On Annius Florus see § 348, 8.

333. Among the prose-writers of the time of Trajan the first place is occupied by Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55–120 A.D., cos. a. 97), the last classic of Roman literature. His best years, like those of Juvenal, belonged to the reign of Domitian, when terror and indignation, for want of any outlet, were repressed and concentrated within, and embittered the whole tone of thought.

His sympathies inclined to the aristocratic republic, but he was logically convinced of the necessity of monarchic institutions. He also possessed the aversion to rough methods which is peculiar to aristocrats and doctrinaires, and he shares the prevalent sentiment of resignation. As an historian, Tacitus, though he is not much busied with laborious research into the minute details of history, nevertheless honestly endeavours to ascertain the truth. He is before all things a serious and strict historical critic, a keen-sighted student of men and characters, and a talented artist in exposition and description. He states the results of his conscientious investigations with perfect directness, while his own views are as a rule merely conveyed in the tone of his language. He follows up the internal connection and the causes of events, which he traces partly to the times, partly to the men. He is especially fond of diving into the thoughts and motives of the actors, and displays unequalled mastery in the delineation of character and in psychological analysis. The key-note of his narrative is melancholy, harsh and even bitter. Tacitus eschews all that might mar the dignity of his attitude, rhetorical display as well as passionate outpourings, while he succeeds in heightening that dignity by artistically calculated effects and by the distinctive stamp which his diction bears. Though he wavered for some time between the models of the classical period, he was gradually drawn to the poetically coloured and pointed style of his contemporaries, but the individual style which he founded thereon, with its epigrammatic terseness, its novelty and its boldness (and frequently its affectation) advanced far beyond the latinity of the Silver age, such as it had been.

1. His name. The historian is called in the comparatively few passages where he is mentioned by other authors (none of the grammarians refer to him except the forger Fulgentius, see § 339, 2), e.g. by the younger Pliny, in the will of Dasumius (§ 330, 6[a]), in TERTULL. ad nat. 2, 12 (*legimus apud Cornelios, Nepotem et Tacitum*), VOPISC. Aurelian. 2, 1; Tac. 10, 3; Prob. 2, 7, OROS. 7, 10, 19, SIDON. APOLL. carm. 23, 154, *Cornelius Tacitus* or simply *Tacitus*. *Cornelius Tacitus* is also his name in the subscriptions of the Med. II (§ 337, 5), and so it was likewise in the Hersfeldensis for the Dial. and the Germ. (§ 334, 4) and in the archetype of the Agric. (see § 335, 3).—On the other hand in the best Tacitus MS., Med. I (§ 338, 4), the subscriptio by the first hand under b. 1 and 3 is *P. Corneli* (the similar one below b. 2 is by a later hand; the heading *P. Cornelii Taciti* is modern); WSTUDEMUND, Eos 2, 224: Herm. 8, 234.—The praenomen *C.* is found in late copies s. XV, e.g. in the Farnes. (§ 334, 4) and the Vatic. 4498 (§ 335, 3), and also occurs twice in SIDON. APOLL. ep. 4, 14 (*Gaius Tacitus unus e maioribus tuis* [of Polemius, praef. praet. Galliarum, § 466, 15], *Ulpianorum temporum consularis*) and 22 (*cum Gaius*

*Cornelius Gaio Secundo paria suasisset*). These MSS. of Tacitus must have derived the *C.* from Sidonius. Whether Sidonius, although he once mentions the praenomen in addressing a descendant of Tac. (MBüdinger, Wien. SBer. 97, 931), is right, appears very doubtful, particularly as his second quotation is based on an actual confusion (Mommsen, Herm. 3, 108).

2. His birthplace. Vopisc. Tac. 10, 3 relates of the Emperor Tacitus (a. 275–276): *Cornelium Tacitum, scriptorem historiae augustae, quod parentem suum eundem diceret* (whether with justice, is an open question) *in omnibus bybliothecis conlocari iussit, et ne lectorum incuria deperiret librum per annos singulos decies scribi publicitus in cunctis archivis iussit et in bibliothecis poni.* As *cenotaphia in solo proprio* with statues had been erected at Interamna to this Emperor and to his brother and successor Florianus (Vopisc. Florian. 2, 1 = Tac. 15, 1), it was assumed —of course unjustifiably—that the historian was born there.

3. Plin. NH. 7, 76 after mentioning a case of premature bodily development and equally premature death: *ipsi non pridem vidimus eadem ferme omnia . . . in filio Corneli Taciti equitis romani, Belgicae Galliae rationes procurantis.* He probably was the father of the historian; at least the time agrees with this assumption. It is certain that Tac. was descended from a superior and wealthy family, as is shown by his education, his political career, and also his marriage.—The connection of a. 4, 3 does not afford any sufficient ground for assuming from that passage (that is, from the designation of Sejanus as *municipalis adulter*) that the historian was himself born not in a municipium, but rather at Rome.

4. The year in which Tacitus was born is inferred to be about 55–6 from various facts combined (n. 6). In agreement with this assumption is the statement Tac. dial. 1 that while *iuvenis admodum* (therefore in his 20th year) he listened to the conversation supposed to take place a. 75 (at latest 77, § 334, 2), also the fact that the younger Pliny (born a. 61–62, ep. 7, 20, 3) says of himself and Tac.: *duos homines aetate dignitate prope modum aequales*, and ib. 4: *equidem adulescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque* (as a rhetorician) *floreres, te sequi, tibi longo, sed proximus intervallo et esse et haberi concupiscebam.*—Agr. 9 *consul* (a. 77) *egregiae tum spei filiam* (who was perhaps 12 years old, Friedländer, SGesch. $1^6$, 565) *iuveni mihi* (who may have been 22 years of age) *despondit ac post consulatum* (i.e. a. 78) *collocavit et statim Britanniae praepositus est.* Tacitus does not seem to have had children by this marriage, at least not at the time of Agricola's death († a. 93), as they could not well have remained unnoticed in the epilogue to the life of Agricola.

5. His rhetorical training and practice. dial. 2 *M. Aper et Iulius Secundus* (§ 315, 3. 4), . . . *quos ego in iudiciis non utrosque modo studiose audiebam sed domi quoque et in publico assectabar, mira studiorum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili* etc. It is possible that Quintilian (§ 325, 5 in fin.) instructed Tacitus as well as Pliny. Cf. Plin. ep. 7, 20, 4 (see n. 4). 4, 13, 11 to Tac.: *rogo ut ex copia studiosorum quae ad te ex admiratione ingenii tui convenit circumspicias praeceptores quos sollicitare possimus.* 9, 23, 2 *numquam maiorem cepi voluptatem quam nuper ex sermone Corneli Taciti. narrabat sedisse se cum quodam circensibus proximis. hunc post varios eruditosque sermones requisisse: 'Italicus es an provincialis?' se respondisse: 'nosti me, et quidem ex studiis.' ad hoc illum: 'Tacitus es an Plinius?'* Of the philosophical systems Tac. is acquainted with the Epicurean and Stoic, but even there his studies cannot have been very deep; see Agr. 4 (see § 50, 2). On his speeches see Plin. ep. 2, 1, 6 *laudatus est* (Verginius Rufus) *a consule Cornelio Tacito; nam hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus.*

Id. 2, 11, 2 *ego et Cornelius Tacitus, adesse provincialibus* (of Africa) *iussi* (a. 100); 2, 11, 17 *respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissime et quod eximium orationi eius inest, σεμνῶς.* 11, 9 *quod ego et Tacitus iniuncta advocatione diligenter et fortiter functi essemus.* EWALTER, de Tac. studiis rhetoricis ratione habita orationum quae extant in priore annalium parte, Halle 1873. EWÖLFFLIN, JB. 1874/75 1, 764. JSEEBECK, de oratt. Tac. libris insertis I, Celle 1880. EFANACKER, de oratt. et epp. Tac. opp. intextis, Marb. 1889.

6. His political career. hist. 1, 1 *dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano* († 79 A.D.) *incohatam, a Tito* (June 79 until Sept. 81) *auctam, a Domitiano* (a. 81–86) *longius provectam non abnuerim.* BORGHESI oeuvr. 7, 322 and LURLICHS de Tac. vita et hon., Würzb. 1879, p. 2 have probably placed the right construction on this passage, which has been very variously explained, viz. that Vespasian appointed Tacitus tribunus militum laticlavus, that Tac. was subsequently quaestor under Titus (i.e. either a. 80, the earliest date possible for him being his 25th year, or a. 81) and obtained under Domitian the tribuneship or aedileship and afterwards the praetorship, the latter not until a. 88. a. 11, 11 *is quoque* (Domitianus) *edidit ludos saeculares (septimos Domitianus se XIV et L. Minucio Rufo coss., anno DCCCXXXXI* [= a. 88], CENSORIN. *d. n.* 17, 11); *iisque intentius adfui sacerdotio quindecimvirali praeditus ac tunc praetor.*—Of Agricola, who died in August 93, Agr. 45: *nobis tam longae absentiae* (from Rome, owing to his official duties, perhaps as a praetorian legate in Germany or as pro-praetor of the province Belgica in the years 90–94) *condicione ante quadriennium amissus est.* But Tacitus must have returned to Rome soon afterwards, on account of Agr. 45: *mox* (after Agricola's death) *nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus, nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. . . . praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici.* Consulate under Trajan, a. 97, see n. 5 l. 13. EKLEBS, RhM. 44, 273. JASBACH, anall. hist. et epigr. (Bonn 1878) 16 (for a. 98). URLICHS l.l. 13. OCLASON, JJ. 107, 256. Tacitus seems to have lived (§ 338, 2) until Hadrian's accession (Aug. 117) and his death seems to have taken place between 117 and 120; at all events his intention (a. 4, 24) to write also the history of the Augustan age remained unfulfilled.

7. His own views concerning his position towards the past are expressed by Tacitus in the words he attributes to C. Cassius, a. 14, 43: *saepenumero, p. c., in hoc ordine interfui cum contra instituta et leges maiorum nova senatus decreta postularentur, neque sum adversatus, non quia dubitarem super omnibus negotiis melius atque rectius olim provisum et quae converterentur in deterius mutari, sed ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer. simul quidquid hoc in nobis auctoritatis est crebris contradictionibus destruendum non existimabam, ut maneret integrum si quando resp. consiliis eguisset.* This is scarcely contradicted by the speculative language used a. 3, 55, where Tac. speaks in his own name: *nisi forte rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis . . . nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit;* cf. h. 1, 3 in. Tacitus is very bitter when the grand antecedents of Rome are perverted to justify petty persecutions in his own time, e.g. a. 3, 66. 4, 19. *Antiquus* and *priscus* are always used by him to express praise, e.g. h. 2. 5. 64. a. 6, 32. Again the warmth of his language is significant a. 3, 60: *magna eius diei species fuit, quo senatus maiorum beneficia, sociorum pacta, regum etiam . . . decreta ipsorumque numinum religiones introspexit, libero, ut quondam, quid firmaret mutaretve.* Altogether Tacitus' mode of thinking is aristocratic even to prejudice; noble blood has always high value in his eyes; see a. 4, 3. 6, 27 in. 14, 14. Concerning slaves and barbarians he shares all the prejudices of the Romans (e.g. a. 1, 76. 2, 85. 11, 36; also Germ. 23. 33. h.

5, 2 sqq. 13) and only in rare instances (Agr. 30. a. 2, 88. 4, 72) does he show any sympathy with the spirit of independence in foreigners.

8. Among the three possible modes of government (*cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt*, a. 4, 33) the republican form is in Tacitus' opinion decidedly the more favourable to freedom (a. 6, 42), but in the interest of civil peace (dial. 36. h. 1, 1) and in consequence of the abasement of the age (h. 2, 37) as well as the enormous extent of the Empire (h. 2, 38) the Republic has become impossible and the Monarchy necessary (h. 1, 16). Accordingly the individual must be resigned and take things and people as they are (e.g. *bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare*, h. 4, 8; cf. 74) and attempt to steer his course through these difficult circumstances so as neither to sacrifice his honour outwardly nor expose himself to serious dangers, by finding a road midway *inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium* (a. 4, 20). Men who had succeeded in this, moderate liberals who reckoned with the established order, and who bridled their aspirations towards freedom (*modum et temperamentum adhibere*, dial. 41. a. 4, 20), *non contumacia atque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabant* (Agr. 42), *utilia honestis miscebant* (Agr. 8), are therefore fully appreciated by Tac.: e.g. M'. Lepidus (a. 4, 20. 6, 27), L. Piso (a. 6, 10), C. Cassius (a. 12, 12. 14, 43), Agricola (Agr. 8. 42). But such men as Helvidius Priscus (h. 4, 6) and Paetus Thrasea (a. 14, 12) are not after his heart; he does not indeed detract from the merit of those who had the courage to die for their convictions (cf. a. 14, 34 sq. 15, 57. 16, 16), but still he seems to feel that, by the side of such men of action, mere covert criticism cannot take a very brilliant position. In general he followed under Domitian the advice of the experienced Seneca (ep. 14, 7): *sapiens numquam potentium iras provocabit, immo declinabit, non aliter quam in navigando procellam.* (ib. 8) *sapiens nocituram potentiam vitat, hoc primum cavens ne vitare videatur. pars enim securitatis et in hoc est non ex professo eam fugere, quia quae quis fugit damnat.* See § 287, 1 in fin. HNissen, RhM. 26, 514.

9. Tacitus believes in the gods of his country, and their active agency in human affairs; but the spectacle of a despotism ranging with irrestible might and crushing the noblest aims and characters that are in its way, while those who deserve death a thousand times are overtaken by punishment too late or not at all, often disturbs the historian's faith in divine justice. Amid the dark night around him, he seeks in vain for the divine hand to guide him to the light, and often finds himself driven to the conclusion that the gods are indifferent or only inclined to resent and to punish. h. 4, 78 *nec sine ope divina mutatis repente animis terga victores vertere.* 3, 72 *propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis.* 16, 33 *aequitate deum erga bona malaque documenta.* 1, 3 *adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.* 2, 38 *eadem illos deum ira, eadem hominum rabies, eaedem scelerum causae in discordiam egere.* a. 4, 1 *deum ira in rem Rom.* A similar wavering elsewhere: cf. 6, 22 *mihi in incerto iudicium est, fatone res mortalium . . . an forte volvantur* and n. 12. T. believes in astrology (4, 58. 6, 22), yet despises astrologers, he believes in omens, yet has a low opinion of their professional interpreters. His critical conscience is not easily satisfied. His own words in describing the portents before the death of Otho (h. 2, 50) show him to be ill at ease: *ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul gravitate coepti operis crediderim, ita volgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim.* Hence also he rarely mentions prodigies. It is only in the hist. (e.g. 1, 18. 3, 56. 5, 13) and the last books of the ann. (12, 43. 64. 14, 32. 15, 7. 47) that he sometimes departs from this rule. Cf. moreover esp. a. 14, 12 *quae (prodigia) adeo sine cura deum eveniebant ut multos post annos Nero imperium et scelera continuaverit;* cf. h. 1,

86. 4, 26. Also the credulous account of the healing of a blind and a lame man by Vespasian h. 4, 81, with however the significant ending: *utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque memorant postquam nullum mendacio pretium.*

10. Works on the political and religious views of Tacitus. Süvern, Kunstcharakter des Tac. 128. CHoffmeister, Weltanschauung des Tac. 13. 78. CZell, Ferienschrr. 3, 67. FHaase, praef. p. xxx. CNipperdey, ed. of the Ann.[8] p. 17. Stäudlin, die Philosophie u. Denkart des Tac., in his Gesch. d. Skepticismus 2, 297. FAScharpff, d. polit. u. religiösen Ansichten d. Tac., Rottweil 1843. Kahlert, Tacitus de diis et deorum regimine, Bresl. 1844. Neustadt 1847. Fabian, Tac. de numine divino, Lyck 1852. JBaumann, JJ. 79, 257. JGPfaff, Tac. über das sittlich Gute, Marb. 1858. FVoigtland, Tac. de divina rerum humanarum moderatione, Schleusingen 1870. JMüller, d. philos. u. relig. Anschauungen des T., Feldkirch 1874.

11. As his sources Tacitus (see the enumeration in HNissen, RhM. 26, 525) mentions the acta diurna (a. 3, 3. 13, 31. 16, 22), the acta senatus (a. 5, 4. 15, 74), Agrippinae commentarii (a. 4, 53), C. Plinius (h. 3, 28. a. 1, 69), Corbulo (a. 15, 16), Vipstanus Messalla (h. 3, 25. 28), Cluvius (a. 13, 20. 14, 2), Fabius Rusticus (a. 13, 20. 14, 2. 15, 61), Sisenna (h. 3, 51). But as a rule he speaks only generally of *scriptores annalium* (a. 4, 53), *scriptores senatoresque eorundem temporum* (a. 2, 88), *celeberrimi auctores* (h. 3, 51), *plurimi maximeque fidi auctores* (a. 4, 10), *temporum illorum scriptores* (a. 12, 67. 13, 17), *temporis eius auctores* (a. 5, 3 and elsewhere), *scriptores temporum qui monumenta huius belli composuerunt* (h. 2, 101), or *omnes, plerique, plurimi, multi, quidam, alii auctores tradunt.* In several instances also he appeals to oral sources (a. 3, 16 *audire me memini ex senioribus;* cf. 11, 27. 15, 41. 73). He collects information among his contemporaries (§ 337, 3). In case his authorities differ, he either decides for the best attested opinion or for that which is of itself more probable; e.g. a. 4, 11 *haec vulgo iactata, super id quod nullo auctore certo firmantur, prompte refutaveris* (as improbable in themselves; cf. 14, 2). He frequently suspends his judgment (h. 2, 28. a. 1, 81. 5, 10. 6, 7. 13, 20); but elsewhere he opposes the result of his own reflections or enquiries to the statements of his authorities (h, 2, 101 *scriptores . . . tradiderunt. nobis videntur.* a. 2, 37 *invenio apud quosdam auctores . . . ego reor;* cf. ib. 6, 7). On the whole, however, it is becoming more and more established that Tacitus' examination of the authentic documentary evidence was not carried nearly so far as used to be assumed. He depends far more on his predecessors than might have been supposed; and he is a descriptive writer of history rather than an historian of research.

12. The pragmatic method of Tacitus: *ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio causaeque noscantur* (hist. 1, 4). But on the relation of chance to human liberty and to the necessity of fate Tacitus expresses contradictory views; see n. 9. Süvern l.l. 126. Hoffmeister, Weltanschauung 114. 117. Nipperdey pref. to his ed. of the Ann.[8] p. 20. Cf. e.g. a. 3, 18 *mihi, quanto plura recentium seu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur.* 4, 20 *dubitare cogor, fato et sorte nascendi . . . an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis.* 5, 4 *fatali quodam motu . . . seu prava sollertia.* 6, 22 *mihi haec ac talia audienti in incerto iudicium est fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an forte volvantur.* In numerous instances Tacitus places the natural and the transcendental explanation of a fact side by side without any attempt at reconciliation (e.g. *Varus fato et vi Arminii cecidit*, a. 1, 55; cf. Süvern l.l. 131, cf. also h. 4, 26 *quod in pace fors seu natura, tunc fatum et ira divom vocabatur* (Hoffmeister 109). But as a rule he prefers the natural explanation of

events, and only assumes the agency of fate when the immanent cause is not clear to him.

13. Tacitus possesses an extraordinary mastery in psychological observation (above p. 3); witness his numerous acute remarks, e.g. a. 4, 3: *neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit.* Agr. 42 *proprium humani ingeni est odisse quem laeseris.* a. 12, 67 *haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum praemio.* 5, 2 *facetiis acerbis, quarum apud praepotentes in longum memoria est.* h. 1, 56 *quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant omnes fuere.* h. 4, 1 *in turbas et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis, pax et quies bonis artibus indigent.* Tacitus' special forte is in tracing the secret springs of action, unmasking hypocrisy, anatomically analysing the processes and motives of the soul, and in fine and striking delineations of character. Especially famous is his demonstration of the gradual change by which Tiberius became a monster, having originally been a good ruler. Yet Tacitus' tendency to discover bad motives in everything appears in his treating even the unquestionably good actions of Tiberius in the first part of his reign as mere hypocrisy; this results from the over-straining (which is elsewhere noticeable) of his psychological method. This description of Tiberius has called forth most of the recent exaggerated attacks on Tacitus, e.g. AStahr, Tiberius, Berl.[2] 1873. LFreytag, Tib. u. Tac., Berl. 1870; cf. besides FFBaur, de Tac. Tiberii imagine, Tüb. 1856. RChrRiedl, der Parteistandpunkt des Tac., Betrachtt. über Ann. I–VI, Vienna 1875. Leonhard, die Wahrhaftigkeit u. Glaubwürdigkeit des T., Ellwangen 1877. Dürr, die Majestätsprozesse unter Tib., Heilbr. 1880 and against this GFehleisen, Württ. Corr.-Bl. 1881, 245. Still Tacitus retains a sympathy with real nobility and goodness. Germanicus is a decided favourite of his; but even in lower spheres he is glad to draw attention to worth (e.g. h. 3, 23. 4, 50). His interest in character frequently even gets the better of his historical judgment and leads Tac. to neglect the real connection of the events in many instances. This interest does not, however, amount to real partiality, and on the whole we should acknowledge that he remained faithful to his intention of writing *sine ira et studio* (a. 1, 1). See also Fechner, de Taciti historica arte iis conspicua quae de Germanico et Seiano memoriae prodita sunt, Bromb. 1867.

14. Hist. 2, 50 *ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul gravitate coepti operis crediderim, ita volgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim.* Historical excursuses are therefore comparatively rare, though some occur e.g. h. 2, 3. 38. 3, 72. 4, 83. 7, 2. a. 3, 26 (de principiis iuris). 6, 11 (praefecti urbis). 12 (libri sibyllini). 16 (leges faenebres). 21 sq. (astrology). 11, 22 (quaestorship). Such long speeches as we have in the Agricola do not recur in the later works; brief ones occur e.g. h. 1, 83. 2, 76. 4, 42. 58. 64. 73. a. 1, 42, 58. 2, 37. 71. 3, 12. 50. 4, 34. 37. 5, 6. 6, 8; in or. obliqua a. 2, 14. 45. Expositions of motives in speeches pro and con occur e.g. a. 2, 76. Cf. 36, 5. JSeebeck, n. 5 ad fin. Documents (chiefly letters) a. 3, 16. 53. 4, 39. Thus his method is essentially rhetorical, and the same appears in his contempt for details. a. 3, 65 *exequi sententias* (votes of the Senate) *haud institui nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium reor ne virtutes sileantur utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit.* Cf. 13, 31 (*cum ex dignitate populi rom. repertum sit res illustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare*). In particular, but little attention is bestowed on the description of military undertakings.

15. Tacitus is never carried away by passion: this would be a grave offence against the 'grandezza' of Roman aristocracy and out of keeping with the depression of the time in which he lived and wrote. In spite of its elevation,

his tone is therefore at the same time subdued, so that neither hatred nor horror nor contempt can ever force him beyond the line of moderation. Tac. also shares the general aversion of rhetoric to plain speaking, and everything ugly is repugnant to his aristocratic manner. On the other hand he does not disdain rhetorical or poetical embellishment, and often echoes Vergil and among the prose-writers especially Sallust; see EWölfflin, Phil. 26, 121. ADräger, Syntax u. Stil des Tac. 114. HSchmaus, Tac. ein Nachahmer Virgils, Erl. 1887. GSchönfeld, de Tac. studiis Sallustianis, Lps. 1884. Kitt, de translationibus Taciteis, Conitz 1884. AStitz, die Metapher b. Tac., Krems 1883. 84 II. FMeyer, de personificationis usu Taciteo, Gött. 1884. MZimmermann, de Tac. Senecae philos. imitatore, in the Bresl. phil. Abh. 5 (1889).

16. Diction and style. It is only in the Annals that Tacitus' style reaches the acme of its peculiarities (especially in its striving for brevity, its conscious opposition to the Ciceronian balance of the sentence, and its poetical colouring.) The gradual development and enhancement of the style can be traced from the Agricola through the Germania and the Histories down to the Annals, and likewise its adaptation to different moods and subjects (e.g. in narrative and in speeches). See on this esp. EWölfflin, Phil. 25, 92. 26, 121. 27, 113. Other recent works: WBötticher, lexicon Taciteum, Berl. 1830 and esp. AGerber and AGreef, lexicon Taciteum, Lpz. 1876 sqq. KLRoth, in the excursuses to his ed. of Agric. (§ 335, 4). JEWernicke, de elecutione Tac., Thorn 1830. KNipperdey, pref. to his ed. of the Ann. [8] 40. CGöbel, de poetico Tac. stili colore, Berl. 1859. ADräger, Syntax u. Stil des T., Lpz. [3] 1882. EWolff, die Sprache des T., Frankf. 1879. JGantrelle, grammaire et style de T., Par. 1874. FWeinkauff, see § 334, 1. APohlmann, see § 335, 6. GIhm, quaestt. syntact. de elocutione Tac. comparato Caes. Sall. Vell. usu loquendi, Giessen 1882. PPetzke, dicendi genus Tacitinum quatenus differat a Liviano, Königsb. 1888. GClemm, de breviloquentiae Tac. quibusd. generibus, Leipz. 1881. JGericke, de abundanti dicendi genere Tacitino, Berl. 1882. EKucera, die tacit. Inconcinnität, Olmütz 1882.—CSirker, taciteische Formenlehre, Berl. 1871. Storch, z. Gramm. d. Tac., Memel 1868. ThPanhoff, de neutrius gen. adiectivorum substantivo usu ap. T., Halle 1883. FViolet, d. Zahlw. in Zeitbestimm. bei Tac., Lpz. Studd. 5, 145. AGreef, de praeposs. usu ap. Tac. I, Gött. 1869; Phil. 33, 736. AGerber, de usu praeposs. ap. T., Glückst. 1871. HCMaué, de praep. ad usu tac., Gött. 1870 (cf. Phil. Anz. 1874, 210). FGHensell, de praep. per usu T., Marb. 1876. EWölfflin (tamquam and quasi=ὡς), Phil. 24, 115. AGerber, de coniunctionum temporis et de coniunctt. concessiv. usu T., Glückst. 1874; de particularum quadam in Tac. proprietate, Leutschau 1863; de particula an ap. T., Leutschau 1865; Phil. 33, 617 (super in T.). 733. CReuss, de coniunctt. causal. ap. T., Halle 1876. HHahn, de particc. quasi et velut usu T., Gött. 1877. RMacke, die Substantiva des T., Plön 1874; d. röm. Eigennamen bei Tac., Hadersleb. 1886–89 III.—UZernial, selecta capita ex genetivi usu Tac., Gött. 1864; non nulla de elocutione T., Burg 1868. WKnös, de dativi finalis usu Tac., Upsala 1878. JSchneider, de abl. Tac. I, Bresl. 1882. ALehmann, see § 195, 9. CKlein, de verbis separandi ap. T., Halle 1878. WJungclaussen, de Tac. proprietate in usurpandis verbi temporibus modis participiis, Kiel 1848. CWetzell, de verbo substantivo ap. T., Gött. 1876. FHüttemann, de subiunctivo relativo et absoluto ap. T., Münster 1864. PCzensny, de infinitivo Tac. I, Bresl. 1858. CHübenthal (§ 206, 9). FHelm, de participiorum usu Tac. Vell. Sall., Lps. 1879. FJörling, Gerundium u. Gerundiv bei Tac., Gnesen 1879. On the same subject, Baur, Württ. Corresp.-Bl. 31, 539 and SGPlatner, Amer. journ. of phil. no. 36.—GAndresen, de vocabulorum ap. T. collocatione, Berl. 1874. PhSpitta, de

Tac. in componendis enuntiatis ratione I, Gött. 1866. MMorgenroth, de condicionalium sententarium ap. T. formatione, Salzungen 1868. JOKlintberg, de formis enuntiatorum condicion. ap. T., Upsala 1877. POlbricht, de interrogationibus disiunctivis et an particulae usu ap. Tac., Halle 1883. KLRoth, Tac. synonyma et per figuram ἓν διὰ δυοῖν dicta, Nürnb. 1826. EUlbricht, Tac. qui ad ἓν διὰ δυοῖν referuntur ex minoribus scriptis loci, Lpz. 1875. RSchmidt, de ellipsi Tacitina, Dramburg 1871. FFroehlich, stilist. u. realist. Bemm. z. militär. Phraseol. des Tac., Aarau 1886. AWeissteiner, de nonnullis stili Tac. proprietatibus, Brixen 1888. OUhlig, fore foret und forent bei Tac., Schneeb. 1889.

17. Works on Tacitus in general e.g. FWSüvern, der Kunstcharakter des Tac., Berl. ak. Abhh. 1822/23 (Berl. 1825), 73. KHoffmeister, Weltanschauung des T., Essen 1831. NLiebert, de doctrina Taciti, Würzb. 1868. WBötticher, Prolegomena to his Lexicon Tac. (n. 16); by the same author, de vita, scriptis ac stilo Taciti, Berl. 1834. RvBosse, über und wider Tac., in Jahn's Archiv 11, 452. FDGerlach, röm. Geschichtschr. (Stuttg. 1855) 197. EPDubois-Guchan, Tacite et son siècle, Par. 1861 II. FSavalete, étude sur T., Par. 1864. Naudet in Höfer's nouvelle biographie générale vol. 43. Teuffel, Sall. u. Tac. (Tüb. 1868) 22. Nipperdey and FHaase preff. to their edd. LvRanke, Weltgesch. 3, Anall. 280. JAsbach in hist. Taschenb. 6, 5 (1886/87), 57. 141. HSchiller, Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit 1 (Gotha 1883), 586. Wallichs, d. Geschichtschreibung des T., Rendsb. 1888.—LUrlichs, de Tac. vita et honoribus, Würzburg 1879.

334. The extant works of Tacitus are as follows in chronological order:

1. Dialogus de oratoribus, an attempt to demonstrate and explain the decay of oratory in the Imperial period, in the form of a dialogue between literary celebrities of the time of Vespasian. This ingenious treatise exhibits the same moral and political principles, the same fineness of psychological observation and the same characterisation as the later works of Tacitus; but his bitterness is still absent and there is room for artistic amenity and serenity. In point of style this treatise is an interesting record of the period in Tacitus' life when, fresh from the study of Cicero's rhetorical works, he endeavoured to imitate that writer's rich and rounded diction, though innumerable phrases and constructions involuntarily betray an author of the first century of the Christian era, and in many details the language approaches the subsequent writings of Tacitus.

1. Undue importance has been attached to the deviation of the style of this work from the later style of Tacitus, the causes of this discrepancy being overlooked as well as the agreement, which is almost as striking (and which has recently been demonstrated in detail by FWeinkauff); hence since the time of JLipsius many have regarded the Dialogus as not Tacitean and conjectured all manner of other authors, e.g. the younger Pliny, Suetonius or Quintilian. Yet Pliny himself (as was first pointed out by AGLange), and that in a letter addressed to Tacitus, proves Tacitus' authorship of this work. as ep. 9, 10, 2 (*poemata quiescunt, quae tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas;* cf. ib. 1, 6, 2) is an evident

allusion to dial. 9. 12. In the whole period there is absolutely nobody whom we might credit with sufficient talent and character to be the author of the Dialogus. And indeed all the details underlying the Ciceronian surface of the work show the strongest resemblance to the other works of Tacitus.

Literature on the question (see WEINKAUFF l.l. p. XI). AGLANGE, verm. Schr. p. 3 (and pref. to Dronke's ed. p. XVI). HGUTMANN, Tacitum dial. de or. scriptorem non esse, in Orelli's ed. p. 101; in his transl. (Stuttg. 1830) p. 145, and in Jahn's Arch. 15, 139. FHESSE, de Plin. minore dialog. de orr. auctore, Magdeb. 1831. FAECKSTEIN, prolegg. p. 62. AWITTICH, Jahn's Archiv. 5, 259. JJKRAMARCZIK, Heiligenst. 1841. HCAEICHSTÄDT, de dialogo de orr., Jena 1839. TEUFFEL, JJ. 77, 285; Studien u. Char.[2] 561. FWEINKAUFF, Untersuchungen über den Dial. d. Tac., Cologne [2] 1880 (and esp. a collation of the diction of the Dial. with the rest of the works of Tac. and his contemporaries). THVOGEL, de dial. qui Tac. nom. fertur sermone (relation with Quint. and the younger Plin.), JJ. Suppl. 12, 249. JGEK, Tidskr. f. Philologi 1 (1859), 1 (cf. Phil. 15, 191). HSAUPPE, Phil. 19, 256 together with JCLASSEN, Eos 1 (1864), 1. JWSTEINER, d. dial. de or. d. Tac., Kreuzn. 1863. JAHGJANSEN, de Tacito dialogi auctore, Groningen 1878. WRESL, utrum dial. Tacito adscribi possit, Czernowitz 1881. See also n. 7.

2. The work is dedicated to L. Fabius Justus (cos. suff. a. 102, CIL. 6, 2191. 6, 10244. OR. 2448), who was also a friend of the younger Pliny. Those who take part in the dialogue are Curiatius Maternus (§ 318, 1), M. Aper (§ 315, 3), Julius Secundus (§ 315, 4) and Vipstanus Messalla (§ 314, 3). As regards the period in which the discussion is supposed to take place: dial. 17 *adice . . . sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem, qua Vespasianus rem publicam fovet* (=sixth year of V.'s reign=75 A.D.); *CXX anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem* (cf. GELL. 20, 1, 6) *colliguntur* (=a. 77, cf. dial. 24). Accordingly the two data do not agree (HSAUPPE, Phil. 19, 257. LURLICHS in the Würzburger Festgruss 1868 p. 1); but the first statement, relating to the present, probably deserves more credit than the second, which is founded on inexactly determined dates and itself only purports to estimate the time roughly in a round number. Against the second it may also be objected that Mucianus, who is mentioned dial. 37 as living, was already dead in a. 77 (§ 314, 1). The author professes to have been present (§ 333, 4) *admodum iuvenis* (dial. 1) at the conversation which he pretends to repeat; he was therefore older at the time when the treatise was composed. No more precise indication can be gained therefrom with regard to the time and circumstances of its composition. Only the dialogue cannot have been written under Domitian, as Tacitus Agr. 3 says distinctly that he published nothing during his reign. But if we were to place it under Nerva, the dialogue would be brought so near in point of time to the Agricola that the marked difference in style between the two would raise most serious difficulties. It is therefore safest to fix as the date of the conversation, which forms the setting, a. 75 (when Tac. was perhaps 20 years of age=*admodum iuvenis;* VELL. 2, 41, 3 uses this expression in reference to Caesar at the age of 23) and a. 81 for the publication of the Dial. under Titus. No very long interval can be supposed to have elapsed between the holding of the conversation and its publication; otherwise the setting would not have been appropriate, as Tac. states that he is reproducing a conversation, which he had previously heard, from memory (*memoria et recordatione*) *iisdem nunc numeris iisdemque rationibus servato ordine disputationis* (dial. 1).

3. As for the assumption that this work, over and above its historical purpose, had the secondary and personal object of setting forth the reasons for which Tacitus, notwithstanding his extensive training and practice in oratory, did not

ultimately elect to adopt the career of an orator, but preferred the quiet occupation of a scholar and an author, such an hypothesis finds no sufficient support either in the contents of the Dialogus or in the personal circumstances of the writer, who even after the composition of this work (n. 2) devoted himself to the service of the state (§ 333, 6) and to the calling of an advocate and an orator (§ 333, 5) and did not publish his first historical work until a. 98.—Naturally the influence of this rhetorical training, chiefly in connection with Cicero, is strongest in the Dialogus (cf. ADräger, Syntax and Stil des Tac.[2] 113. 115); but it is also perceptible in the later works of Tac., though continually decreasing until the last work, the Annals, arrives at the opposite principle of style, abruptness and epigrammatic incisiveness.—The strict plan of the Dialogus is relaxed for artistic reasons, in order to develope the conversation naturally and to prepare dramatically for its climax, although the thesis (*cur nostra aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat*) is often expressly mentioned (1. 15. 24. 27). The discussion (proper) of the thesis does not begin until c. 16. In the great gap in c. 35 the speech of Secundus announced in c. 16 has disappeared.

4. All the manuscripts of the dialogus (as well as those of the Germania and of the Suetonian fragment de grammaticis et rhetoribus) are derived from one and the same MS. (hence in all occurs the gap c. 35, n. 3 ad fin.), which shortly before 1460 was brought to Italy from Germany, probably from Hersfeld (LUrlichs, Eos 2, 230, 351), either in the original or in a copy. The statement of JPontanus that the discoverer was Henoch of Ascoli is open to question, GVoigt, Wiederbeleb. d. klass. Altert. 1[2], 256. Descendants of this MS., which has long since disappeared, are, in the first rank, Vatic. 1862, now the best MS., KNipperdey, op. 392, and (by means of Pontanus' copy) Leid. 18 (of a. 1460, Perizonianus), then through the medium of a copy revised in a haphazard fashion the other MSS., especially the Farnesianus at Naples, all s. XV. Cf. § 336, 5.—On traces (s. IX) of a MS. of Tac. (of the Germ., see § 336, 5, and of the Ann., see § 338, 4) in Fulda see Ritter's ed. 1, iv. Was this the parent MS. of the Hersfeld?—Cf. in general Reifferscheid's Suetonius p. 409. AMichaelis, pref. to his ed. of the dial. CHSteuding, Beitr. z. Textkrit. des Tac. (Wurzen 1878) 3 (chiefly on the cod. Ottobon.). JHuemer (eine Wiener Hs. zu Dial. Germ. u. Suet. gr. et rhet.), ZföG, 29, 801. Bährens' ed. p. 44 and against his estimation of the MSS. OBinde, de Tac. dial. quaestt. crit., Berl. 1884.

5. Separate editions by EBenzelius (cum nott. varr.), Ups. 1706; EDronke, Cobl. 1828; ICOrelli, Zür. 1830 and 1846; FRitter, Bonn[2] 1859; PhCHess, Lps. 1841; CPhPabst, Lpz. 1841; LTross (with the Germ.), Hamm 1841; AMichaelis (ad codd. denuo collatos), Lps. 1868; GAndresen, Berl. 1877 (see § 339, 4 in fin.) and Lpz.[2] 1879; CPeter, Jena 1877: EBährens, Lpz. 1881; HGoelzer, Par. 1877.

6. Criticism: LSpengel (spec. emend., Munich 1852, p. 9), LSchopen, diorth. in Tac. dial., Bonn 1858 and the commencement of an ed. ex rec. LSch., Lps. 1859, CNipperdey (op. 274. 341), CHalm (JJ. 89, 148; RhM. 28, 499), FRitter (RhM. 30, 518. 21, 534), GAndresen (acta Lips. 1, 103), KMeiser (Eichstätt 1871), ORibbeck (RhM. 28, 502. 32, 308), JMähly (above § 251, 5 ad fin.) p. 18; z. Krit. lat. Texte, Bas. 1886, 18, JVahlen (comm. Mommsen. 663 und Berl. ind. lect. 1878/79. 1881. 1884), CHSteuding (Wurzen 1878), EBährens (RhM. 31, 146. 309; JJ. 115, 505), KKnaut (obss. crit. in T. dial., Magdeb. 1879). JJCornelissen, Mnem. 13, 258. CJohn, Württ. Corresp.-Bl. 33, 347. 469. 560; JJ. 133, 511. 137, 572; Tac. dial. c. 1–27 trans. and expl., Urach 1886. WHabbe, de dial. de or. locis duobus lacunosis, Celle 1888.

7. FAEckstein, prolegg. in Tac. qui v. f. dial., Halle 1835. FDeycks, de dial. Tac., Münster 1856. ASchaubach, de vocum quarundam in T. dial. vi ac potestate, Mein. 1857. PVoss, Tidskr. f. Philol. 7, 101. Cf. above n. 1, and the introductions to most of the editions and translations, as well as to Böttticher's Lexic. Tacit. p. VIII. LKleiber, quid Tac. in dial. prioribus scriptoribus debeat, Halle 1883. WGilbert, d. Einheitlichkeit des Tac. Dial., JJ. 133, 203. Schwenkenbecher, quo anno Tac. dial. scriptus sit, Sprottau 1886. BWutk, dial. a Tac. Traiani tempp. scriptum esse, Spandau 1887. EGrünwald (§ 325, 5). AReuter (§ 325, 5). EPhilipp, dial. Tac. qui fertur de oratt. quae genuina fuerit forma, Vienna 1887.— Translations e.g. by JGAHübsch, Nürnb. 1837, CHKrauss, Stuttg. 1882; (with Agr. and Germ.) by Teuffel (Stuttg. 1858), by AJChurch and WJBrodripp, Lond.[2] 1885.

335. 2. De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae (§ 283, 4) liber, a biography of Tacitus' father-in-law, composed A.D. 98. In its very rhetorical character the work resembles the laudationes funebres and is in the manner of Sallust, being a monograph like that writer's Catilina and Jugurtha; its indifference to general historical events, its plan, and numerous turns of phraseology recall those writings. But the work also contains much to remind us of Cicero. In general, the historical style of Tacitus does not appear to be much developed in this work, but a kindly warmth of genial sympathy pervades the whole.

1. Agr. 3 *quamquam . . . augeat quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus;* cf. 44 *durare in hanc felicissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre.* Trajan was therefore already princeps (not merely Caesar), and Nerva was dead († 27 Jan. 98), which is not contradicted by his not being called *divus;* see LUrlichs, Agr. p. 7. The close of the powerful preface (c. 3 extr.) promises an extensive historical work on Domitian's reign and on the time of Nerva and Trajan (i.e. the Historiae), of which the biography of Agricola should be considered merely a preliminary instalment.

2. Just as Tacitus' Ciceronian stage is represented in the Dialogus, so his Sallustian stage finds its expression in the Agricola and the Germania; the influence of the first is not however quite extinct, though considerably on the decline. Thus the end of Agr. 44 and the beginning of c. 45 strongly resemble Cic. de or. 3, 8. 10 sq.; and *quies et otium* (c. 6. 21. 42=Cic. de leg. agr. 2, 102) and *forma ac figura animi* (Agr. 46) are quite in Cicero's style (Tusc. 1, 37 and elsewhere), and altogether pleonasms are not rare (EHübner, Herm. 1, 446), and there are numerous instances of periodic structure (c. 16. 18. 25 in.), while c. 4 extr. reminds us of Cic. pro. Mur. 65. More numerous indeed are the traces reminding us of Sallust, whose influence pervades more or less all the other writings of Tacitus; WTeuffel in his translation (1859) p. 131. JBernays, RhM. 16, 319; and especially EWölfflin, Phil. 26, 122; also AGerber in the Leutschau Progr. 1861, 13. The Agricola and Germania occupy the same position in relation to the Historiae of Tacitus as Sallust's Catiline and Jugurtha in relation to his Historiae. Cf. LUrlichs, Eos 1, 549. The study of Sallust evidently formed Tacitus' historical style, and great as is the mastery to which Tacitus attained in his peculiar manner, he still reached it only by degrees, and the Agricola represents a stage when his originality was as yet proportionately small. It is a rhetorical and psychological portrait

quite in the manner of Sallust, with Sallustian prefaces, speeches and excursuses, Sallustian indifference to members and chronology (c. 41 sq.), with antitheses and other figures, and also a regular epilogue. But in spite of all these peculiarities we should not follow EHübner (Herm. 1, 438) in denying to this work the character of a biography, and regarding it as nothing more than a laudatio funebris: it is a biography with rhetorical colouring and with glances at general history. The speech of Calgacus (c. 30) strikingly recalls Sallust (Cat. 58, 17 sq. and the letter of Mithridates); but other long passages also read just like Sallust, and the whole contains reminiscences and variations of Sallustian phraseology; indeed the entire scheme presents a decided resemblance to Sallust's Bella. Cf. LUrlichs de vita Agric. (1868) p. 4; de Tac. vita et honor. (1879) 22. CEGüthling, de Tac. Agricola, Liegn. 1878. Sallustian reminiscences occur also in the Annals, but are proportionately most numerous in the Agricola.—The historical study on Britain and the earlier Roman expeditions to that island (c. 10–17) were subsequently (ann., esp. 14, 29 sqq.) employed by Tacitus in a freer manner, some details being rectified and enlarged.

3. The Agricola is at present extant only in two quite late Vaticani 3429 (copied by the hand of Pomponius Laetus; from this Puteolanus prepared the ed. princ., see n. 4) and 4498 (together with Tac. dial. Germ. and Suet. de gramm., see § 334, 4). The first-named MS., the better of the two, bears the heading *Cornelii Taciti de vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae*, that of the last reads *Gai Corneli T. de v. et m. I. A.* For the readings of these MSS. see esp. Urlichs' ed. (n. 4).—Wex' proleg. to his ed., LSpengel, Münchn. Gel. Anz. 1853, no. 25, and spec. emendatt. in Tac. (Munich 1852) p. 15. GKämmerer, de indole ac pretio codd. mss. Tac. Agr. et edd. vett. usque ad Lipsium, Bresl. 1842. For some passages the marginal notes of Vat. 3429 may be taken into consideration; KSchenkl, ZföG. 12, 421 and JMüller in the Innsbr. Progr. 1863.

4. Editions and commentaries: ed. princ. after the Panegyrici latt. by FPuteolanus, Milan 1476? by (cum notis Boxhornii) JABosius, Jena 1664. EDronke, Fulda[2] 1843. EHBarker (with the Germ.), Lond. 1824. Rec. et ad fid. cod. Vat. emend. UJHBecker, Hamb. 1826. Ed. et ill. P. Hofman-Peerlkamp, Leid.[2] 1864. GLWalch, Berl. 1828. CLRoth, Nürnb. 1833. FRitter, Bonn[3] 1852. FDübner, Par. 1843. 1866. Ad fidem codicum denuo collatorum rec. et enarravit FCWex, Brunswick 1852. Ad codices Vaticanos (cod. 3429 is printed in full) ed. et rec. CLUrlichs, Würzb. 1875. Recogn. illustr. FKritz, Berl.[3] 1874. rec. JJCornelissen, Leid. 1881. Explained by CTücking, Paderb.[2] 1878, ADräger, Lpz.[4] 1884, JGantrelle, Paris 1875, EJacob, Par.[3] 1887, CPeter, Jena 1876, JPrammer, Vienna 1880, GDecia, Turin 1886. AEScheone, Berl. 1889. PFrost, Lond. 1861. AJChurch and WJBrodripp, Lond.[2] 1889 (with Germ.).

5. German versions e.g. by LDöderlein (with vindications, Aarau 1817), HWFKlein (Munich 1825), DAFNissen, with an introd. and comm. (Hamb. 1847), ABacmeister (Stuttg. 1872), CHKrauss (with Germ.), Stuttg. 1883, AJChurch and WJBrodripp, Lond.[2] 1885 (with Germ. and Dial.).

6. Textual criticism: JGSchneider (Cob. 1848–52 III), FKritz, de glossematis falso Tac. Agr. imputatis, Erfurt 1857), JMüller (Fiume 1858), AJFHenrichsen (Altona 1858. 1871 II), CNipperdey (op. 234. 511. 545), FRitter (RhM. 20, 518), JClassen (symb. criticae, P. III, Hamb. 1866), LUrlichs (Festgruss, Würzb. 1868, p. 6; RhM. 31, 515), KMeiser, BlfbayrGW. 5, 3), APohlmann (adnott. in T. Agr. admixtis obss. sermon. Tac. in scriptis minoribus, Gött. 1871), GSchömann (op. 203), APlanck (Heilbr. 1874), EBährens, misc. crit. 127; JJ. 127, 641. JGolling, ZföG.

37, 481. HSchütz, JJ. 123, 269. FCCBirch, phil.-hist. Samfund 1882/84, 31; Tidskr. f. Phil. 7, 161. FMaxa, obss. in Tac. Agr., Radautz 1885–87 III.

7. On the Agr. cf. Niebuhr, kl. Schrr. 1, 331. Woltmann, pref. to his transl. 6, 34 (Prague 1817). Walch, die Kunstform d. ant. Biogr. mit Rücksicht auf d. Agr. d. T., pref. to his ed. p. xxxviii. Hoffmeister, Weltanschauung d. Tac. 80. 206. 228. JHeld, de Agr. vita quae vulgo Tacito adsignatur, Schweidnitz 1845. EHübner, Herm. 1, 438. JGantrelle, à la critique et l'explication de Tacite I, Par. 1875; rev. de l'instr. belg. 21, 217; JJ. 115, 777. AEussner, JJ. 111, 346; BlfbayrGW. 13, 143. EHoffmann, ZföG. 21, 249 and against him CHirzel, die Tendenz des Agr., Tüb. 1871. WJunghans, üb. T. Agr., Lüneb. 1872. GAndresen, Entstehung u. Tendenz des tac. Agr., in the Festschr. d. Gymn. z. gr. Kloster (Berl. 1874), 291. JJäger, quae fides Tac. Agr. habenda sit, deque consilio quo liber ille etc., Gött. 1874. EGüthling, de T. Agr., Liegn. 1878. Urlichs, de Tac. vita et honor. (Würzb. 1879), 19. HUlbrich, d. literar. Streit über Tac. Agr., Melk 1884. JBüsse, de T. Agr., Hildesh. 1886. PDietrich, d. Tendenz d. Agr., Strals. 1887.—PhPauer, de rerum ab Agr. in Brit. gest. narratione Tac., Gött. 1881.

366. 3) Germania, an ethnographic monograph, occasioned by the great importance which attached to that land and nation in the author's time, perhaps also by the personal knowledge which he had acquired in the course of his official duties. The work is enlivened by sympathetic interest as well as by rhetorical colouring, and it frequently verges on sentimentality. The author, without renouncing the critical and disinterested point of view, is fond of contrasting the simplicity of the Germans with the complicated and corrupt life of his contemporaries.

1. Title in the Vaticani (see n. 5) *Corn. Tac. de origine et situ Germanorum* (*Germaniae* in other MSS.): in the Leidensis: *Corneli Taciti de origine, situ, moribus ac populis Germanorum.* Originally it was probably *de situ Germaniae* (cf. § 289, 1 a. 262, 2 in fin.), see AReifferscheid, symb. phil. Bonn. 623; Bresl. ind. schol. 1877/78, 9. Incorrectly EWölfflin, Herm. 11, 126. The treatise is divided into two parts, the first of which treats *in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus* (c. 1–27), the second (c. 28–46) of the single tribes. In the latter the author fixes his stand-point on the Rhine and passing thence into the interior describes the tribes first from West to East, then (c. 35 sqq.) from North to South. When he arrives at the Danube, he follows its course (c. 41) and concludes with the shores of the Baltic. GKettner, die Compos. des ethnogr. Theils der Germ., Zfdeutsche Phil. 19, 1. Among his sources he mentions only Caesar (c. 28), but traces of the critical employment of authorities appear also c. 3. 8. 27. 28. 33. 34. 41. 45. Pliny's bella Germaniae (§ 312, 2) were no doubt employed. For evidence of his having utilised the actual materials of Sallust's histories (n. 4) see RKöpke, deutsche Forschungen, Berl. 1859, 233, and ThWiedemann, in the Forschungen z. deutschen Gesch. 4, 171. 10, 595; against this view CBreuker, quo iure Sallustius Tacito in describendis Germanorum moribus auctor fuisse putetur, Cologne 1870. Cf. Baumstark, urdeutsche Staatsaltert. 100; ARiese, Idealisierung (see n. 2) 38.

2 As in c. 37 210 years are counted from the first invasion of the Cimbrians

a. 614/113 B.C. to the second consulate of Trajan (a. 851/98 A.D.), the work appears to have been composed a. 98. The omission of this work Agr. 3, where the literary designs of Tac. are mentioned, may be most simply explained by assuming that originally the treatise was intended to form an excursus in the Historiae, but was afterwards made up and published as an independent work, partly because its rich materials would have been out of proportion to the Hist., partly in order to render them applicable, by way of comparison and warning, to the writer's own time. ARiese, Ecs 2, 193; die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens (Heidelb. 1875) 3. 43. Mommsen, die Bedeutung der Germ., Festrede, Berl. SBer. 1886, 40. OHirschfeld, ZföG. 28, 815.—FBrunot, un fragm. des hist. de Tac., étude sur le de mor. Germ., Par. 1883.

3. The Germania is neither an idyl nor a novel nor a political pamphlet (calculated e.g. to dissuade Trajan from an expedition to Germany), although it was doubtless partly occasioned by the fact that the new Emperor was at that time stationed in Germany, and Rome was then specially interested in the affairs of that country. It is rather a contribution to the task which is a. 4, 33 acknowledged to be an attractive one, *situs gentium describere*, and to which the Agr. had already contributed. But the execution is of course characteristic of Tacitus. Just as Horace (c. 3, 24, 9) had represented the Scythians and Getes in an ideal light to bring into relief the corruption of Rome, Tacitus does likewise in respect of the Germans. He describes them with constant reference to his contemporaries, and frequently dwells on all that is fortunately strange to the Germans (c. 8. 9. 11. 13. 18. 19. 20. 24. 27. 38). Sometimes the description becomes quite lacrimose (e.g. c. 5. 7. 18 sq. 27). Yet the writer is far from merely holding up the Germans to his own age as perfect models; on the contrary, he notices serious faults in them (c. 11. 15. 17 sq. 23 sq,) and even pronounces himself as a thorough Roman in opposition to their peculiarities (c. 33, cf. 23). See n. 2. 9 and Teuffel's introduction to his translation (1859) p. 132.—Did Tac. make use of Mela? MManitius, Forsch. z. deutsch. Gesch. 22, 417.

4. The rhetorical character of the style appears in the numerous generalities, the numberless instances of anaphora (c. 11 even of *prout*) and other figures. Cf. JMützell, ZfGW. 1, 86. Hence also the unevenness of the execution, brief indications where fuller information is desirable and minuteness in matters of secondary importance. On the pleonasms of this treatise see CHalm, Münch. SBer. 1864, 12. Here also we have numerous reminiscences of Sallust (cf. PhHess, variae lectiones et observationes in T. Germ., Helmst. 1827. 1828. 1834. EWölfflin, Phil. 26, 122, cf. n. 1 and § 335, 2), and many passages remind us of the other works of Tacitus, especially of his Agricola (Agr. 11 extr. = Germ. 28; *haud perinde*, Agr. 10=Germ. 34; *in universum aestimanti*, Agr. 11=Germ. 6; *patiens frugum*, Agr. 12, cf. Germ. 5). Hexameters occur Germ. 18. 32. 39; an iambic dimeter c. 27.

5. The Germania has been preserved to us in the same MS. as the dialogus (see § 334, 4), though the number of copies made of it (all s. XV.) is much larger. Opinions differ as to the critical value of the various copies, see GWaitz, deutsche Verfassungsgesch. 1 [3], 511. Besides Vatic. 1862 and Leid. 18 (Perizonianus) the Vatic. 1518, also the Farnesianus, Stuttgartiensis, Monac. 5307, claim consideration. Holder (ed. of 1878) attaches special importance to the now lost cod. Hummelianus (n. 8 l. 3; Wölfflin, JB. 1879 2, 239; in remarkable agreement with the Humm. is Vindob. [2], JHuemer, ZföG. 29, 801), and so does EBährens (n. 8). See however Nipperdey, op. 387. HSchefczik, de Tac. Germ. apparatu crit., Troppau 1886. HJordan in his quaestt. crit. Königsb. 1886. RTagmann, de Tac. Germ. apparatu

critico, Bresl. 1847 (cf. NIPPERDEY, op. 381). Excepting the monk Rudolph of Fulda († 865, AEBERT, Lit. d. MA. 2, 332), who in his Translatio S. Alexandri (Monum. Germ. 2, 673; on this AWETZEL, Kiel 1881; cf. WARNDT, lit. Centr.-Bl. 1882, 987) has incorporated numerous extracts from Tac. Germ., there is, during the whole of the Middle Ages, no instance of the work having been used; GWAITZ in his Forsch. z. deutschen Gesch. 10, 602.

6. Separate editions (c. schol. AALTHAMERI, JWILLICHII, HGLAREANI, PHMELANCHTHONIS) in SSCHARDII historicum opus I, Bas. 1574; SFABRICIUS (variorum ed.), Augsb. 1580; HCONRING, Helmst.[3] 1678, JCHDITHMAR (cum varr. notis), Frankf. a/O.[3] 1766; FPASSOW, Bresl.[2] 1817; JVAMMON and WBÄUMLEIN, Tüb. 1817; G. and KSPRENGEL, Halle[2] 1819; FRÜHS (c. 1–10 annotated at length), Berl. 1821; JEKDILTHEY (annotated throughout), Brunswick 1823; GLWALCH (Latin text with transl. etc. pt. 1), Berl. 1829; GKIESSLING, Lps. 1832; JGRIMM (ed. et quae ad res Germanorum pertinere videntur e reliquo Tac. opere excerpsit), Gött. 1835; FDGERLACH (and WWACKERNAGEL), Bas. 1825–37 II; LTROSS (ad fid. cod. Perizon., acc. dial. de or. et Suet. de vir ill.), Hamm 1841; FRITTER, Bonn[2] 1853; JFMASSMANN, Quedlinb. 1847; LDÖDERLEIN (Lat. and German), Erl. 1850; MHAUPT, Berl. 1855; FKRITZ, Berl.[4] 1878 (by WHIRSCHFELDER); CTÜCKING, Paderb.[6] 1885; LCURTZE (c. 1–10 annotated at length), Lpz. 1868; HSCHWEIZER-SIDLER, Halle[4] 1884 and Berl. 1877 (§ 339, 4 in fin.); KMÜLLENHOFF (post MHauptium cum aliorum veterum auctorum locis de Germania praecipuis), Berl. 1873; AHOLTZMANN (germanische Altertümer m. Text, Übers. u. Erkl. v. Tac. G. edited by AHOLDER, with an ind. verbb. to the Germ.), Lpz. 1873: JGANTRELLE, Par. 1877; ABAUMSTARK (fully annotated), Lpz. 1875–80 II (small ed., Lpz. 1876); JPRAMMER, Vienna 1878; AHOLDER (recensuit, with ind. verbb.), Lpz. 1878; JMÜLLER, Prague 1889. GEGELHAAF, Gotha 1886. UZERNIAL, Berl. 1890. RGLATHAM (with ethnographical dissertations etc.), Lond. 1851. AJCHURCH and WJBRODRIPP, Lond.[2] 1889 (with Agric.).

7. Translations (in addition to those mentioned n. 6) by KGANTON (with comm., Halle 1824), HWFKLEIN (Munich 1826), BÜLAU, WEISKE and KVLEUTSCH (Lpz. 1828), JHORKEL (in the Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit I, Berl. 1847), GTHUDICHUM (see n. 9), ABACMEISTER (Stuttg. 1868), MWEISHAUPT (Kempten 1875), MHAUPT (c. 1–16), BerlphWschr. 1886, 1033. 1066. KRAUSS (§ 335, 5). AJCHURCH and WJBRODRIPP, Lond.[2] 1885 (with Agric. and Dial.).

8. Textual criticism by JCORELLI (Zür. 1819), PHHESS (Helmst. 1827. 1828. 1834), JCHSCHOBER (Naumb. 1827), CHSELLING (obss. critt., acc. collatio cod. Hummeliani, Augsb. 1830), WPFITZNER (zur Krit. u. Erkl., Neubrandenb. 1843), FCWEX (Schwerin 1853), CNIPPERDEY (op. 223), LVJAN (Eos 1, 76), CHALM (Münch. SBer. 1864, 12), FRITTER (RhM. 20, 195), AREIFFERSCHEID (symb. Bonn. 623), KMEISER (Eichstätt 1871 p. 31), EORTMANN (ZfGW. 33, 305), HSCHÜTZ (JJ. 119, 273), EBÄHRENS (JJ. 121, 265), CHERAEUS, Fehler u. controverse Stellen in Tac. Germ., Hamm 1880. JOBERDICK, ZföG. 24, 799. KHACHTMANN, in his hist. Unterss. f. ASchäfer, Bonn 1882, 178.

9. Among recent writings on the Germania and its subject-matter we may mention the following: FDGERLACH, die Germ. des Tac., und die Idee von T. Germ., hist. Stud. (Hamb. 1841) 308; Philol.-Vers. zu Hannover 104. Cf. also HOFFMEISTER, Weltansch. des T. 201. 220. JPEGREVERUS, Bemerkk. zu T. G., Oldenb. 1850. KMÜLLENHOFF, verderbte (deutsche) Namen bei Tac., Z. f. deutsches Altert. 9, 223. JNSCHMEISSER, Bemm. zur G. aus dem Nibelungenlied usw., Constance 1853. HSCHWEIZER-SIDLER, Bemm. zu T. G., Zür. 1860. 1862 II;

JJ. 85, 115. JVZingerle, in FPfeiffer's Germ. 1860, 229. GWaitz, die principes in der Germ., in the Forsch. z. deutschen Gesch. 2 (Gött. 1862), 385, and generally in his deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte I, Kiel [3] 1880. GKaufmann, Wehrhaftmachung beim Ritterschlag (on G. 12 and 13), Phil. 31, 490; ein Missverständnis des T. (Germ. 2 extr.), Strassb. 1874. RGLatham, on the authority etc. in the Journal of class. and sacred phil. 12, 324. APlanck, Götter u. Gottesglauben der alten Deutschen, Jbb. f. deutsche Theol. 11, 200; z. Erkl. d. G., Heilbr. 1867. ThMalina, de consilio T. in scribenda Germ. etc., Deutsch-Crone 1860. FThudichum, der altdeutsche Staat mit Übersetzung (by GThudichum) u. Erkl. d. Germ. d. T,, Giessen 1862. ABaumstark, d. Romanhafte in der Germ., Eos 1, 39 und 2, 487; urdeutsche Staatsaltertümer, zur schützenden Erläuterung der G. des T., Berl. 1873; see also n. 6. EGöbel, Eos 1, 516. ARiese, d. ursprüngliche Bestimmung der G., ib. 2, 193. JAsbach, d. Entstehung d. Germ., Jahrbb. d. rheinl. Altertumsfr. 69, 1. FMünscher, Beitr. z. Erkl. d. G., Marb. 1863. 1864 II. HBöttger, Wohnsitze der Deutschen in dem von T. beschriebenen Lande, Stuttg. 1877. LMeyer, Z. f. deutsche Phil. 4, 72. 5, 251. WSchleusner, quae ratio inter Tac. Germ. ac cett. primi saec. libros lat. in quibus Germani tanguntur intercedat, Barmen 1886. LSchumacher, de Tacito Germaniae geographo, Berl. 1886.

337. 4) Historiae, being the narrative of the events of the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian A.D. 69–96, i.e. chiefly the Flavian Dynasty, written under Trajan and founded on excellent sources. The whole work originally consisted of fourteen books at the most, or perhaps only of twelve, of which however only the first four and the first half of the fifth have come down to us. They contain the history of the years 69 and 70 (822 U.C.), though not quite complete.

1. Tertull. apol. 16 *Cornelius Tacitus in quinta historiarum suarum:* cf. Plin. ep. 7, 33 (n. 3 init.). The Medic. II (n. 5) gives no title. This title follows the precedent of Sisenna, Sallust and Asinius Pollio and (as treating of *nostra aetas*, h. 1, 43) agrees with the technical meaning of the word *historiae;* see § 37, 3. Wölfflin, however, is of opinion that this title was intended to disappear (or remained only as a special title) when by the addition of the Julian Dynasty (ann.) the whole work was completed in 30 books (see n. 2) *ab excessu divi Augusti* (n. 2). The Historiae are the work announced Agr. 3, the original design being however extended to all reigns after Nero's death, while the history of the reigning prince Trajan and his adoptive father, Nerva, was put off to later years (hist. 1, 1) and not even then carried out.

2. Hieronymus comm. on Zacharias 3, 14 (6, 2, 913 Vall.) *Cornelius Tacitus qui post Augustum usque ad mortem Domitiani vitas Caesarum triginta voluminibus exaravit.* In Medic. II the books of the Ann. and Hist. are reckoned continuously as forming parts of one work (see n. 5). The number of books to be reckoned for the Hist. depends, as the total given by Jerome is no doubt correct, on the number to be assigned to the Ann. For the numeration of Medic. II, according to which b. XVII = hist. I (n. 5) and consequently the Annals do not extend beyond b. XVI, need not be decisive. The Hist. cannot have comprised more, and probably had less, than 14 books, as parts of b. 16 of the Annals are still extant. On Ritter's (ed. Cantabrig. 1, xxii) assumption of 12 books of Historiae see below

§ 338, 2.—The successive order of the composition of these two works appears from a. 11, 11 *utriusque principis* (i.e. Augustus and Claudius) *rationes* (concerning the ludi saeculares) *praetermitto, satis narratas libris quibus res imperatoris Domitiani composui* (in that part of the Hist. which contained the history of Domitian). *nam is quoque edidit ludos saeculares.* Nerva is styled Divus, hist. 1, 1. The sixth book is quoted in Oros. 7, 10. 19. The work was employed by Sulpicius Severus, see § 441, 2.

3. Pliny's Letters 6, 16. 20. 7, 33 (*historias tuas*) were written as contributions to the materials of the historiae, which Tac. was then composing. Part of the work was probably the *liber* which Tac. sent Pliny (according to ep. 7, 20, 1 ; cf. ib. 7, 33, 1. 8, 7) *ad adnotandum.* These notices in Pliny belong to about a. 106–109. Successive recitation and publication of the single books appears probable for other reasons also ; Mommsen, Herm. 3, 107 ; cf. 4, 298. HNissen, RhM. 26, 535, 548.—The extant parts are reviewed by Süvern, Abh. d. Berl. Ak. 1822/23, 97.

4. The agreement of Tacitus (hist.) and Plutarch (in the biographies of Galba and Otho) was for some time explained not by the dependence of Plutarch on Tacitus, but by their common use of a main source now lost. CHirzel (comparatio eorum quae de impp. Galba et Othone relata legimus apud Tacitum, Plut., Suet., Dionem, Stuttg. 1851) supposes this to have been the acta publica, ThWiedemann (de Tacito, Suet., Plut., Cassio Dione scriptoribus imperatorum Galbae et Othonis, Berl. 1857) Pliny and Cluvius Rufus, HPeter (d. Quellen Plutarchs, Halle 1865, 40) and Mommsen (Herm. 4, 298, also FBeckurts, zur Quellenkritik des Tac., Suet., Dio, Brunswick 1880) Cluvius, but HNissen, RhM. 26, 508 (cf. OClason, Tac. u. Suet. 76), the historical work of the elder Pliny (§ 312, 5 ; cogent objections against this in DDetlefsen, Phil. 34, 40 ; see also WDieckmann, § 312, 5). It has yet to be proved, however, that of the two contemporaries, Plutarch and Tacitus, the former wrote his lives of Galba and Otho before the Histories of Tac. were written, and consequently that the employment of the latter work by Plutarch is excluded ; and the opinion is again rightly gaining ground that the remarkable agreement between the two writers is due to Plutarch having used Tacitus. Cf. OClason, Plut. u. Tac., Berl. 1870. Nipperdey, pref. to his ed. of the Ann.[8] 28. RLange, de Tacito Plutarchi auctore, Halle 1880. JGerstenecker, d. Krieg d. Otho u. Vitellius im J. 69, Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Tac. u. Plut., Munich 1882. JLezius, de Plut. in Galba et Othone fontt., Dorp. 1884.

5. Ann. XI–XVI and hist. I–V are preserved only in one MS., Laur. 68, 2 s. XI (= Mediceus II), written probably at Monte Cassino between 1053–87 (HKeil, RhM. 6, 145). Books I–V of the Histories bear, as the continuation of the Annals, the numbers XVII–XXI (*Cornelii Taciti liber XVI explicit. Incipit XVII* etc., the title is wanting). Two gaps in this MS., each of which is due to the loss of a leaf (containing hist. 1, 69–75. 1, 86–2, 2), are supplied from later copies which were made previous to the loss. Otherwise the later MSS. are without value. On a new collation of the MSS. see CMeiser, JJ. 125, 133.

6. Separate editions of the Historiae by GKiessling (Lps. 1840) ; CHeraeus (with notes for schools, Lpz.[4] 1885 II ; cf. EWölfflin, Phil. 27, 113) ; EWolff, Berl. 1886–88. JGantrelle, Gand 1880. JPrammer, Vienna 1883. B. I. II by JGoelzer, Par. 1886. WHSimcox, Bks. 1. 2, Lond. 1875, bks. 3–5, Lond. 1876. ADGodley, Bks. 1. 2, Lond. 1887, bks. 3–5, Lond. 1890. WASpooner, Lond. 1891. Transl. by AJChurch and WJBrodripp, Lond.[4] 1888.

7. Contributions to the Historiae: ABöckh, kl. Schrr. 4, 340. FJacob, Lüb. 1839. 42 II, addenda 1844 ; on T. h. 5, 2–5, Lüb. 1840. LDöderlein, Erl. 1841.

CNipperdey, op. 199. LUrlichs, Eos. 1, 250. JClassen, symb. critt. P. II Frankf. 1863; III Hamb. 1866. FRitter, Phil. 21, 601. JMüller, Innsbr. 1865. 1869 II. EWölfflin, Phil. 27, 117. BBorghesi, oeuvres 5, 287. AGrumme on hist. 1, 80, Gera 1872. CMeiser, krit. Studien I: on B. 1 and 5, Munich 1873; Münch. SBer. 1884, 80. PhGSandford, Hermathena 5 (1877), 264. IPrammer, ZföG. 33, 411. 34, 167. 36, 7. JCornelissen, Mnem. 12, 373. WHeraeus, Herm. 21, 424. JHOnions, Journ. of phil. 17, 289.

8. CVölcker, der Freiheitskampf der Bataver unter Claudius Civilis, Elberf. 1861–63 II. JGMüller, der tacit. Bericht über d. Ursprung der Juden, in the theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1843, 893. Leonhard, d. Ber. des Tac. über die Juden (hist. 5, 2–5), Ellwangen 1856. FJacob (1840), see n. 7. HEDirksen, die römisch-rechtlichen Mitteilungen in Tac. Historien, hinterlass. Schrr. 1, 204. Mommsen, die zwei Schlachten von Betriacum, Herm. 5, 161, and on this HNissen, RhM. 26, 538. JKrall, Tacitus u. der Orient I: hist. 4, 83–84 die Herkunft des Serapis, Vienna 1880.

338. 5) Annales or rather Ab excessu divi Augusti, in at least sixteen (perhaps eighteen) books, containing the history of the Julian dynasty after Augustus' death (Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero) or the years 767/14 A.D.–821/68, likewise written under Trajan and published between a. 115 and 117. We possess, however, only the first four books with parts of the fifth and sixth, and, with gaps both at beginning and end, books XI–XVI, i.e. we have lost the whole reign of Caligula, and have only the beginning of the reign of Claudius until a. 47, and a. 66–68 of the reign of Nero. The annalistic arrangement is observed in this work more strictly perhaps than in the Historiae.

1. According to the Mediceus I the only genuine title is *ab excessu d. Augusti;* for similar titles see § 256, 7. Though Tac. himself repeatedly (a. 4, 32; cf. 3, 65. 13, 31) describes his work as *annales*, he does not give this as the title, but to denote the plan, which follows the annual succession of the events. (Hence Iordanes de reb. get. 2, 13 speaks by hearsay of *Cornelius annalium scriptor*, though he means a passage in Agr.). But precisely because the books ab excessu d. Augusti are actually annals, we need not hesitate for brevity's sake to call them *annales*, which title distinguishes them also from the *historiae.*

2. The time of publication appears from a. 2, 61 *exin ventum Elephantinen et Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc* (since Trajan about a. 115) *ad mare rubrum* (the Persian gulf, Eutr. 8, 3) *patescit.* This conquest of Trajan was however given up by Hadrian (Spart. Hadr. 5, 1–4. Eutr. 8, 6), immediately after his accession to power (August 117).—The division into books was, as appears from 6, 27 (*in prioribus libris*) and 11, 11 (see § 337, 2) the author's own invention. As the events of the years 66–68 could not easily have found room in the second non-extant half of b. 16, Ritter (ed. Cantabrig. 1, xxii) has assumed a larger number of books, namely 18. Thus the work would have treated, in three groups of six books each, the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero; cf. OHirschfeld, ZföG. 28, 812. EWölfflin, Herm. 21, 157. But against Ritter's supposition there is the fact that, if we assume 18 books, the narrative in b. 16–18

must have been more detailed than that contained in any of the preceding books, and it is just as easy to conclude that Tacitus compressed his remaining materials down to the junction with the Histories, perhaps in a somewhat larger volume. As the books of Annals 2. 4. 6. 12. 13 comprise the history of 4–6 years, and b. 3. 14. 15 that of 3–3½ years, b. 16 might very well contain the history of 3½ years (middle of 65–end of 68). See above § 337, 2.

3. The arrangement is intentionally in the manner of annals; a. 4, 71 *ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaeque in annum referre, avebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus* etc. Whenever Tac. deviates from it, he considers it his duty to apologise (e.g. 6, 38 *quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi, quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis.* Cf. 12, 40 extr. 13, 9) and for subsequent facts he refers to later parts (*in tempore memorabo*, 1, 58; cf. 4, 71. 6, 22; *in loco reddemus* 2, 4; cf. h. 4, 67). It is true that from the fragments of the Histories, which scarcely embrace two years, we cannot conclude with certainty how far the same design was worked out there; but it was almost a matter of course that it should be more strictly carried out in the later work, as it extended over a larger number of years and embraced some reigns of considerable extent. Tacitus has, however, succeeded in depriving this arrangement of its monotonous character by abandoning it whenever the subject seemed to excuse his deviation from the traditional order, see above and § 37, 3.

4. According to the partly incorrect numeration of the one MS. there are preserved *ab excessu divi Augusti libri I–V*, properly speaking, b. 1–4, then the commencement of b. 5, after which there is a considerable gap where the greater part of this book and the beginning of b. 6 have been lost; lastly, the remainder of b. 6. In this gap T. treated the continuation of a. 29, the whole of a. 30 and the greater part of a. 31. On the correct division between b. 5 and 6 see FHaase, Phil. 3, 152. This MS. of the Ann. I–VI was discovered in the Westphalian monastery of Corvey (concerning its abstraction from thence see FPhilippi, Phil. 45, 376), was brought to Rome a. 1508 and thence to Florence, where it remains up to the present day as Laur. 68, 1 (=Mediceus I) s. IX (specimen of the writing: Vitelli and Paoli, collez. fiorent. paleogr., Fir. 1884, Lat. Tav. 2); concerning its date see WStudemund, Herm. 8, 233. FRühl, RhM. 36, 25. Its contents were first printed in 1515 (by PhBeroaldus, in Rome). Against the doubts of FRitter (Phil. 17, 662, cf. his ed. of Tac. of the year 1864, p. v) see LUrlichs, Eos 1, 243. 2, 223.—We owe the last books of the Annals (b. 11-16) to the Laur. 68, 2= Mediceus II, which has preserved these together with the first books of the Historiae, see § 337, 5.—But the beginning of b. 11 and the end of b. 16 are wanting; in addition to the original MS. itself (Med. II) we possess also a number of later copies (e.g. the Farnes. at Naples, § 334, 4); see § 337, 5.—The numeration by quaternions in the Laur. 68, 1 begins with Q. XVIII, the quaternions which formerly preceded these, I–XVII (=the present Laur. 47, 36) contained Pliny's epistles, § 340, 10.—The earliest known MS. of Tacitus probably comprised the whole of (the greater and lesser) works of the writer: for Rudolf of Fulda is acquainted with not only the Germ. (§ 336, 5) but also the Annals, no doubt however through some codex belonging to his monastery; Monum. Germ. hist. 1, 368 of a. 852: *in loco qui appellatur Mimida* (Minden) *super amnem quem Cornelius Tacitus, scriptor rerum a Romanis in ea gente gestarum, Visurgim* (cf. Tac. a. 2, 9. 11 sq. 16 sq.), *moderni vero Wisaraha vocant, habito conventu generali.* From this Fuldensis might be derived both the Hersfeld MS. of dial. and Germ. (perhaps also Agric.?, § 335, 3), and also the Corvey MS. (=Laur. 68, 1) of Ann. I–VI.—CHerarus, studia critt. in Medi ·ces Tac. codices, Cassel 1846; zur Krit. u. Erkl.

des Tac., Hamm 1859. EWölfflin, Phil. 26, 94. WPfitzner, d. beiden Florentiner Hss. d. Tac., Rostocker Phil.-Vers. (Lpz. 1876), 83. AViertel, JJ. 123, 423.

5. Editions of the Annals: GARuperti, Gött. 1804 II. GKiessling, Lps. 1829. KNipperdey (and GAndresen), Berl. $^{8.4}$1884. 80 II. FWOtto (b. 1–6 with a full comm.), Mayence 1854. Orelli-Baiter, Zür. 1859 (§ 339, 4). ADräger, Lpz.$^{5}$ 1887 II. JPrammer, Vienna 1888. GOHolbrooke, Lond. 1882. HFurneaux, Oxf. 1884. Allen (bks. 1–6), Boston 1890. WPfitzner, Gotha 1883. MGitlbauer, Freib. 1887 (expurgated).—Tac. Ann. transl. with notes by AStahr, Berl. 1871–80. By AJChurch and WJBrodripp, Lond. $^{5}$1888 (revised).

6. Criticism and explanation of the Annals: FJacob, obss. ad T. ann., Lüb. 1837–38 II. OMüller, de a. 3, 55, Gött. 1841. CHalm, Speier 1846. IHeld, ad loc. diffic., Schweidnitz 1851. LUrlichs, JJ. 69, 52. 154. 300. LSpengel, b. 1, Abh. d. Münch. Ak. 7, 2, 695; on T. A., Phil. 23, 644. EWurm, Phil. 8, 361. 9, 86. WGPluygers, spec. emend., Leiden 1859. CKrafft, hist. u. geograph. Excurse zu Tac. A. I und II, Maulbronn 1864. BBorghesi (see § 337, 7). KAMüller, on A. I, Phil. 33, 314. JMüller, Beitr. z. Kr. u. Erkl. d. Tac., part 3 and 4, Innsbr. 1873–75. HSchiller, commentatt. Mommsen. 41 (on 15, 44). JCornelissen, Mnemos. 12, 215. GClemm, in the Giessen Festschr. 1886, 129.

7. The question regarding the sources of the Annals can hardly be satisfactorily answered owing to the loss of the other Latin works on the same subject. For those sources which Tac. himself mentions see § 333, 11. As regards the much discussed relations between Tacitus and Dio Cassius, no doubt the old view (see e.g. CKnabe, de font. hist. imperat. Iuliorum, Halle 1864, LSpengel l.l., EEgli l.l.; cf. HHaupt, Phil. 44, 132), that Tacitus was used by Dio (of course among other sources) will again find acceptance in opposition to the opinion, which has recently been warmly defended, that the resemblance is due to both having used a common source (now lost). HTKarsten, de Tac. fide in ann. I–VI, Utr. 1868. RWeidemann, Quellen von Tac. ann. I–VI, Cleves 1868–73 III. WHorstmann, d. Quellen d. Tac. in ann. I–VI, Marb. 1877. JJBinder, Tac. u. Tib. in ann. I–VI, Vienna 1880. GHoffmann, de Tac. ann. et hist. capp. II (on his use of the acta senatus), Berl. 1878. FHerbst, quaestt. Tacit. in the Stettin Festschr. 1880, 25. JFroitzheim, de Tac. fontt. in libro I ann., Bonn 1873; RhM. 32, 340; JJ. 109, 201.—HReichau, de fontium delectu quem in Tib. vita moribusque describendis Vell. Tac. Suet. Dio habuerunt, Königsb. 1865. MThamm, de fontt. ad Tib. hist. pertinentibus, Halle 1874. NJAndriessen, de fide et auctoritate scriptorum ex quibus vita Tiberii cognoscitur, Hagae 1883. HChristensen, de fontt. a Dione in vita Neronis adhibitis, Berlin 1871. HSchiller, Nero 29. WSickel, de fontt. a Dione in conscribendis rebus a Tib. ad Vitell. adhibitis, Gött. 1876. EEgli (Feldzüge in Armenien J. 41–63 n. Chr., ein Beitr. z. Krit. d. Tac.) in MBüdinger's Unterss. zur röm. Kaisergesch. 1, 265. WLaufenberg, quaestt. chronolog. de rebus Parthicis Armeniisque a Tac. ann. XI–XVI enarratis, Bonn 1875. OClason, de Tac. ann. aetate quaestt. geographicae ad mare rubrum et Aegyptum maxime pertinentes, Rost. 1871.—EFeistmantel, Psychologisches in des Tac. Ann., Vienna 1878. WPfitzner, die Ann. kritisch beleuchtet I (b. 1–6), Halle 1869. Cf. also § 347, 8.

339. Tacitus' further designs, to supplement the Histories by relating the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, or to add the history of Augustus before the Annals, were never carried out.

1. Hist. 1, 1 *principatum d. Nervae et imperium Traiani . . . senectuti*

*seposui.* a. 3, 24 *cetera illius aetatis* (the Augustan) *memorabo si effectis in quae tetendi plures ad curas vitam produxero.*

2. FULGENTIUS, exposit. serm. antiq. p. 782 St.=p. 566 *M. Cornelius Tacitus libro facetiarum: 'cessit itaque morum elogio in filiis derelicto'.* FHAASE (ed. p. XIV) considers this as some youthful work of Tacitus, but both the title and quotation are probably an invention of Fulgentius (see § 480, 7).

3. The tradition of Tacitus: see above under the several works. ECORNELIUS, quo modo Tac. in hominum memoria versatus sit usque ad renascentes litteras s. XIV et XV, Wetzlar 1888. MMANITIUS, Phil. 47, 565.

4. Complete editions of the works of Tacitus (cf. CLFPANCKOUCKE vol. VII of his ed., Par. 1840. Bibliographie de 1055 editions de Tac.): Ed. princ., Ven. Vendelin. de Spira, c. 1470 (A. XI–XVI, Hist., Germ., Dial.). Ed. FPUTEOLANUS (with Agr., Milan c. 1475. Ven. 1497), PHBEROALDUS (the first complete edition, Rome 1515, and elsewhere), BRHENANUS (Bas. 1519. 1533), JLIPSIUS (Antv. 1574. 1600. 1607. 1668 and elsewhere), JFGRONOV (Amst. 1672. [1673.] 1685 II), J. and ABR. GRONOV (Utr. 1721 II). Ex rec. IAERNESTI (Lps. 1752. 1772) cur. JJOBERLIN (Lps. 1801 II), GBROTIER (with supplements in the manner of Freinsheim's supplements to Livy and Curtius, Par. 1771 IV and elsewhere), IBEKKER (cum notis vir. doctt., Lps. 1831 II), GHWALTHER (Halle 1831–33 IV), FRITTER (recogn., brevi adn. instr., Bonn 1834–36 II; emend., comment. critico illustr., Cantabrig. 1848 IV; e codd. denuo collatis rec., Lps. 1864), LDÖDERLEIN (Halle 1841–47 II), JCORELLI (ad fidem codd. Medic. denuo excussorum ceterorumque optimorum librorum rec. et interpr. est, Zür. 1846 II. Ed. 2: I Annal. ed. IGBAITER 1859; II 1 Germ. ed. HSCHWEIZER-SIDLER 1877; 2 and 3 Dial. and Agr. ed. GANDRESEN 1877. 80; 4 sqq. Hist. ed. CMEISER 1884 sqq.), JSTOCK (ed. illustr., Dublin 1862 II), EJACOB (Par. 1875. 77 II).

Recent texts by IBEKKER (Berl. 1825), FHAASE (Lps. 1855 II) and especially CHALM (Lps.[4] 1884 II). KNIPPERDEY (Berl. 1871–76 IV; in this a new index nominum). JMÜLLER, Prague 1885. 87 II.

5. KNIPPERDEY, op. 197–396. EWURM, Phil. 8, 361. 9, 86. FRITTER, RhM. 16, 454. 17, 99. 20, 195. 518. 21, 534. Phil. 19, 264. 20, 107. 21, 601. 22, 48. FTHOMÄ, obss. crit. in T., Bonn 1866. JMÜLLER, Beitr. z. Krit. u. Erkl. d. Tac., Innsbr. 1865–75 IV. MADVIG, advers. 2, 541 (and on this KHALM, JJ. 109, 408). 3, 222. WALTER, Studd. zu Tac. u. Curt., Munich 1887.—EWÖLFFLIN, Jahresberichte über Tacitus, Phil. 25, 92. 26, 92. 27, 113. JB. 1874/75 1, 756. 1879 2, 215. GHELMREICH, JB. 1884 2, 91. 1888 2, 1. GANDRESEN, ZfGW. Jahresber. 1875–78. 81. 82. 85. 87. CMFRANCKEN, Mnemos. 17, 354.

6. Translations by KFBAHRDT (Halle 1807 II), KLVWOLTMANN (Berl. 1811–1817 VI), FCVSTROMBECK (Brunswick 1816 III), FRICKLEFS (Oldenb. 1825–1827 IV), WBÖTTICHER (Berl. 1831–34 IV), HGUTMANN (Stuttg. 1829 sqq.), CLROTH (Stuttg. 1854 sqq.), GFSTRODTBECK, FBAUR, WTEUFFEL (Stuttg. 1865 sqq.). CHURCH and BRODRIPP (see above).

340. An intimate friend of Tacitus was Pliny the Younger. C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus (A.D. 62–c. 113) from Comum, a nephew and adopted son of the elder Pliny (§ 312), held public and municipal offices under Domitian, and finally the consulate under Trajan (a. 100) and also the place of Imperial legate in

Bithynia (a. 111 sq. or 112 sq.). Having been under Domitian a noted and esteemed pleader before the Centumviri and in the Criminal Courts, Pliny began under Nerva to revise and publish his former speeches. We possess the speech in which he returned thanks for his election to the consulate, a work important in its bearing on the history of Trajan, but tiresome in its enlarged form on account of its diffuseness and the bombastic praises bestowed upon the Emperor. After Nerva's accession to the throne, Pliny began to compose letters with a view to publication. There are altogether nine books of them, composed and successively published from a. 97–109, to which is added Pliny's correspondence with Trajan chiefly during his governorship in Bithynia, though this is not finished. These letters extend in a studied variety over a large number of subjects, but are chiefly intended to exhibit their author in the most favourable light. Still the impression of vanity is mitigated by the very simplicity with which the author owns to it, and his unmistakeable nobility of aim. The diction is facile and smooth. Pliny, after youthful attempts, ventured on the composition of verse at the age of forty, but of these lusus et ineptiae nothing has come down to posterity.

1. Next to Cicero scarcely any other ancient writer is so accurately and completely known to us as Pliny, chiefly through his own works, but also through inscriptions discovered in his native place, CIL. 5, 5262. 5263. 5264. 5279. 5677; also in Mommsen, Herm. 3, 108. The longest inscription relates to the thermae which he bequeathed to Comum in his will (CIL. 5, 5262 Or.-Henzen 1172, cf. ib. 3 p. 124, Wilm. 1162[b]). He is there styled *C. Plinius L. f. Ouf. Caecilius Secundus, cos.* (suff. with Julius Cornutus Tertullus in the second half of a. 100, ep. 5, 14, 5, paneg. 60, 92), *augur* (a. 103 or 104 he was received into the college, ep. 4, 8), *legat. propr. provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae consulari potestate ex SC. ab Imp. Caesar. Nerva Traiano Aug. Germanico Dacico missus* (a. 111 and 112 or 112 and 113), *curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacar. urb.* (probably a. 105–107, ep. 5, 14), *praef. aerari Saturni* (Jan. 98–100, Stobbe, Phil. 27, 641, CPeter, ib. 32, 707), *praef. aerari milit.* (a. 95–97 or 94–96), *praet.* (a. 93 or 94, ep. 3, 11, 2. 7, 11, 4. 16. paneg. 95), *trib. pl.* (probably Dec. 91–92, ep. 1, 23, 2; cf. 7, 16, 2. paneg. 95), *quaestor imp.* (June 89–90, ep. 7, 16, 2), *sevir equitum romanorum, trib. milit. leg. III Gallicae, Xvir stlitib. iudicand.* In the inscription in his honour, set up in Comum by the municipality of Vercellae (CIL. 5, 5667 Wilm. 1162), he is still called *fl(amen) divi T. Aug.* (probably at Comum). Cf. CIL. 5, 5263. On the details see esp. Mommsen, Herm. l.l. Cf. JBeliczay, WschrfklPh. 1887, 311.— Pliny's name before his adoption by his maternal uncle (§ 312) was probably P. Caecilius L. f. Secundus: this is the name given him in an inscription from Comum (CIL. 5, 5279), where he is mentioned together with his natural father L. Caecilius L. f. Cilo. Pliny appears to have died before 114 either in his province or soon after his return home (Mommsen l.l. 99), at the age of perhaps 52 years, as

he was in his 18th year at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius on the 24 Aug. 79 (ep. 6, 20, 5), and was therefore born 61–62. Cf. also § 333, 4. Pliny was married three times, twice under Domitian (ad Trai. 2. 2), and the last time to Calpurnia (4, 19; cf. 6, 4. 7. 8, 10 sq.), but had no children. He was in affluent circumstances. JMasson, C. Plini . . . vita ordine chronologico digesta, Amsterd. 1709. AJaTurre Rezzonico, see § 312, 1 ad fin. JJTanzmann, de Pl. vita, ingenio, moribus, Bresl. 1865. Principal treatise: ThMommsen, zur Lebensgeschichte des jüngeren Plinius, Hermes 3. 31 (with additions by the author translated by CMorel, Paris 1873). Cf. n. 5.

2. Hieronym. ad a. Abr. 2126=110 a.d. (Petav. and Freher. ad 2125, the date assumed is too late, see n. 1) *Plinius Secundus Novocomensis orator et historicus insignis habetur, cuius plurima ingenii opera extant.* For his masters in oratory see § 325, 3. Epist. 5, 8, 8 *unodevicesimo aetatis anno dicere in foro coepi.* 1, 18, 3 *causam Iuni Pastoris . . . acturus adulescentulus adhuc, in quadruplici iudicio* (cf. 4, 24, 1). 6, 12, 2 *in arena mea, h. e. apud centumviros* (cf. 4, 16. 9, 23, 1. Mart. 10, 19, 14). Thus he pleaded for Arrionilla (ep. 1, 5, 4), Attia Viriola (6, 33, 1. Cf. n. 3), Corellia (4, 17, 1 and 11), Vettius Priscus (6, 12, 2). Also pro Firmanis (6, 18), pro Clario (9, 28, 5) and others. Ep. 6, 29, 7 *egi quasdam a senatu iussus . . .* (8) *adfui Baeticis contra Baebium Massam* (together with Herennius Senecio, a. 93, cf. 7, 33) . . . *adfui rursus isdem querentibus de Caecilio Classico* (cf. 1, 7, 2. 3, 4, 9. CPeter, Phil. 32, 706. JAsbach, RhM. 36, 39). . . . (9) *accusavi Marium Priscum* (May 99 and Jan. 100, cf. 2, 11. 2, 19, 8. ad Trai. 3). . . . (10) *tuitus sum Iulium Bassum* (after 105? cf. 4, 9, 4. 4, 13, 1). . . . (11) *dixi proxime pro Vareno* (Rufo, a. 106 sq. cf. 5, 20, 2. 7, 6, 10). Other criminal actions ep. 7, 6, 8–13.

3. Pliny was accustomed to enlarge and revise, then to polish and finally to publish his speeches after much elaboration. ep. 4, 14, 1. 5, 8, 6 *egi magnas et graves causas, has . . . destino retractare, ne tantus ille labor meus . . . mecum pariter intercidat.* Cf. ib. 5, 12, 1. 7, 17. 8, 3, 2. 9, 10, 2. 9, 15, 2. 9, 28, 5 (*est uberior, multa enim postea inserui*). Thus he edited the *sermo quem apud municipes meos* (decuriones) *habui bibliothecam dedicaturus* (1, 8, 2. 16), an actio pro patria (2, 5, 3), that pro Iulio Basso (4, 9, 23), pro Vareno (5, 20, 2), pro Attia Viriola (6, 33, 1; cf. Apoll. Sid. ep. 8, 10), pro Clario (9, 28, 5). For others see 8, 19. 9, 4. On his speech of acknowledgment to Trajan see n. 12.—Lionardo Bruno of Arezzo († 1444) asserted that he had once possessed twenty speeches by Pliny: *habui* (he writes in a letter quoted by GFGamurrini in the studj e docum. di stor. e di diritto 4 — 1883 —, 143) *clarissimas orationes Secundi Plinii numero viginti, unam praestantissimi Suetonii Tranquilli. festino tam ad copiam quam ad lecturam.* This no doubt rests on an error.—But to the narrative kind (see epp. 9, 13, 14; cf. 4, 21, 3 the distinction between *actio* and *libri*) belonged Pliny's libelli de ultione Helvidii (against his accuser Publicius Certus) ep. 7, 30, 4. 9, 13, 1; also the panegyric description of the life of the young Vestricius Cottius (ib. 3, 10, cf. 2, 7). Excepting these (rhetorical) biographies, Pliny published no historical works, although ep. 5, 8 he half holds out a prospect of such works after the revision and publication of his speeches. Tacitus' successes in this department may have acted as a deterrent. For conjectures (far from convincing) as to Pliny's share in editing his uncle's historical work see HNissen, RhM. 96, 544.—Pliny himself says of his speeches: *temptavi imitari Demosthenem . . . in contentione dicendi* (ep. 1, 2, 2; cf. 7, 30, 5); but even in his time there were some sober judges of his style (e.g. Lupercus), against whom he vainly attempts to defend himself by appealing to Demosthenes, ep. 9, 26 (ib. 5 *visus es mihi in scriptis meis adnotasse quaedam ut*

*tumida quae ego sublimia, ut improba quae ego audentia, ut nimia quae ego plena arbitrabar*). Cf. 7, 12, 4 *cum suspicarer futurum ut tibi tumidius videretur quoniam est sonantius et elatius.* He vigorously defends himself against the charge of not being sufficiently concise, ib. 1, 20. 5, 6, 42; cf. 6, 2, 5. Macr. 5, 1, 7 *pingue et floridum (genus), in quo Plinius Secundus quondam et nunc . . . Symmachus luxuriatur.*

4. Plin. ep. 7, 4, 2 *numquam a poetice alienus fui; quin etiam quattuordecim natus annos graecam tragoediam scripsi. . . .* (3) *mox cum e militia rediens in Icaria insula ventis detinerer, latinos elegos in illud ipsum mare ipsamque insulam feci. expertus sum me aliquando et heroo, hendecasyllabis nunc primum.* (7) *transii* (from hexameters) *ad elegos: hos quoque non minus celeriter explicui. addidi iambos facilitate corruptus . . .* (8) *inde plura metra, si quid otii, maxime in itinere temptavi. postremo placuit exemplo multorum unum separatim hendecasyllaborum volumen absolvere. nec paenitet: legitur, describitur, cantatur etiam, et a Grœcis quosque, quos latine huius libelli amor docuit.* The first mention of this collection occurs 4, 14, 2: *accipies cum hac epistula hendecasyllabos nostros, quibus nos in vehiculo, in balineo, inter cenam oblectamus otium temporis.* (3) *his iocamur, ludimus, amamus, dolemus, querimur, irascimur, describimus aliquid* etc. (4) *ex quibus si non nulla tibi paulo petulantiora videbuntur* etc. (8) *. . . cogitare me has nugas inscribere 'hendecasyllabi.'* Cf. 5, 3, 10. 8, 21, 4 (*liber et opusculis varius et metris*). 9, 10, 2 (*poemata crescunt*, according to Mommsen's emendation). 9, 16, 2 (*novos versiculos tibi . . . mittemus*). 9, 25, 1 (*lusus et ineptias nostras*) and 3 (*passerculis et columbulis nostris*). Besides this, Pliny translated into Latin (4, 18; cf. 5, 15) some Greek epigrams of Arrius Antoninus (§ 324, 4) about the same time. Hence perhaps AL. 710 PLM. 4, 103. In general he confesses ep. 9, 29, 1: *variis me studiorum generibus, nulli satis confisus, experior.* LFriedländer, SG. $3^5$ 409.

5. The collection of letters is in chronological order, inasmuch as they were published successively piece by piece, in single books and groups of books, during the years 97–109. It cannot be denied, however, that within the individual books there are departures from the chronological sequence; cf. also ep. 1, 1, 1 *frequenter hortatus es ut epistulas, si quas paulo curatius scripsissem, colligerem publicaremque. collegi non servato temporis ordine (neque enim historiam componebam), sed ut quaeque in manus venerat.* The affectation of disregard for chronology is of course intended first and foremost to give to this thoroughly deliberate and finished publication an air of grata negligentia. The entire collection had been published when Pliny set out for Bithynia.—His correspondence with Trajan is almost all arranged chronologically, and the Emperor's answer is added to each letter. Letters 15 to 121 are of the time of his Bithynian governorship (perhaps Sept. 111–Jan. 113), but do not extend to the end of that period.—On the chronology of the epistles see especially Mommsen, Herm. 3, 31. 36. 53; further HFStobbe, Phil. 30, 347, CPeter, Phil. 32, 698, JAsbach, RhM. 36, 38. GGemoll, de temporum ratione in Plin. epp. IX libris observata, Halle 1872.

6. It is evident that these letters were written with a view to publication even from the very beginning; hence they are far from giving the impression of freshness which is produced by those of Cicero (Bender l.l. 18). Every person mentioned in them, who is not either dead or exiled, is praised; the sole exceptions being Regulus (§ 326, 3) and perhaps Javolenus Priscus (§ 342, 3). The names of all others are suppressed in case they are blamed (see 2, 6. 6, 17. 7, 26. 8, 22, 4. 9, 12. 9, 26, 1. 9, 27). Each letter deals with only one subject, so that letters of introduction, congratulation and condolence (e.g. 5, 16 on the death of the young Minicia, whose cinerary urn has been rediscovered, bull. arch. 1881, 15), succeed

accounts of news, descriptions (especially of villas), essays on points of morality (sometimes very commonplace, e.g. 7, 26. 9, 11; cf. BENDER l.l. 28) in intentional alternation. Most of them are devoted to the author himself, his striking performances or sayings, his principles, his mode of life etc., and they exhibit him as a tender husband, good friend, humane master of slaves, noble-minded citizen, and liberal patron of all good objects, and as an admired speaker and writer. Together with Tacitus he is ranked as the most famous contemporary author 9, 23, 2; his fame finds its way into the provinces 9, 11; the booksellers press him to undertake further publications 1, 2, 6. On the other hand, the correspondence with Trajan unintentionally serves to illustrate the patience and quiet circumspection of the Emperor as contrasted with the fidgety indecision and self-importance of his governor. But the form is treated with great care; cf. 1, 1 (n. 5) and 7, 9, 8 (above § 46, 9).

7. In his virtues and his weaknesses Pliny resembles his model Cicero (*M. Tullius, quem aemulari studiis cupio*, ep. 4, 8, 4; cf. 1, 5, 11. 9, 2, 2). He has his softness and thirst for praise, is without his peevishness and spite, but likewise lacks his eminent talent. Cf. BENDER l.l. 27. Conscious of his limitations, Pliny always keeps his note-book at hand, not to lose the godsend of a happy thought. He candidly confesses: *me nihil aeque ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido sollicitat*, ep. 5, 8, 1; cf. 8, 2, 8. 9, 3. 14 (above § 272, 6). 23. 31. His softness (*mollitia animi mei*, ep. 4, 21, 5) makes him indulgent in judging others, both in life (ep. 8, 22. 9, 17) and literature (6, 17. 21), so that some blamed him *tamquam amicos ex omni occasione ultra modum laudet* (7, 28, 1), perhaps silently hoping an equal return. Owing to the same softness he deeply takes to heart the loss of relations and friends (even of slaves 8, 16) and is easily moved to tears, e.g. 5, 21, 6. 8, 16, 5. 8, 23, 8. A kindred trait is his susceptibility to the charms of inanimate nature, e.g. 1, 6, 2. 1, 9, 6. 2, 17, 3. 5, 6, 13. 6, 31, 15. 8, 8. 8, 20, 4 sqq. (10) *me nihil aeque ac naturae opera delectant*. 9, 7, 2. HMOTZ, die Empfindung der Naturschönheit 68. BENDER l.l. 10. This quality frequently verges on weakness and unmanliness, e.g. 6, 4. 7, 5. On the whole, Pliny may be said to be great in nothing and small in many things, but his aims were always good (8, 2, 2 *mihi egregium in primis videtur . . . agitare iustitiam*) and he avoided vulgarity, cf. BENDER l.l. 22.—JASCHÄFER, d. Charakter d. j. Pl., Ansb. 1786–91. GEGIERIG, Leben, Charakter u. schriftstellerischer Wert d. j. Pl., Dortm. 1798. ECAUVET, étude sur Pline le jeune, Toulouse 1857. GRASSET, Pline le j., sa vie et ses oeuvres, Montpellier 1865. JPLAGERGREN, de vita et elocutione C. Plinii Sec., Upsala 1872. HBENDER, d. jüng. Plin. nach s. Briefen, Tüb. 1873. HSCHÖNTAG, Plin. d. J., ein Charakterbild, Hof 1876. LMOY, qualem ap. aetatis suae studiosos personam egerit Plin., Par. 1876. AGIESEN, Charakt. d. j. Plin., Bonn 1885.—JHELD, Wert der Briefsammlung des j. Pl. in Bezug auf röm. Lit.-Geschichte, Bresl. 1833.

8. The diction of Pliny shows an affinity with that of Quintilian. WENSCH, lexici pliniani spec., Wittenb. 1837. 39 II. HHOLSTEIN, de Pl. min. elocutione I, Naumb. 1862; II Magdeb. 1869. Cf. EKLUSSMANN, phil. Anz. 1870, 159. EGEUCKE, de usu coniunctionum et modorum ap. Plin., Hildesh. 1872. KKRAUT, Syntax u. Stil des j. Plin., Schönthal 1872. LAGERGREN, see n. 7 in fin. ACORRADI, in Plin. obss. ad elocutionem verborumque construct. et usum, riv. di fil. 12, 500. The same writer, in Plin. obss. ad orationem etc., Bergamo 1889. EREMY, de subiunctivo et infinit. ap. P., Lovanii 1884. SBPLATNER, gerunds and gerundives in Pliny's letters, Americ. journ. of phil. 4, 214–218.—PMORILLOT, de Plin. min. eloquentia, Grenoble 1888.

9. Apoll. Sid. ep. 9, 1 *addis et causas quibus hic liber nonus octo superiorum voluminibus adcrescat, quod C. Secundus, cuius nos orbitas sequi hoc opere pronuntias, paribus titulis opus epistulare determinet.* The correspondence with Trajan, which Avantius (1502, viz. ep. 41–121) and Aldus (1508, here first ep. 1–40) published from the only known and now long lost MS. (cf. n. 10), was arbitrarily counted as b. 10 by Aldus. Subsequent editors changed the order, by placing together first all letters without answers and then those to which Trajan's reply is given. HKeil has restored the original (chronological, n. 5) order. JCOrelli, hist. crit. epistoll. Plin. et Trai., Zür. 1838. JHeld, prolegg. ad etc., Schweidnitz 1835. GThomsen, Dansk Maanedskrift 1858, 425. 1859, 152. Holm, ib. 1859, 158. JLUssing, om de k. Tr. tillagte breve til Pl., Copenh. 1861.—The genuineness of the celebrated letter from Pliny to Trajan (96 [97]) concerning the Christians has been wrongly called in question by BAubé, hist. des persécutions de l'église, Par. 1875 and EDesjardins, rev. d. deux mond. 1874, 626. See for the contrary view e.g. GBoissier, rev. d. deux m. 1876, April; rev. archéol. 1876 1, 114. PDupuy, ann. de la fac. d. lettr. de Bord. 2, 182. FDelaunay, compt. rend. de l'acad. des inscr. 1879, 30.—Separate edition: Plin. epp. ad Traian. ed. by EGHardy, Lond. 1889.—LSchädel, Pl. d. j. u. Cassiodorius, Darmst. 1887.

10. Pliny's epistles during the Middle Ages: MManitius, Phil. 47, 566.—The nine books of letters and the correspondence with Trajan were preserved together in a very old MS., which was brought from France into Italy at the beginning of the 16th cent. The readings of this MS., which has long since disappeared, are contained for books 1–9 only in the Aldina of 1508, for the correspondence with Trajan in the same Aldina and the edition of HAvantius of a. 1502 (see n. 9). At Oxford (in the Bodleian) has recently reappeared the copy of the epistles of Pliny which Aldus handed to his printer for the preparation of the ed. of 1508, consisting of the ed. of Beroaldus of 1498+the ed. of Avantius of 1502 (n. 9.)+manuscript supplements for the remainder (epp. 8, 8, 3–8, 18, 11 and ad Trai. ep. 1–40) from the French MS. already mentioned (above l. 3), the variants of which, even in the printed portions, are added in MS. in the margin. EGHardy, Journ. of philol. 17, 95. Except this *exemplar correctissimum et . . . venerandae vetustatis* from France we know of no MS. which contains both the 9 books of letters and the correspondence with Trajan, and of none containing this last correspondence only. —The only manuscript which at the present time contains all the nine books (down to 9, 26, 8) of the letters is the Laur. 47, 36 (Mediceus) s. IX/X. It is written by the same hand as the Med. I of Tac. and was once combined with it (see § 338, 4). It also, therefore, came from Corvey. The Pragensis (in Titze, n. 11) is a faulty copy of this. From the same source as the Med. is derived the Vaticanus 3864 s. IX/X, which however contains only b. I–IV. To a second group belong the MSS. which contain only b. I to V, 6 (in all 100 letters) such as in particular the Laur. olim SMarci 284 s. X/XI (Florentinus) and the long lost Riccardianus 488 s. IX/X (used by Kortte, formerly joined to the Riccard. of the NH. of Pliny the Elder, cf. p. 101, l. 12), which has lately reappeared in the Ashburnham collection and is now again in Florence, LHavet, rev. crit. 1883, 251. ThStangl, Phil. 45, 220. 642. A third group gives only eight books, leaving out b. VIII and counting b. IX as the eighth, and giving also the last book and b. V in broken order. The earliest MS. of this last class is the codex archivii Casinatis 529 of a. 1429. The Dresdensis also belongs to the same class; but in it as in others the text is corrected throughout from a copy of the 100 letters (see above). Med. like Dresd. gives to the persons addressed only a single name, whereas Flor. SMarci and Riccard. have frequently preserved both names. For the critical

restoration the most important are Flor., Riccard., and Med., but the text of the latter has been much altered by a learned hand, see esp. AOtto, Herm. 21, 287.—HKeil, pref. to his ed., and de Pl. epist. emendandis, Erl. 1865. 66. II.

11. The first edition of the letters (Venet. 1471) contained only eight books; that which probably was prepared by JSchurener Rome 1474 added part of b. VIII) without 8, 3–18, 11). The first complete edition is that by Aldus, Ven. 1508 (see n. 10). Other editions by JGruter (1611), JVeenhusen (cum notis varr. etc., Leid. 1669), GCortius et PDLongolius (Amst. 1734). Ed. FNTitze, Prague 1820. Explained by MDöring, Freiberg 1843 II. A selection of the letters with notes by GAHerbst, Halle 1839. By AWaltz, Par. 1833.—Pliny's Letters book 3, with a commentary by JEBMayor, Lond. 1880. Bks. 1. 2 JCowan, Lond. 1889.

12. The bombastic and affected speech (gratiarum actio) in which Pliny returns thanks to Trajan for conferring the consulate upon him (ep. 2, 1, 5. 4, 5. 6, 27, 2. paneg. 1, 6. 2, 3. 3, 1. 90, 3) is called panegyricus in the MSS. as early as by Apoll. Sid. ep. 8, 10. It has lost by undergoing elaboration (ep. 3, 13. 18) when it was subsequently written down. Cf. FAWolf, praef. to Cic. pMarc. p. xii (enecuisset principem novus consul si ita dixisset ut scripsit). MHertz, Renaissance 11. Bender l.l. 17.—It has come down to us in the collection of the panegyrici, see § 391, 2. A better recension is represented by the three palimpsest leaves (s. VI/VIII) from Bobbio, now at Milan, which AMai has published in his ed. of Symmachus (Mediol. 1815), more accurately HKeil, de schedis ambrosianis rescriptis paneg. Pl., Halle 1869.—GSuster, classificazione dei cod. del paneg. di Pl., riv. di fil. 16, 504.—emendamenti, riv. di fil. 17, 516; de Plinio Ciceronis imitatore, ib. 18, 74. Edited in the panegyrici § 391, 3; then singly cum comment. JLipsii, Antv. 1600. 1604 and elsewhere. Emend. JMGesner, Gött.[2] 1749. Cum notis varr. cur. JArntzen, Amst. 1738. Cum comm. ed. CGSchwarz, Nürnb. 1746. Rec. GEGierig, Lps. 1796. By FDübner, Par. 1843.—Criticism: JCHeld, obss. in Pl. paneg., Baireuth 1824. MHaupt, op. 3, 495. KSchnelle, Krit. z. Paneg., in the Fest-Progr. of Meissen 1879. Madvig, adv. crit. 3, 215.—JDierauer, d. Paneg. des j. Pl., in MBüdinger's Unterss. z. röm. Kaisergesch. 1, 187.

13. Complete editions: (cf. n. 11) by HStephanus (cum notis ICasauboni, Par. 1591), MZBoxhorn (Leid. 1653), JMGesner (Lps.[2] 1770; cum notis varr. ed. GHSchaefer, Lps. 1805), GEGierig (rec. et prolegg. instr., Lps. 1806). Principal edition: recens. HKeil (incl. index nominum cum rerum enarratione by Mommsen), Lps. 1870 (ed. of the text by HKeil, Lps. 1853).—Translations by JASchäfer (Erlangen[2] 1824), EASchmid and FStrack (Frankf.[3] 1819 II), CFASchott (Stuttg. 1838), EKlussmann (Stuttg. 1869 sq.).

341. Besides these two greatest orators of this period we know, especially from Pliny, of a large number of men of all conditions who were orators and advocates before the Senate and in the law-courts, and some of whom also published their speeches. Thus we may mention especially Pompeius Saturninus, who also composed verse, and Voconius Romanus. The great number of these practical speakers, and the decided preference shown them in comparison with the school-rhetoricians, indicate the importance which public life had regained. A respectable representative of this scholastic oratory is P. Annius Florus,

who is also known as a poet, and probably as the author of an historical sketch. Historical writing exhibits (independently of Tacitus) a certain partiality for biography (Claudius Pollio, C. Fannius, Pliny) and a preference for relating recent events (Pompeius Planta).

1. Plin. ep. 1, 16, 1 *Pompeium Saturninum. . . .* (2) *audivi causas agentem . . . polite et ornate* etc. (3) *orationes eius . . . facile cuilibet veterum, quorum est aemulus, comparabis.* (4) *idem tamen in historia magis satisfaciet* etc. (5) *praeterea facit versus quales Catullus aut Calvus. quantum (in) illis leporis* etc. (6) *legit mihi nuper epistulas: . . . Plautum vel Terentium metro solutum legi credidi.* To him ib. 1, 8. 5, 21 (1 *litterae tuae . . . te recitaturum statim ut venissem pollicebantur*). 7, 7. 15. 9, 38.

2. Plin. ep. 2, 13, 7 (of Voconius Romanus), *ingenium excelsum, subtile, dulce, facile, eruditum in causis agendis* (cf. 6, 33). *epistulas quidem scribit ut Musas ipsas latine loqui credas.* To him 1, 5. 3, 13 and probably also (*Romano*) 2, 1. 6, 15. 33. 8, 8. 9, 27. 28 (ibid. 3 *nuntias multa te nunc dictare, nunc scribere quibus nos tibi repraesentes*) and others; ad Trai. 4, 4 *pro moribus Romani mei, quos et liberalia studia exornant et eximia pietas.* He is probably C. Licinius C. f. Gal. Marinus Voconius Romanus CIL. 2, 3866; cf. 3865 a.

3. Suet. Vesp. 13 *Salvium Liberalem in defensione divitis rei ausum dicere . . . et ipse laudavit* (Vesp.). Under Domitian he was exiled. Plin. ep. 2, 11, 17 *postero die* (a. 100) *dixit pro Mario Salvius Liberalis, vir subtilis, dispositus, acer, disertus.* Cf. ib. 3, 9, 36 (a. 101). He is named C. Salvius C. f. Vel. Liberalis Nonius Bassus in Orelli 1170 (cf. 1171), Wilm. 1151. He is also mentioned in the acta Arvalium for a. 78. 81. 86. 87. 101. BBorghesi, oeuvr. 3, 178. Henzen, acta Arv. p. 196.

4. As practical orators Pliny mentions also the following among his contemporaries: Catius Fronto (2, 11, 3 and 18. 4, 9, 15. 6, 13, 2; cf. above § 327, 4 ad fin.), Claudius Capito (6, 13, 2), Claudius Marcellinus (2, 11, 15), Claudius Restitutus (3, 9, 16, Mart. 10, 87?), Cornelius Minicianus (7, 22), Cremutius Ruso (6, 23, 2), Erucius Clarus (*vir . . . disertus atque in agendis causis exercitatus*, ib. 2, 9, 4; cf. 357, 5), Fabius Hispanus (*facundia validus* 3, 9, 12), C. Fannius (see n. 8), (Cn. Pedianus) Fuscus Salinator (cos. 118; ib. 6, 11, 26), Herennius Pollio (4, 9, 14), Julius Africanus (7, 6, 11), the grandson of the orator of the same name (§ 297, 4); Lucceius Albinus (3, 9, 7. 4, 9, 13), Minicius (Justus? cf. 7, 11, 4), whose style is characterised by *tenuitas* (7, 12, 5); Pomponius Rufus (4, 9, 3), Titius Homullus (4, 9, 15. 5, 20, 6), Trebonius Rufinus (4, 22, 1), Tuscilius Nominatus (5, 4, 1. 5, 13, 1), Varisidius Nepos (4, 4, 1), Ummidius Quadratus (6, 11. 7, 24; cos. a. 118).

5. Plin. ep. 6, 5, 6 *et* (Iuventius) *Celsus* (§ 342, 2) *Nepoti ex libello respondit* (in the Senate) *et Celso* (Licinius) *Nepos ex pugillaribus.* 5, 13, 6 *Nigrinus trib. pleb. recitavit* (in the Senate) *libellum disertum et gravem, quo questus est venire advocationes* etc. cf. 5, 20, 6 (*dixit . . . Nigrinus presse, graviter, ornate*).

6. As school-declaimers we know in this period (besides Licinianus, § 326, 15) the following—Isaeus (Plin. ep. 2, 3. Iuv. 3, 74. Philostr. vit. soph. 1, 20) and Julius Genitor (*rhetor latinus*, Plin. ep. 3, 3, 3; to him ib. 3, 11. 7, 30. 9, 17), also Vettius (Iuv. 7, 150). Suetonius too, is called *scholasticus* by Plin. ep. 1, 24, 4. cf. 1, 18, 1 (*ne quid adversi in actione patiaris*).

7. On P. Annius Florus see § 348, 8.

8. PLIN. ep. 5, 5, 1 *nuntiatum mihi est C. Fannium decessisse, . . . hominem elegantem, disertum* etc. (2) *. . . pulcherrimum opus imperfectum reliquit.* (3) *quamvis enim agendis causis distringeretur, scribebat tamen exitus occisorum aut relegatorum a Nerone et iam tres libros absolverat, subtiles et diligentes et latinos atque inter sermonem historiamque medios, ac tanto magis reliquos perficere cupiebat quanto frequentius hi lectitabantur.* (5) *primum librum quem de sceleribus eius* (of Nero) *ediderat* etc. It was therefore published gradually like Pliny's collection of letters.

9. SCHOL. of VALLA on Iuv. 2, 99 *quod bellum* (of a. 69) *descripsit Cornelius Tacitus, post Cornelium vero, ut Probus inquit, Pompeius Planta, qui ait Bebriacum* etc. PLIN. ep. 9, 1 (*Maximo suo*), 1 *saepe te monui ut libros quos vel pro te vel in Plantam . . . composuisti quam maturissime emitteres: quod nunc praecipue morte eius audita et hortor et moneo.* He is probably the Pomp. Planta mentioned by PLIN. ad Trai. 7 and 10 as governor of Egypt (a. 98), and Maximus is probably that Nonius Maximus whose *libri* are praised by Pliny ep. 4, 20, and to whom also 5, 5 (see n. 8) is addressed. A Messius Maximus 3, 30. 4, 25.

10. On an anonymous person who *recitaverit verissimum librum* on recent events, see PLIN. ep. 9, 27. Cf. 9, 31 (*Sardo*): *legi librum tuum, identidem repetens ea maxime quae de me scripsisti.*

11. PLIN. ep. 7, 31, 5 *Claudius Pollio quam fideliter amicos colat multorum supremis iudiciis, in his Anni Bassi, gravissimi civis* (MOMMSEN in Keil's Plin. p. 401) *credere potes, cuius memoriam tam grata praedicatione prorogat . . . ut librum de vita eius (nam studia quoque sicut alias bonas artes veneratur) ediderit.*

342. Jurisprudence is represented under Trajan by a number of distinguished men: e.g. the last Proculians who are mentioned by Pomponius (§ 350), Neratius Priscus and Juventius Celsus, who both attained the consular dignity and were advisers of Hadrian, both also fertile writers. On the side of the Sabinians we have Javolenus Priscus, and probably Pliny's friend Titius Aristo, a man of highly honourable character, also Minicius, whose work was commented on by Salvius Julianus. Of less importance and less known are Laelius Felix, Varius Lucullus, Arrianus, Octavenus, Vivianus, and others.

1. POMPON. dig. 1, 2, 2, 53 *successit . . . patri Celso Celsus filius et Priscus Neratius, qui utrique consules fuerunt, Celsus quidem et iterum* (see n. 2), but Ner. Pr. probably with M. Annius Verus (dig. 48, 8, 6), the grandfather of M. Aurel. CIL. 9, 2454 (OR.-HENZEN 5446 WILM. 1152) *L. Neratio L. f. Vol. Prisco, praef. aer. Sat., cos.* (perhaps a. 83 according to BORGHESI, a. 98 according to JASBACH, RhM. 36, 46; rheinl. Jahrbb. 72, 5), *leg. pr. pr. in prov. Pannonia* (a. 98 according to MOMMSEN, at earliest a. 104 according to ASBACH l.l.). As this inscription is derived from Saepinum in Samnium, and there is other evidence for Neratii at that place (CIL. 9, 2451–2459), this may possibly have been the jurist's native place. SPART. Hadr. 18, 1 *cum iudicaret in consilio habuit . . . iurisconsultos et praecipue Iulium Celsum* (perhaps the consul a. 86 and 105? his name is more correctly written *Iuventium Celsum*, see n. 2), *Salvium Iulianum, Neratium Priscum aliosque*, according to which Neratius must have attained to a very advanced age

His influence was greatest under Trajan; Spart. Hadr. 4, 8 *frequens opinio fuit Traiano id animi fuisse ut Neratium Priscum . . . successorem relinqueret, . . . usque eo ut Prisco aliquando dixerit: 'commendo tibi provincias, si quid mihi fatale contigerit.'* Cf. dig. 37, 12, 5 *divus Traianus . . . consilio Neratii Prisci et Aristonis* etc. Numerous passages from his works are inserted in the Digest (Hommel, palingenesia 1, 501, Lenel 1, 763): Responsorum libri III, Membranarum libri VII (on the title see ThBiet, Buchw. 93; PKrüger, Zeitschr. f. Rechtsgesch. 21, 76) and Regularum libri XV; there are also quoted Neratius libro IV° Epistolarum (dig. 33, 7, 12, 35 and 43; from which is perhaps epistola Neratii ad Aristonem, ib. 19, 2, 19, 2), libri ex Plautio (dig. 8, 3, 5, 1; cf. above § 316, 5) and a liber de nuptiis (Gell. 4, 4, 4); cf. also n. 3. Paulus (§ 377, 4) wrote ad Neratium libri IV. JCSickel, de Neratio Prisco, Lps. 1788. Rudorff, röm. RGesch. 1, 181. BBorghesi, oeuvr. 5, 350. Dirksen, Abh. d. Berl. Ak. 1852, 502. KViertel, de vitis ictorum (1868) 26. The quotation *Neratius in Ydro 'baccharis frondibus puerum amictum'* in a glossary edited by CBarth (§ 233, 3) rests on a fabrication by the editor. Mommsen, Herm. 8, 74; cf. § 323, 5 ad fin.

2. P. Iuventius Celsus Titus Aufidius Hoenius Severianus (dig. 5, 3, 20, 6), son of the jurist Celsus (§ 316, 4), one of the conspirators against Domitian about a. 95 (Dio 67, 13), praetor a. 106 or 107 (Plin. ep. 6, 5, 4), cos. I probably under Trajan, II under Hadrian a. 129 (dig. l.l. cod. Iust. 7, 9, 3.—CIL. 6, 527. bull. arch. 1871, 148. Or.-Henzen 7182). Was he a member of his council? see n. 1 l. 11.—His works: Digestorum libri XXXIX, arranged in agreement with Hadrian's code of laws (b. 1–12 and 24–27 according to the order of the edict, b. 13–23 on wills and legacies, 28–39 on other points of Civil Law), 142 passages of which occur in the Digest, very lengthy ones 8, 6, 6. 28, 5, 59. 33, 10, 7. 47, 2, 67; see also fragm. Vat. 75. 77. 79. 80. Merely quoted are his Commentarii in at least 7 books (dig. 34, 2, 19, 6), Epistolae in at least 11 (ib. 4, 4, 3, 1) and Quaestiones in at least 19 books (ib. 12, 1, 1. 28, 5, 9, 2. 34, 2, 19, 3; cf. Krüger, Lit. d. r. R. 166). Institutionum libri VII? § 280, 6 ad fin. In these fragments Celsus appears fond of appealing to the jurists of the Republic (esp. Servius, Labeo and Tubero) and frequently refers to oral explanations by his father (dig. 31, 20 *et Proculo placebat et a patre sic accepi.* ib. 29 *pater meus referebat* etc.). Graecisms dig. 13, 3, 3. 33, 10, 7. He displays much independence and acuteness of judgment, and at times even rudeness. The earlier jurists called a rough reply to a foolish question *responsio Celsina* to a *quaestio Domitiana*, on account of dig. 28, 1, 27 *Domitius Labeo Celso suo salutem. Quaero an* etc. (whether a notary who had drawn up a will might also witness it). *Iuventius Celsus Labeoni suo salutem. Aut non intellego quid sit de quo me consulis aut valide stulta est consultatio tua. plus enim quam ridiculum est dubitare an aliquis* etc. Cf. ib. 3, 5, 10, 1 *istam sententiam Celsus eleganter deridet.* Hommel, palingenesia 1, 149. Lenel, palingen. 1, 127. Heineccius (de P. Iuventio Celso Icto), opp. 2, 518. Rudorff, Röm. RGesch. 1, 181.

3. Pompon. l.l. (see n. 1) *successit . . . Caelio Sabino* (§ 316, 1) *Priscus Iavolenus, . . . Iavoleno Prisco Aburnius Valens et Tuscianus, item Salvius Iulianus.* dig. 40, 2, 5 *Iulianus: . . . ego, qui meminissem Iavolenum, praeceptorem meum, et in Africa et in Syria servos suos manumississe cum consilium praeberet.* He was (his full name is (*C.* [or *L.*] *Octavius Tidius Tossianius* (?) *Iavolenus Priscus* CIL. 3, 2864 and eph. epigr. 5, p. 652) among other things legatus consularis in Germania superior (about a. 90), in Syria and in Africa. The year of his consulship is not known. According to this legatio consularis he must have been born before a. 60, therefore can hardly have acted under Antoninus Pius, as has been supposed from Capitol. Anton. Pi. 12, 1 (§ 360, 1), where moreover the

MSS. read *diaboleno*. PLIN. ep. 6, 15 *Passennus Paulus* (§ 332, 4) . . . *scribit elegos*. . . . *is cum recitaret ita coepit dicere: 'Prisce, iubes.' ad hoc Iavolenus Priscus* (*aderat enim ut Paulo amicissimus*): *'ego vero non iubeo.' cogita qui risus hominum*. . . *est omnino Priscus dubiae sanitatis, interest tamen officiis, adhibetur consiliis atque etiam ius civile publice respondet*. His *sanitas dubia* or even *deliratio* (ib. 4) cannot have been very serious. Pliny has no perception of a joke and his vanity was perhaps offended by Javolenus. His juridical works are excerpted in the Digest in more than 200 places. We know as such: libri XV ex Cassio, epistolarum libri XIV, ad Plautium or ex Plautio libri V, and two (?) abridgments from Labeo's (§ 265, 2) posteriora: (Labeo libro . . . posteriorum a Iavoleno epitomatorum ; Iavolenus libro . . . ex posterioribus Labeonis), KRÜGER l.l. 163. HOMMEL, palingenesia 1, 197. LENEL 1, 277. It is questionable whether, in those places where Priscus is merely mentioned, he is meant or Neratius; for dig. 7, 8, 10, 2 (*et Priscus et Neratius putant*) Mommsen follows the translation of Stephanos (*καί φασι Πρόκουλλός τε ἅμα καὶ Νεράτιος*) in writing *et Proc. et Ner.* GAJENICHEN, de Pr. Iav. icto, Lps. 1734. HVALPHEN, spicilegia de I. Pr. icto, Utr. 1768 (and in OELRICH's thes. nov. 3, 1). CLNEUBER, die jurist. Classiker (Berl. 1806) 146.

4. PLIN. ep. 1, 22, 1 (c. a. 100): *Titi Aristonis, quem singulariter et miror et diligo. nihil est enim illo gravius, sanctius, doctius* etc. (2) *quam peritus ille et privati iuris et publici; quantum rerum, quantum antiquitatis tenet!* etc. (3) . . . *et tamen plerumque haesitat, dubitat diversitate rationum, quas acri magnoque iudicio ab origine causisque primis repetit* etc. (6) *in summa, non facile quemquam ex istis qui sapientiae studium habitu corporis praeferunt huic viro comparabis*. . . . *in toga negotiisque versatur, multos advocatione, plures consilio iuvat*. From the succeeding observations it also appears that he professed the Stoic system. Pliny addressed to him ep. 5, 3 (*Titio Aristoni suo*) and 8, 14 (1 *cum sis peritissimus et privati iuris et publici* etc. 10 *scientia tua, cui semper fuit curae iura* . . . *sic antiqua ut recentia* . . . *tractare*). dig. 37, 12, 5 (above n. 1). Pliny does not mention any writings by him, nor are any excerpted in the Digest, though occasionally (especially by Pomponius, see § 350, 8) his notes (*notat, adnotat* etc.) on (Labeo, Cassius and) Sabinus (according to which Aristo was a Sabinian) are quoted. dig. 2, 14, 7, 2 (*eleganter Aristo Celso respondit*). 4, 8, 40 (*Cassium audisse se dicentem Aristo ait*). 20, 3, 3 (*Aristo Neratio Prisco scripsit* etc. Cf. 40, 4, 46). 7, 1, 7, 3. 7, 8, 6 (*Ar. apud Sabinum*). 28, 5, 17, 5. 29, 7, 9. fr. Vat. 68. 83. 88. 199; once (dig. 29, 2, 99) *Aristo in decretis Frontianis* (*Frontinianis?* above § 327. *Frontonianis?* KARLOWA, RGesch. 1, 700. Cf. MOMMSEN l.l.). GELL. 11, 18, 16 *memini legere me in libro Aristonis icti, haudquaquam indocti viri* etc. dig. 37, 5, 6 (where Salvius Aristo addresses a legal question to Julianus) we should probably strike out Salvius, or at all events some other Aristo should be understood. JJENSCHEDE, de T. A., Leid. 1829. MOMMSEN, ZfRGesch. 7, 474. 9, 87.

5. Dig. 41, 1, 19 *Aristo ait; . . . quod et Varium Lucullum aliquando dubitasse*. He must, therefore, have been an older contemporary of Aristo. MOMMSEN: *Varronem Lucullum* (cf. CIC. p. Tull. 8)?

6. A certain Minicius is known as a writer on law by the notes of Julian on his work, which are quoted 40 times in the Digest (*ex Minicio, apud* or *in Minicium*). Very doubtful is his identity with the L. Minicius Natalis to whom *divus Traianus rescripsit* (dig. 2, 12, 9), cos. a. 106, who is repeatedly mentioned in inscriptions as well as his son bearing the same name (CIL. 2, 4509. OR.-HENZEN 5450. 6198. WILM. 1172. 1179). EHÜBNER, Berl. SBer. 1860, 232. FKÄMMERER, de Minicio

Natali icto, Rost. 1889. KViertel, de vitis ictorum p. 20. ChrHülsen, röm. Mitteil. d. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1884, 84.

7. Gell. 15, 27, 1 *in libro Laelii Felicis ad Q. Mucium* (§ 154, 2) *primo scriptum est Labeonem* (§ 265, 1) *scribere* etc. Cf. ib. 4 *in eodem Laeli Felicis libro haec scripta sunt* etc. (on Republican institutions, especially the comitia). He is perhaps the jurist Laelius who was still alive under Hadrian, dig. 5, 4, 3 *Laelius scribit se vidisse . . mulierem, quae ab Alexandria perducta est ut Hadriano ostenderetur.* Cf. ib. 34, 5, 7. Also ib. 5, 3, 43 (*idque et Laelius probat*). Mercklin, Phil. 16, 168 refers to him also Macr. 1, 6, 13 (*M. Laelius augur refert* etc.) and Gell. 13, 14, 7 *quod ego in † elydis, grammatici veteris, commentario offendi*, reading there *Felicis* (cf. RhM. 18, 297), Bergk *Epelydis*, MHertz (RhM. 17, 580) *Heraclidis.*

8. Ulpian. dig. 5, 3, 11 *Arrianus libro II de interdictis.* 43, 3, 1, 4 *bellissime Arrianus scribit.* Cf. 28, 5, 19 *quam sententiam et Iavolenus probat et Pomponius et Arrianus.* 38, 10, 5 (from Paulus). 47, 7, 47 (from Paulus). He is perhaps the Arrianus Maturus to whom Pliny addressed ep. 1, 2. 2, 11. 12. 4, 8. 12. 6, 2. 8, 21 Cf. ib. 3, 2, 2. A certain Arrianus Severus, praef. aerarii in the time after Trajan, dig. 49, 14, 42 (from Aburnius Valens).—Krüger, Quell. u. Lit. d. r. R. 172.

9. Aburnius Valens dig. 38, 1, 47 *Campanus scribit* etc. Cf. Pompon. ib. 40, 5, 34, 1 *Campanus ait* etc.

10. Dig. 31, 49, 2 *quod* (Labeonis) *merito Priscus Fulcinius falsum esse aiebat.* 25, 2, 3, 4 *Mela, Fulcinius aiunt.* 39, 6, 43 from Neratius libro I Responsorum: *Fulcinius* (*putat* or *dicit*) etc. Cf. 24, 1, 29 (from Pomponius): . . . *Fulcinius scripsit.* 25, 1, 1, 3 (*Fulcinius inquit*).

11. Paulus dig. 4, 6, 35, 9 *Vivianus scribit Proculum* (§ 298, 1) *respondisse*; and 13, 6, 17, 4 *Vivianus scripsit.* Cf. 29, 7, 14 *quidam referunt . . . apud Vivianum Sabini et Cassii et Proculi expositam esse controversiam.* Cf. also ib. 9, 2, 27, 24. 19, 5, 17. 21, 1, 1, 9. 21, 1, 17, 3 and below n. 13. KViertel l.l. 15 places him before Celsus and Octavenus. Ferrini, in the Rendi conti del R. Ist. Lombardo 1886.

12. Paulus dig. 23, 2, 44, 3 *Octavenus ait.* Terentius Clemens ib. 40, 6, 32, 2 *idem Octavenus probat.* Pompon. dig. 40, 5, 20 (*bellissime Aristo et Oct. putabant*) and 40, 4, 61, 2 (*hoc amplius Oct. aiebat*). 30, 9 (*O. scripsit*). From Dosith. 12 it appears that he knew the lex Iunia Norbana of a. 772/19 a.d. But he is not acquainted with the Sctum Iuventianum and should not, therefore, be placed later than Trajan. KVierte, de vitis ictorum (Königsb. 1868), 13.

13. Terentius Clemens dig. 37, 14, 10 *id etiam Proculo* (Mommsen thinks perhaps *Viviano*, see n. 11) *placuisse Servilius refert.*—Iulianus dig. 3, 5, 30 *Valerius Severus respondit* etc. Cf. Ulp. ib. 3, 8, pr. *Valerius Severus scribit.* One C. Val. Sev. was cos. suff. 124 a.d. Dig. 37, 12, 3 from Paul. VIII ad Plaut.: *Paconius ait.* Against the alterations attempted (e.g. by ASchmidt, Jahrb. d. gem. Rechts 3, 391) see KViertel l.l. 10. Cf. cod. 5, 37, 6 *imperator Alexander* (a. 223) *A. Paconio.*

343. The principal grammarians in the time of Trajan were Velius Longus, and probably also Urbanus and Flavius Caper. Under the name of Caper we possess two small treatises de orthographia and de verbis dubiis, which can be, however, but scanty excerpts of his original works. Urbanus was a commentator on Vergil, and the same may be said of Velius Longus, of whom we possess a treatise de orthographia.

Caesellius Vindex (a man who had to struggle against much enmity) wrote, probably about this time, a work entitled Stromateus or lectiones antiquae in alphabetic order and in the form of a dictionary.

1. SERV. Aen. 5, 517 quotes an observation directed against Cornutus (see LONGUS in Schol. Veron. Aen. 5, 488 p. 96, 10 K.) by the Urbanus who is so often cited in Servius on Vergil. Hence it follows that Urb. was later than Cornutus (§ 299, 2) and somewhat earlier than (Velius) Longus. For another view see GTHILO, Serv. 1 p. XVI (who places Urbanus as late as the 4th cent.). His labours on Vergil, to judge by the extant fragments, were not of much importance. RIBBECK prolegg. ad Verg. p. 167.

2. GELL. 18, 9, 4 *Velio Longo, non homini indocto, fidem esse habendam, qui in commentario quod fecisset de usu antiquae lectionis scripserit non 'inseque' apud Ennium legendum, sed 'insece.'* He also wrote on the derivation of words: CHARIS. GL. 1, 93, 31 *de qua quaestione* (that from *Titus* should be formed *thermae Titianae*, not *Titinae* etc.) *a Velio Longo libellus scriptus est.* Likewise a commentary on Verg. Aen.: CHARIS. GL. 1, 175, 14 (*V. L. in II Aeneidos*). 113, 29 (*V. L. de hac regula dixit in V ea parte*, i.e. on Aen. 5, 380). 210, 7 (on Aen. 2, 79; LACHMANN on Lucr. p. 146). He is frequently mentioned in the Veronese scholia on Aen., also in SERV. Aen. 10, 245 and MACR. sat. 3, 6, 6. Longus proves himself in this work to be well-informed and a careful observer; he treats grammatical subjects by preference. ORIBBECK, prolegg. Verg. 169.—The extant treatise de orthographia (in KEIL's GL. 7, 46; cf. also KEIL, obss. in Vel. Long., Halle 1877) is preserved to us only in a single Bobiensis discovered in 1493, which has since disappeared. The copy of this made by JPARRHASIUS (now Neapolit. IV A 11) is at present the only authority for the text, as all the other MSS. are derived from the Neap.; KEIL GL. 7, 39. This carefully written treatise is as regards the subject-matter in close agreement with that of the same name by Scaurus (§ 352, 2); the similarity being due to both having made use of the same early sources. Longus quotes e.g. Attius (§ 134, 11), Lucilius sat. l. IX (§ 143, 7 in fin.), Varro (AWILMANNS, de Varr. libr. gramm. 86), Verrius Flaccus (de orthographia, see § 261, 2. WSCHADY, de Mar. Victorin., Bonn 1869, 22), Antonius Rufus (§ 254, 3) and Nisus (§ 282, 4). Moreover, to judge by some polemical phrases which occur, it appears that Longus was acquainted with Scaurus' treatise, KEIL l.l. 34. Excerpts from Vel. Long. de orthogr. in Cassiodorus' work on orthography GL. 7, 154. Cf. besides BRAMBACH, lat. Orthogr. 46.

3. Flavius Caper wrote two works: POMPEI. GL. 5, 175, 30 *habes hoc in Capro de lingua latina, non de dubiis generibus* (PRISC. GL. 2, 171, 14. 212, 14). The first work is also quoted as *de latinitate* (ROMANUS in Charis. GL. 194, 31. 207, 31) and as *libri enucleati sermonis* (SERV. Aen. 10, 344), the second as *libri dubii generis* (SERV. Aen. 10, 377), perhaps also as *libri dubii sermonis* (CHAR. GL. 1, 77, 20). To the same grammatical treatises generally refer HIERON. c. Rufin. 2, 9 (2, 497 Vall.), RUFIN. GL. 6, 556, 20 *Fl. Cap. in artibus suis.* From the treatise de latinitate is probably also taken SERV. Aen. 6, 545 (*cum Caper de praepositione ex tractaret*). The works of Caper have been largely used by Charisius, correspondingly by Julius Romanus and by Priscian (KEIL on GL. 7, 89); again in the small book de dubiis nominibus (see KEIL on GL. 5, 570) and by Nonius. Besides Vergil Caper gave special attention to the early Latin writers and introduced many examples from them, cf. PRISC. GL. 2, 188, 22 *Caper, doctissimus antiquitatis perscrutator*, ib. 354, 9

*Caper, antiquitatis doctissimus inquisitor.* To judge by this preference which Caper evinced in his studies for early Latin, we should probably assign to him a date not later than s. II. His employment by Romanus (§ 379, 1) agrees with this. On the other hand Caper himself cites Probus (Charis. GL. 1, 118, 1 from Romanus): *Flavius Caper . . . Valerium Probum putare ait* and probably also Pliny (§ 312, 4; Keil on GL. 7, 89). That as C. wrote before Romanus, he likewise wrote before Terentius Scaurus (§ 352, 1), cannot be proved by the fabricated quotation (founded on Agroec. GL. 7, 118, 12 and Prisc. GL. 2, 170, 9) in ClDausquius orthogr. 1, 162 *Scaurus l. IX de orthographia 'et raro Capri testimonio s apud Etruscos exprimitur* etc.' The statement of Pompei. GL. 5, 154, 13: *Caper, ille magister Augusti Caesaris, elaboravit vehementissime et de epistulis Ciceronis collegit haec* (?) *verba ubi dixerat ipse Cicero 'piissimus'* (cf. ib. 5, 327, 15 *Caper antiquissimus doctor*) is erroneous. If Caper really ever instructed an Emperor, that Emperor must have been one of the Flavians at earliest. Suetonius does not enumerate him among the grammarians, either because he was still living (or not yet born), or perhaps he may have been passed over as not being a teacher (§ 347, 7).—Caper probably did not write commentaries on Plautus and Terence (FRitschl, parerga 1, 361) or on Vergil (ORibbeck, prolegg. 166); neither probably did he on Cicero (notwithstanding Agroec. GL. 7, 113, 11, where Caper is called *multis litterarum operibus celebratus, in commentando etiam Cicerone praecipuus*). Some early MSS. (e.g. Montepess. 306 s. IX, Bern. 330. 338, both s. X) have preserved the treatises orthographia (GL. 7, 92) and de verbis dubiis (GL. 7, 107), which are meagre as regards their contents and desultory, yet present so many points of resemblance to the known views of Caper that they may be regarded as greatly diluted and altered excerpts from his genuine works. We have a proof of the radical changes which these works have undergone in the circumstance that in the Orthographia in question many of the rules were composed in hexameters (Lachmann on Lucr. p. 357), and that even this version, which doubtless was not the original one, is only faintly perceptible in the present text. FOsann, de Flavio Capro et Agroecio, Giessen 1849. WChrist, Phil. 18, 165. WBrambach, lat. Orthogr. 43. HKeil on GL. 7, 88. The same writer, de Fl. Capro gramm., Halle 1889 (diss. Hal. 10, 243.)

4. Gell. 6, 2, 1 *turpe erratum offendimus in illis celebratissimis commentariis lectionum antiquarum Caeselli Vindicis, hominis hercle pleraque haud indiligentis.* (2) *quod erratum multos fugit, quamquam multa in Caesellio reprehendendo etiam per calumnias rimarentur* (especially his younger contemporaries Terentius Scaurus and Sulpicius Apollinaris). The same work is quoted ib. 2, 16, 5 sqq. 3, 16, 11. 9, 15, 2 sqq. 20, 2, 2 and probably also meant 9, 14, 6. 18, 11. The arrangement was alphabetical; see Charis. GL. 1, 117, 13 (*Vindex A litterae libro I*). 239, 21 (*Caesallius Vindex libro B litterae*). 195, 26 (*Caes. Vind. libro L*). The identity of the contents renders it probable that 'stromateus' was merely another title of the same work; see Prisc. GL. 2, 210, 7 (*Caesellius Vindex in stromateo*). 230, 11 (*Caesellius in stromateo*). Cf. ib. 229, 10 and Rufin. GL. 6, 565, 3. Arnob. adv. nat. 1, 59 (above § 41, 4). FRitschl, Parerga 1, 360. To him we should also refer the short excerpts in Cassidorus (§ 483, 10) *ex orthographo Caesellio* (GL. 7, 202) and *ex Lucio Caecilio Vindice* (ib. 7, 206); Gräfenhan, Gesch. d. class. Philol. 4, 121; cf. 4, 68. JKretzschmer, de Gellii fontibus (1860) 95. WBrambach, lat. Orthogr. 38. HKeil on GL. 7, 138.

5. Gell. 20, 11, 1 *P. Lavini liber est non incuriose factus. is inscriptus est de verbis sordidis. in eo scripsit sculnam volgo dici* etc. . . . (4) *sculnam autem scriptum esse in logistorico Varronis . . . idem Lavinius in eodem libro admonet.* The Laevinus mentioned by Macr. 3, 8, 3 is not identical with this Lavinius for

the simple reason that the quotation from him is evidently in metre; he might rather be identical with Laevius (§ 150, 4).

344. Lastly, there were several writers on gromatics in the reign of Trajan: e.g. Hyginus, by whom we possess fragments of a comprehensive work on legal boundaries. It is doubtful whether the treatise de limitibus constituendis should be assigned to him or to a later Hyginus. The description of a camp, which is generally attributed to the same Hyginus, is of later date. Another writer under Trajan was Balbus, the author of an extant work on the elementary notions of geometry, but not of the short work de asse. Not much later than Trajan is the gromatic writer Siculus Flaccus, whose technical work de condicionibus agrorum we possess complete and in a good text, likewise perhaps his colleague M. Junius Nipsus.

1. Among the works of the Roman agrimensores (in LACHMANN-RUDORFF's ed. 1, 108) a treatise is preserved which in the Arcerianus s. VI/VII. at Wolfenbüttel is assigned to Hyginus (*incipit* [*explicit*] *de limitibus Hygini*), as also in the Gud. s. IX/X: in this the author is called *Higenus Augusti libertus*, by a confusion with the writer mentioned above, § 262. AGEMOLL, Herm. 11, 175, unprofitably argues as to whether the author was really named Hyginus. The whole was divided into three parts, de limitibus (p. 108 LACHM.), de condicionibus agrorum (p. 113), de generibus controversiarum (p. 123); cf. FBLUME, RhM. f. Jurispr. 7 (1835), 142. LACHMANN l.l. 2, 136. On the original connection see p. 123 *hae sunt condiciones agrorum quas cognoscere potui. nunc de generibus controversiarum perscribam quae solent in quaestionem deduci.* On its date of composition (perhaps a. 103; HULTSCH, metrolog. script. 2, 6) cf. ib. p. 121, 7 *nuper quidam evocatus Augusti, . . . cum in Pannonia agros veteranis ex voluntate . . . imperatoris Traiani Aug. Germanici adsignaret;* 131, 17 (according to which veteran soldiers who had received estates in Samnium from Vespasian were still alive). The work of Frontinus (§ 327, 3) is made use of, but independently; the diction is somewhat technical, but the Latin is good. LACHMANN, l.l. 2, 139. Cf. also MCANTOR, Agrimensoren 97. On another work of this Hyginus r. Feldm. 1, 133, 14 *cuius edicti* (by Domitian) *verba, itemque constitutiones quasdam aliorum principum itemque divi Nervae in uno libello contulimus* (cf. AGEMOLL, Herm. 11, 175).—The assumption of Blume and Lachmann of two gromatics of the name of Hyginus, the latter one of whom was to be considered as the author of the work de limitibus constituendis (in LACHMANN's Schrr. d. r. Feldm. 1, 166), is contested by LLANGE, zu Hygin. de munit. castr. p. 44 and Gött. gel. Anz. 1853, 527; it is vindicated on the other hand by AGEMOLL, Herm. 11, 174.

2. The name 'Hyginus de munitionibus castrorum' is usually given to a small book which is likewise handed down among the works of the agrimensores (edited by PSCRIVERIUS, Leid. 1607, RHSCHELE, Amst. 1660 [also in GRAEVII Thes. antiq. Rom. 10, 998], LLANGE, Gött. 1848. WGEMOLL, Lps. 1879. AVDOMASZEWSKI, Lpz. 1887 [on which see AGEMOLL, WschrfklPh. 1888, 752]); but the ascription is very doubtful, as in the only standard MS. (AGEMOLL, Herm. 10, 244. HDROYSEN, ib. 14, 479), the Arcerianus (see n. 1 init.), the heading together with the

commencement of the work (see below) is wanting, while the subscriptio (*liber gromaticus Hygini de divisionibus agrorum explicit*) does not at all agree with the contents. The super- or subscriptions of the copies of the Arcer., e.g. *liber gromaticus Hygini de divisionibus castrorum* or *de munitionibus castrorum* (the latter would agree only with the last section of the treatise) are worthless. The author has reviewed the literature (45 *in brevi omnes auctores sum persecutus*), but he boasts of having improved upon it (ib. . . . *nullus auctor in hunc diem ostendit*) and therefore hopes for recognition of his work, which certainly manifests thorough technical knowledge. The treatise is addressed to a high officer (who is styled 45 *domine frater;* cf. FRIEDLÄNDER, SG. $1^6$, 445) and is intended for practical use by him (45 *methodum metationis a me exquisitam . . . ad magnitudinem tuam primus adferam, quae tibi spero placebit si . . . primum cottidianam metationem tractabis*). The difference of language in itself separates this book from Hyginus de limitibus (n. 1) and generally from the end of the first and the beginning of the second century (Phil. Anz. 10, 108), but the description of the constitution of the army in particular carries the work far beyond the time of Trajan down to the middle or end of the third century. (HDROYSEN, RhM. 30, 469. HGEMOLL, Herm. 11, 164. MARQUARDT, röm. Staatsverw. $2^2$, 599. WFÖRSTER, RhM. 34, 237. NRAFURSIN, de castris Hygini qui fertur quaestt., Helsingf. 1881. AJUNG, Wien. Studd. 11, 153; DOMASZEWSKI l.l. assigns the work, though not convincingly, to the second cent. [1. half]). Moreover the book has gaps in the middle as well as at the beginning and end (the plan which was originally subjoined is also missing), see AGEMOLL, Herm. 15, 247.—Criticism: AGEMOLL, Herm. 17, 167.

3. In the Arcerianus (n. 1, 2; also § 327, 3) Balbus' work bears the title: *Balbi ad Celsum expositio et ratio omnium formarum* (i.e. geometrical figures; but in the extant part the writer in reality treats only of the mensurae), in LACHMANN's ed. of the röm. Feldm. 1, 91–108; cf. LACHMANN ib. 2, 131. MOMMSEN ib. 2, 146. 151. It is a manual of geometry for landsurveyors, mostly derived from Euclid and Hero, but of which we possess only a very small part. HULTSCH in the meterolog. script. 2, 7. According to the praef. the author had already commenced his work, when *intervenit clara sacratissimi imperatoris nostri* (i.e. Trajan) *expeditio* (p. 92, 7). In the field he learned by practice the value of the *venerabilis trianguli* (cf. FHULTSCH, Phil. 22, 62) *ratio. postquam ergo maximus imperator victoria Daciam proxime reseravit* (probably by the first war in Dacia) *statim ut e septentrionali plaga annua vice transire permisit ego ad studium meum . . . reversus multa . . . recollegi* (p. 93, 6). The Celsus to whom the work is dedicated had made an invention in a gromatic instrument (the dioptra according to HULTSCH l.l. 8), *invento tuo* p. 92, 16, and seems to be an engineer officer of higher rank. Balbus is repeatedly quoted by the latter gromatics, but it is not clear whether lost parts of the same work or writings by the same author are meant. Cf. MCANTOR, röm. Agrimens. 101.

4. In the Arcerianus the subscriptio of the liber coloniarum (röm. Feldm. 1, 239) is: *huic addendas mensuras limitum et terminorum ex libris Augusti et Neronis Caesarum, sed et Balbi mensoris, qui temporibus Augusti omnium provinciarum et formas civitatium et mensuras compertas in commentariis contulit et legem agrariam per diversitates provinciarum distinxit ac declaravit.* It appears, therefore, that the author of this subscriptio considered a certain land-surveyor Balbus to be the source of the lib. col., and him he placed under Augustus, probably because the lists by Balbus of the ager divisus adsignatus appeared to him as the results of Augustus' survey of the whole Empire (§ 220, 13). If the extant lists of towns

(liber coloniarum) are actually derived from Balbus, we should assume that they were continued by other surveyors after his death, as they go down to the age of M. Aurelius and Commodus (a. 177–180). MOMMSEN in the Schrr. d. röm. Feldm. 2, 176. The text of these libri coloniarum revised by LACHMANN, ib. 1, 209. An essay on it by MOMMSEN ib. 2, 157, according to which we should discriminate two texts: a better one (libr. col. I in LACHMANN), chiefly represented by the Arcerianus; in the Palat.-Vatic. 1564 s. IX/X this is already mixed with the later one (liber col. II in LACHMANN, p. 252), the chief source of which is the Gudianus s. IX/X. The text handed down in the Arcer. is on the whole the work of a good epoch, full of information and precise and technical in diction; it was epitomised about A.D. 450; but the later text (of the sixth century) is full of confusion and ignorant statements (MOMMSEN l.l. esp. p. 165. 181). HNISSEN, ital. Landeskunde 1, 26. A new gromatic fragment, related in its contents to the lib. colon., from a cod. at Rheims, in LDEMAISON, bull. hist. et phil. du comité des trav. hist. et scientif. 1888, 9.

5. The short treatise de asse minutisque eius portiunculis, first edited (under the name of Balbus) by Fabius Calvus of Ravenna in his translation of Hippokrates (Rome 1525) from the last leaves (now lost) of the cod. Arcerianus (n. 1–4; MOMMSEN in the röm. Feldm. 2, 150, LACHMANN ib. 2, 134), then by JFGRONOVIUS in his ed. of Maecianus and by the subsequent editors of the latter (§ 360, 7), last of all by FHULTSCH (metrolog. scr. 2, 72). It is precise and full of interesting information and important for the numismatics of the period. It must, however, have been composed not earlier, but also not later than the third century—this applies either to the work itself or to a more comprehensive work on which it is based—on account both of the diction and the subject-matter (for instance, the tremissis, a coin not struck until Alexander Severus, is mentioned among the parts of the as); WCHRIST, Münch. SBer. 1863, 105. FHULTSCH, metrol. scr. 2, 14.

6. The work of Siculus Flaccus de condicionibus agrorum is in its present shape limited to Italy. It begins: *condiciones agrorum per totam Italiam diversas esse plerisque etiam remotis a professione nostra hominibus notum est;* after which this fact is explained on historical grounds. The style is in its way careful (some remarks on the diction in AGEMOLL, Herm. 11, 171). The manner in which Domitian is mentioned p. 163, 13 L. (*de quibus Domitianus finem statuit*) renders it probable that Fl. wrote not long after his reign. Nothing more is known about his age; see LLANGE, Gött. gel. Anz. 1853, 530. This work has come down to us in the second class of the MSS. of the Agrimensores (see n. 4), the nomina limitum being appended to it; in those of the first class some leaves have become mixed up with Hyginus (LACHMANN 2, 132. 137). The work is found in the collections of the Agrimensores (§ 58, 3), last of all in that by LACHMANN etc. 1, 134 (a separate edition by JCSCHWARZ, Coburg 1711).

7. Schrr. d. röm. Feldmess. 1 (Berl. 1848), 285 *Incipit Marci Iuni Nipsi liber II feliciter. Fluminis varatio* (p. 285). *Limitis repositio* (p. 286). *Variationis repositio* (p. 288). *Lapides* etc. (p. 289). *Podismus* (p. 295). The last part of Podismus (p. 297, 1–301, 14) may perhaps be derived from Balbus: MOMMSEN on the röm. Feldmesser 2, 149. In general see MCANTOR, röm. Agrimensoren 103; Gesch. d. Mathemat. 1, 468. LBACHMANN, zur Handschriftenkunde, part 3 (Rostock 1861): ein ungedr. Fragm. des Podismus des M. Iunius Nipsus nebst Breschreib. der hs. Quelle (=a Rostock MS. of the Agrimensores).—The demonstratio artis geometricae printed in the Schrr. d. röm. Feldm. 1, 393 is wrongly attributed now to Nipsus (so in the Bamb. s. IX/X *lib. Iunii Nipsii de mensuris*, LVJAN, ZfAW. 1844, no. 55. FBLUME, röm. Feldm. 2, 67), now to Boethius (§ 478, 5 ad fin.).

## B. The Second Century A.D. 117–211.

345. The second century [1]) was a happy period for the Roman State, the happiest indeed during the whole Empire. It was only now that the genius embodied in the constitution of Augustus bore its full fruits. Good emperors followed each other in legitimate succession. Thanks to them and to the old Roman mastery of the method of government, which still remained unimpaired, peace, security and prosperity prevailed throughout the immense Empire, which seemed to be made for eternity. But in the world of letters the lassitude and enervation, which told of Rome's decline, became unmistakeable. One department only—which was most closely connected with life, and which found a steady impulse and stimulus in the exigencies created by the complex relations of the huge realm, multifariously organised according to nationality, language, civilisation, legal traditions and law—the department of jurisprudence, now rose to its highest achievements, attesting its vitality and its truly classic character by its inexhaustible influence on the succeeding centuries. A number of brilliant names—especially Julianus, Pomponius, Gaius—follow each other in rapid succession and finally culminate in Papinianus. They influenced the development of law in the character both of teachers and of writers and by framing the Imperial rescripts, which formed the only source of new law after the conclusion by Julian of the law founded on the edicts. In diction and style the jurists also represented a purer taste.

Otherwise this period has completely lost the faculty for independent or original work; its forte is in imitation. Only a few whose training belonged to the time of Quintilian produced anything of importance, as Suetonius in particular, in whom this age possessed, so to speak, a Varro on the reduced scale of the Imperial period. But after him literary studies took a more and more pedantic flavour. The treasures of the past were eagerly ransacked, but merely in the spirit of the curiosity-monger; there was an ever-growing demand for brief decoctions from the riches of the old time, and the number of compilers and epitomisers was always on the increase. Erudition swarmed in the

[1]) Cf. MHertz, Renaissance und Rococo in der röm. Lit., Berl. 1865. LFriedländer, SGesch. 3 [5], 412.—Separate works on Christian-Lat. literature: JChGBähr (see § 2, 4). AEbert, Gesch. d. christl.-lat. Literatur, von ihren Anfängen bis z. Zeit Karls des Gr., Lpz. 1874 (vol. 1 of his allg. Gesch. d. Lit. im Abendlande).

market and the street, culture became the fashion; there was a legion of grammarians and professors of rhetoric, and many of these literary prize-fighters filled high posts. But with no historic sense to guide it, and enlisted in the service of empty and tasteless rhetoric, erudition drifted aimlessly, wasted its treasures [2]) and helped moreover to debase language and style [3]). The separate styles become mixed, the linguistic treasures of the past are sifted in quest of antiquated and curious idioms, to form the vulgar ornament of the modern style. This becomes especially noticeable in the age, whose ruler is the conceited Hadrian, and in which the tone is given to literature by Fronto, the African.

Greek literature, which was just reviving in a kind of Indian summer caused by the new Sophists, still retained its influence. Hellas and the hellenised East furnished the majority of gifted writers, who wrote in their native language, e.g. Plutarch, Appianus, Arrianus, Philon of Byblus and above all Lucian. But even some writers of the West, e.g. Favorinus and Aelian, wrote only in Greek, and others both in Greek and Latin, e.g. Suetonius and Hadrian, Fronto, M. Aurelius, Apuleius, Tertullian and Modestinus. Literature laid aside its national character and became cosmopolitan. This was also promoted by the rhetoricians' habit of delivering lectures throughout the Empire, a habit adopted also by those who lectured in Latin, e.g. Apuleius.

While jurisprudence, erudition, and declamation swayed this century, poetry receded in like degree. Even poetically-gifted natures, such as Apuleius, devoted themselves to prose under the influence of Sophistry. The sole performance that deserves to be mentioned is the Pervigilium Veneris, if it really belongs to this period [4]). Writers of poetical trifles and of prose alike attempted to revive the pre-classical style, e.g. the metrical forms employed by Varro, Laevius and Plautus, and which were now treated with considerable technical elegance, but without sense of fitness.

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[2]) Cf. e.g. GELLIUS 14, 6, 3.

[3]) The hunt for archaisms, frequently mistaken or merely facetious (such as *ipsissimus*). The esteem accorded to erudition was a temptation to vain characters, resulting in ostentatious sciolism; the sham literature, which had cropped up largely within the Greek literature since the first Christian century, began to spread to that of Rome. GELL. 6, 17, 3. 8, 10. 19, 10, 7. RHERCHER, über Ptol. Chennus, JJ. suppl. vol. 1, 276. EZELLER, Vorträge 1, 207. EROHDE, über Lucians Λούκιος p. 21. 23. Cf. below § 423. 471.

[4]) See however below § 362, 1. 398, 1.

The intellectual activity combined with intellectual impotence which marked this age resulted in superstition, and the wide-spread inclination towards the supernatural element produced many impostors, but it offered also a favourable soil for a new religion. Christianity [5]), which had hitherto only shown itself in Greek literature, now began to exert its influence on Roman literature as well. The Christian doctrine of sin and grace and of a better after-life took hold of the poor and oppressed and of the female sex; it filled them with an assurance and gladness in the presence of death, which roused the attention of the men also, and the sublime doctrine of one God, the creator of Heaven and Earth, produced an impression upon the most cultivated minds the greater inasmuch as they had long since become inwardly estranged from the old faith, and gradually overcame their hostile attitude [6]), while the spirit of active brotherly love enlisted sympathy for the Christian community among the best minds of all classes. One section of the Christian writers, e.g. Minucius Felix and Lactantius, endeavoured to preserve the Roman classical culture and to adapt it to the spirit of Christianity [7]); the other section, the earliest representative of which is Tertullian, followed by Commodianus, were influenced by the Eastern civilisation and attempted to keep aloof from the ancient culture, and even displayed a studious indifference to literary style. Under the combined influence of local [8]) and national (Semitic) peculiarities, together with the Christian and biblical mode of thought and expression, a peculiar diction gradually developed itself in the eastern and southern parts of the Empire, which was chiefly represented in literature by natives of the North of Africa, and is therefore commonly called African Latinity [9]). In those parts

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[5]) ThKeim, Rom. u. d. Christentum, Berl. 1881. RHilgenfeld, Verh. des röm. Staates zum Christentum in d. beiden ersten Jahrh., ZfwissTheol. 24 (1881), 291 (and on this HSchiller, JB. 1881 3, 291).

[6]) EZeller, röm. u. griech. Urteile über das Christentum, Vorträge u. Abhandl. 2 (Berl. 1877), 189.

[7]) Cf. also Hieron. ad a. 2220=204 a.d. *Musanus* (Arm.: *Musianus*) *nostrae philosophiae scriptor agnoscitur.*

[8]) Apoll. Sidon. ep. 8, 11 *urbium cives africanarum, quibus ut est regio sic mens ardentior.*

[9]) See on this e.g. JNOtt, JJ. 109, 759. ABudinszky, Ausbreit. d. lat. Spr. (Berl. 1881), 257. KSittl, die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lat. Spr. m. bes. Berücksicht des afrikan. Lat., Erl. 1882, 77. — WMoeller, titulorum African. orthographia, Greifsw. 1875. MHoffmann, index grammat. ad Africae titul. lat., Strassb. 1878.—GKoffmane, Gesch. des Kirchenlateins I, Breslau 1879.

moreover the intellectual movement was altogether strongest. The old tendencies as well as the new were for a long time provided with defenders from the North of Africa;[10]) thence came such men as Fronto and Apuleius; Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine. As the personal likings of the ruler continued to influence the course of literature, this century is divided into three portions: the time of Hadrian (a. 117–138), that of the Antonines (a. 138–176), and lastly that of Commodus and Septimius Severus (a. 176–211).

### 1. *The Time of Hadrian*, A.D. 117–138.

346. P. Aelius Hadrianus was a peculiar character, in whom the most opposite qualities were combined. Superstitious yet sceptical, pedantic yet witty, profound yet droll, intensely impulsive but obstinate beyond measure, sociable yet suspicious, good-natured yet cruel, he was consistent only in the incessant change of his moods and humours, and in his high opinion of his own importance. He showed interest in everything, but zeal and perseverance in nothing. His restlessness was almost morbid, but as it impelled him to constant peregrinations throughout the Empire, it led to many measures of permanent utility. Literature both gained and suffered most from his favouritism and caprice. But even here his own productions did not reach beyond dilettantism.

1. Hadrian was born a. 76 at Rome, but his family belonged to Italica in Spain, like that of Trajan, to whom he was related. Consul a. 108, adopted by Trajan a short time before his death (August 117). † at Baiae a. 138. SPARTIANI vita Hadriani (cf. HJÄNICKE, de vita Hadr. scriptoribus, Halle 1875). FGREGOROVIUS, Kaiser Hadrian, Stuttg.[2] 1884.

2. SPART. Hadr. 14, 8 *fuit poematum et litterarum nimium (omnium?) studiosissimus; arithmeticae, geometriae, picturae peritissimus. iam psallendi et cantandi scientiam prae se ferebat; . . . idem armorum peritissimus. . . . idem severus, laetus; comis, gravis; lascivus, cunctator; tenax, liberalis; simulator ⟨simplex⟩. saevus, clemens, et semper in omnibus varius.* 15, 10 *quamvis esset oratione et versu promptissimus et in omnibus artibus peritissimus, tamen professores omnium artium semper ut doctior risit, contempsit, obtrivit. cum his ipsis professoribus et philosophis libris vel carminibus invicem editis saepe certavit* (§ 352, 1. 3). 16, 1 *famae celebris tam cupidus fuit ut libros vitae suae scriptos a se libertis suis litteratis dederit, iubens ut eos suis nominibus publicarent. nam et Phlegontis* (cf. VOPISC. Saturnin. 7, 6. PRE. 5, 1540) *libri Hadriani esse dicuntur.* This autobiography is

[10]) In an inscription in Numidia (CIL. 8, 2391) a certain P. Flavius Pudens c. v. Pomponianus is praised as *multifariam loquentes litteras amplians, atticam facundiam adaequans Romano nitori, oris uberiset fluentis.* Cf. § 379, 1 ad fin.

also mentioned elsewhere, SPART. Hadr. 1, 1 *in libris vitae suae Hadrianus ipse commemorat.* 7, 2 *ut ipse in vita sua dicit* (cf. 3, 3. 5) and is employed by Spartian (although not at first hand). 16, 2 *Catachannas* (cf. FRONTO ep. p. 35 and 155) *libros obscurissimos Antimachum imitando scripsit. . . . amavit praeterea genus vetus tum dicendi. . . . Ciceroni Catonem, Vergilio Ennium, Sallustio Caelium* (above § 137, 5 sq.) *praetulit, eademque iactatione de Homero ac Platone iudicavit. mathesin sic scire sibi visus est ut* etc. *sed quamvis esset in reprehendendis musicis, tragicis, comicis, grammaticis, rhetoribus, oratoribus facilis, tamen omnes professores et honoravit et divites fecit, licet eos quaestionibus semper agitaverit. . . . in summa familiaritate Epictetum* (?, ZELLER, Gesch. d. gr. Philos. 3, 1 [3], 738) *et Heliodorum philosophos et, ne nominatim de omnibus dicam, grammaticos, rhetores, musicos, geometras, pictores, astrologos habuit, prae ceteris, ut multi adserunt, eminente Favorino. doctores qui professioni suae inhabiles videbantur ditatos honoratosque a professione dimisit.* 20, 2 *apud Alexandriam in museo multas quaestiones professoribus proposuit et propositas ipse* (*ipsi* OJAHN) *dissolvit. . . . fuit memoriae ingentis, facultatis immensae. nam ipse et orationes dictavit et ad omnia respondit. ioca eius plurima extant; nam fuit etiam dicaculus.* VICTOR Caess. 14, 1 *Aelius Hadrianus eloquio togaeque studiis accommodatior . . . Romae . . . Graecorum more . . . gymnasia doctoresque curare occoepit, adeo quidem ut etiam ludum ingenuarum artium, quod Athenaeum vocant, constitueret.* SPART. Hel. 4, 2 *litteratis, quorum Hadrianus speciosa societate gaudebat.*

3 DIO. 69, 3 ἦν Ἀδριανὸς . . . φύσει φιλόλογος ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ γλώσσῃ, καὶ τινα καὶ πεζὰ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι ποιήματα παντοδαπὰ καταλέλοιπεν. φιλοτιμίᾳ τε γὰρ ἀπλήστῳ ἐχρῆτο καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ τἆλλα πάντα καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα ἐπετήδευεν. SPART. Hadr. 3, 1 *quaesturam gessit . . ., in qua cum orationem imperatoris in senatu agrestius pronuntians* (on account of his Spanish accent) *risus esset usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit.* 16, 5 *controversias declamavit.* PHOTIUS bibl. cod. C (1, 86 Bk.) Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως μελέται διάφοροι, εἰς τὸ μέτριον τοῦ λόγου ἀνηγμέναι καὶ οὐκ ἀηδεῖς. CHAR. GL. 1, 222, 21 *divus Hadrianus orationum XII 'a vobis, p. c., peto* etc.' GELL. 16, 13, 4 *divus Hadrianus in oratione quam de Italicensibus . . . in senatu habuit.*—A funeral speech on his mother-in-law, Matidia the Elder (deified 23 Dec. 119) is preserved in an inscription; MOMMSEN, Abh. d. Berl. Ak. 1863, 483; a speech addressed in the camp of Lambaese to his troops in the year 129, CIL. 8, 2532, GWILMANNS, comment. Mommsen. 207. SDEHNER, Hadr. reliquiae I, Bonn 1883. On the diction of Hadrian EWÖLFFLIN, Münch. SBer. 1886, 282. Decrees issued to the Arvales: CIL. 6, 2078. 80 (p. 537, 32. 541, 25), some in Greek e.g. to the municipal authorities at Ephesus: JTWOOD, Discoveries at Ephesus (Lond. 1877), Append. 5, Odeum no. 1, to the town of Stratonicea Hadrianopolis (a. 127), GRADET, bull. de corresp. hell. 1887, 108.—A letter from Hadrian to Servianus (of a. 134) in VOPISC. Saturnin. 8 (JDÜRR, die Reisen Hadr. 88. AWIEDEMANN, le Mouséon 5 [1886], 456.—A lampoon on the physicians who could not cure him, EPIPHAN. περὶ μέτρων p. 170 init.—Grammatical explanations in the taste of the time in his *sermones;* CHARIS. GL. 1, 209, 12 '*obiter*' *divus Hadrianus sermonum I quaerit an latinum sit, quamquam* (*inquit*) *apud Laberium haec vox esse dicatur.* A compilation of anecdotes (oral and written utterances of Hadr.) in DOSITHEUS (§ 431, 8), θείου Ἀδριανοῦ ἀποφάσεις καὶ ἐπιστολαί. D. Adriani sententiae et epistolae ed. (from SGall. 902 s. X) GOLDAST, Geneva 1601; in BÖCKING's Dosith. liber III p. 1–21 and in the Bonn corp. iur. anteiust. p. 202. The decrees issued by Hadrian in HÄNEL, corpus legum p. 88. LDEGEER, Hadrianus tegenover de rechtswetenschap van zijn tijd, Versl. d. Amst. Akad. 2, 8 (1880).—On a tactical work in Greek falsely attributed to him see RFÖRSTER, Herm. 12, 449.

4. SPART. Hadr. 14, 7 *oracula . . . quae Hadrianus ipse composuisse iactatur. . . . de suis dilectis multa versibus composuit.* APUL. apol. 11 *divus Hadrianus, cum Voconi amici sui poetae tumulum versibus muneraretur, ita scripsit 'Lascivus versu, mente pudicus eras' . . . ipsius etiam divi Hadriani multa id genus legere me memini.* Cf. § 348, 8. SPART. Hadr. 25, 9 *moriens hos versus fecisse dicitur 'Animula* etc.' *tales autem nec multo meliores fecit et graecos.* Six dry (Greek) epigrams under his name in the Anthol. Pal. 6, 332. 7, 674. 9, 17. 137. 387. 402 (9, 17 and 387 also under the name of Germanicus, see § 275, 3). Hendecasyllabics (eight in Greek) in a dedicatory inscription at Thespiae, in KAIBEL, epigr. gr. 811. A few pieces in the so-called Anthologia Lat. are attributed to him on insufficient evidence, e.g. AL. 392. 393. 660 (cf. CIL. 3, 3676, cf. ib. p. 1042). 903 (cf. CIL. 12, 1122 and also HIRSCHFELD and MOMMSEN, on the death of a favourite horse of Hadrian, Borysthenes, see DIO CASS. 69, 10; cf. CIL. 6, 10082) PLM. 4, 41. 111 sqq. EBÄHRENS, JJ. 127, 861.

347. The most important literary character of this time is C. Suetonius Tranquillus (perhaps A.D. 75–160), who had been an advocate and writer under Trajan and then was for some time private secretary to Hadrian, and subsequently devoted his leisure to encyclopaedic literary studies in the manner of Varro, chiefly in the departments of the history of culture and of literature, always with more or less regard to language. He gave precedence to national or Roman subjects, but without partiality, part of his works being actually written in Greek. The philosophical element appears only in the fashionable form of natural science, but in that form it is strongly represented. His interest is generally concentrated on the character and career of individuals. This is especially manifest in the viri illustres (of which work we possess considerable fragments) and in the biographies of the twelve Emperors from Caesar to Domitian, which are preserved almost complete. His work shows indeed the indifference to chronological exactness, which is characteristic of such rhetorical studies; it sadly ignores military events and political circumstances, and altogether it is monotonous in design; but it is drawn from good sources with faithful industry and intelligent judgment, and furnishes rich materials in a concise form and a simple, appropriate style.

1. SUET. Otho 10 *interfuit huic bello* (the battle near Betriacum, April a. 69) *pater meus Suetonius Laetus, tertiae decimae legionis tribunus angusticlavius.* DOMIT. 12 *interfuisse me adulescentulum memini* (at Rome) *cum a procuratore . . . inspiceretur nonagenarius senex an circumsectus esset.* gramm. 4 *me adulescentulo repelo quendam Principem nomine declamare* etc. (§ 326, 2). Ner. 57 *cum post viginti annos* (after Nero's death or the first mission of Volagaesus, i.e. after a. 88 and before 91, when Volagaesus died) *adulescente me, extitisset* (a pseudo-Nero) etc. Suetonius' adulescentia must therefore have been under Domitian and his birth at latest A.D.

75. In the time of Trajan we have notices of Suetonius in Plin. epp. 1, 18 (an *actio* of Suet. is postponed on account of an unlucky dream). 1, 24 (intercession for *Tranquillus, contubernalis meus* and *scholasticus*, concerning the purchase of an *agellus*). 3, 8 *petis* (Suet.) *ut tribunatum, quem a Neratio Marcello*—i.e. perhaps a. 100—*impetravi tibi, in . . . propinquum tuum transferrem*). 5, 10 (Suetonius is requested, perhaps a. 105, to edit his *scripta* or *volumina*). 9, 34 (an inquiry concerning some of his own recitations of Pliny). ad Trai. 94 (*Suetonium Tranquillum, probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum. . . . in contubernium adsumpsi tantoque magis diligere coepi quanto hunc propius inspexi.* On account of his infelix matrimonium the ius trium liberorum is solicited for him, about a. 112) and 95 (the granting of that request). Mommsen, Herm. 3, 43. Spart. Hadr. 12, 3 *Septicio Claro praef. praet.* (a. 119–121) *et Suetonio Tranquillo epistularum magistro* (Friedländer, SG. 1⁶, 185) *multisque aliis, quod apud Sabinam uxorem in usu eius familiarius se tunc* (during Hadrian's absence) *egerant quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit* (cf. Suet. Aug. 7 *quae* [imago Augusti] *dono a me principi* [i.e. Hadrian] *data inter cubiculi lares colitur*). Subsequently Suetonius seems to have devoted himself exclusively to literary pursuits. According to Fronto ep. p. 118 *succidaneum sibi Tranquillum nostrum paravit* etc. . . . *invenit me Tranquillus* etc. . . . *Tranquilli industriae* etc. cf. ib. p. 182 (*internatium . . . Suetonius Tranquillus spinam sacram appellat*, according to which Suetonius was then dead).

2. Suidas Τράγκυλλος: Τράγκυλλος ὁ Σουητώνιος, χρηματίσας (cf. Plin. ep, 1, 18. 3, 8), γραμματικὸς ῥωμαῖος. ἔγραψε περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν βιβλίον α' (see n. 5), περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις θεωριῶν καὶ ἀγώνων βιβλία β' (cf. n. 5), περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐνιαυτοῦ βιβλίον α' (see n. 3), περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις σημείων α' (§ 41, 2; Reifferscheid p. 419), περὶ τῆς Κικέρωνος πολιτείας α', ἀντιλέγει δὲ τῷ Διδύμῳ. περὶ ὀνομάτων κυρίων καὶ ἰδέας ἐσθημάτων καὶ ὑποδημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς τις ἀμφιέννυται (*Suetonius in libro de genere vestium*, Serv. Aen. 7, 612). περὶ δυσφήμων λέξεων ἤτοι βλασφημιῶν καὶ πόθεν ἑκάστη (n. 5). περὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ νομίμων καὶ ἠθῶν βιβλία β' (see n. 3). συγγενικὸν (?). Καισάρων ιβ' (περιέχει δὲ βίους κατὰ διαδοχὰς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουλίου ἕως Δομετιανοῦ) βιβλία η' (n. 8). στέμματα Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων (de viris ill., n. 7). Besides this Τράγκυλλος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπισήμων πορνῶν (Lyd. de mag. 3, 64), *S. Tr. in libro de vitiis corporalibus* (Serv. Aen. 7, 627; cf. n. 3), *Suetonius in libro qui est de institutione officiorum* (on State and Court offices and their history, an outcome of his appointment at the Imperial Court, Reifferscheid p. 346, cf. p. 465), *tres Suetonii libri quos de regibus dedit* (Auson. epist. 19, cf. n. 4), *Suet. Tr. de rebus variis* (Charis. GL. 1, 236, 17 from Julius Romanus); lastly 'Prata' in at least 10 books (see n. 3). We hear nothing of published speeches by Suetonius: the allegation that one was extant in the 15th cent. is certainly wrong (see § 340, 3).—Cf. J. Regent, de C. Suetonii vita et scriptis, Bresl. 1856. The fragments of the lost works are collected in Roth's edition p. 275, and especially: S. Tr. praeter Caesarum libros reliquiae ed. A. Reifferscheid, Lps. 1860.

3. Prata (on the name cf. § 189, 2 l. 11). Reifferscheid, quaest. Suet. in his ed. (n. 2 ad fin.), esp. c. II and III, p. 426, has made it very probable that some of the titles enumerated by Suidas were separate headings of the parts of this work. The first eight books of the Prata appear to have treated of specifically Roman subjects (hence probably = περὶ Ῥώμης in Suidas), most of them probably in agreement with Varro, explanations of words and of things being kept side by side (as in the sections on the designations and qualities of different articles of clothing) with quotations from earlier writers. Book 4 seems to have dealt with the leges, Prisc. GL. 2, 387, 23. 3, 275, 14 *Suet. in IIII pratorum*, b. 5 with the mores = περὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ νομίμων καὶ ἠθῶν. B. 8 explained Roman chronology, the feriae,

dies fasti (PRISC. GL. 2, 387, 2 *Suet. in VIII pratorum* '*fasti dies sunt* etc.' and so forth) and is therefore probably identical with the work *περὶ τοῦ κ. Ῥ. ἐνιαυτοῦ* in Suidas. WISSOWA de fontt. Macr. p. 31. The other books discussed subjects of natural philosophy, with a certain predilection for curiosities, and taking as a clue the parallelism of physical and ethical phenomena (the individual being regarded as a microcosm), which was so much in favour at Rome from the time of Sextius; but here also philological details were treated carefully. B. 9 was perhaps entitled de mundo and treated of wind and weather (ISID. de nat. rer. 38 *signa tempestatum navigantibus Tranquillus in pratis nono libro sic dicit* etc. cf. ib. 43), sea and shore, and their proper appellations: a metrical version of the Suetonian chapter on the winds, *versus de XII ventis Tranquilli physici*, preserved in MSS. at Brussels and Venice (an expansion of this in 62 leonine lines in the Paris. 13090 s. XI, GSCHEPSS, BlfbayrGW. 23, 97), RITSCHL, op. 3, 835. REIFFERSCHEID, Suet. 304. JNEUMANN, JJ. 117, 768. EWÖLFFLIN, RhM. 42, 485. B. 10 was probably de animantium naturis. Here there were e.g. lists of the terms used to denote the voices of animals (voces animantium, § 23, 3). *Suetonius in libro de naturis rerum ponit propria verba animalium secundum vocem* etc. Cf. REIFFERSCHEID, Suet. p. 207 and the data there collected by him. On this see MMANUTIUS, Wien. SBer. 112 (1886), 606. It is possible that botany was treated in an eleventh, mineralogy in a twelfth book. This work was much used by later writers, e.g. by the Schol. Germanic. (? see § 275, 7), Ambrosius, Servius, and especially by Isidorus, through whom the parts on natural philosophy became very important in the Middle Ages. In the glossaries likewise we meet with isolated fragments of the Prata, see GLÖWE, RhM. 34, 491. But the grammatical parts also, chiefly those concerning synonyms, were much excerpted and employed in other ways. We may, perhaps, refer partly to this source the 'Differentiae sermonum Remmi Palaemonis (cf. § 282, 3, in fin.) ex libro Suetoni Tranquilli qui inscribitur Pratum,' published from cod. Montepess. 306 s. IX, printed in ROTH's Suetonius p. 306 (cf. ib. p. XCV) and by REIFFERSCHEID p. 274 (cf. ib. p. 450). A recent collation of the Montepess. in JWBECK, de Sulpicio Apollinari p. 57. Cf. also the same writer de differentiarum libris p. 12. On the whole they are a mixture of some good (old) and numerous quite worthless observations, which belong to the beginning of the Middle Ages. The first part deals, in the manner of the later grammarians, with synonyms and spelling; the second half is alphabetically arranged (I–V) and contains a citation from Nigidius Figulus, so that the nucleus of the latter at least may be referable to Suetonius. Cf. BRAMBACH, lat. Orthogr. 42. On a recent Suetonian gloss ('*epulae*' *ad senatum*, '*prandium*' *vero ad populum attinet, says Suetonius Tranquillus*, in WALTER SCOTT's 'Waverley' chap. 10) see GBECKER, RhM. 37, 643.

4. The three books de regibus seem to have treated the subject according to the three parts of the world (Europe, Asia and Africa) and to have been used by Africanus (§ 381, 1) in his chronicles. The fact that in them (as well as in the Pornographia, REIFFERSCHEID p. 466 sq.) the characters of the earliest time were levelled in the manner of Euhemeros, made the work a convenient resource for 'academic' theorists. REIFFERSCHEID p. 458. Reifferscheid's assumption that Suetonius also wrote a history of the civil wars of Caesar, Pompey etc., down to the battle of Actium, is refuted by HHAUPT, Phil. 44, 291.—Caesar's commentaries are in some MSS. wrongly attributed to Suetonius: § 196, 1 ad fin.

5. That the works *περὶ δυσφήμων λέξεων ἤτοι βλασφημιῶν καὶ πόθεν ἑκάστη* and *περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν βιβλίον α'* (see n. 2) were written in Greek is shown by the excerpts from them which EMILLER has published in the Mélanges de littérat. grecque, Paris 1868 from the cod. Athous s. XIII discovered by him near

Caryes (now in Paris). To this must be added excerpts from Par. reg. 1630 and Laur. 80, 13, and we must take into account the frequent use of the work in the Homeric commentaries of Eustathios and elsewhere. From the first treatise (mentioned also in Etymol. M. 151, 35 Τράγκυλλος περὶ βλασφημιῶν) Miller's MS. (Mélanges p. 413) offers numerous excerpts (under the title Σουητίνου Τρογκύλου περὶ βλασφημιῶν καὶ πόθεν ἑκάστη), which show the work to have been framed under headings designating the objects of censure (ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀκολάστων, ἐπὶ γυναικῶν, εἰς δούλους) and to have been derived from Greek scholarship.—Of the works on games among the Greeks Miller's MS. (Mél. p. 435) gives only scanty fragments, and these have gaps at the beginning and end and have come down without the name of the author. On the other hand in the Paris. we find τρα (i.e. Τραγκύλλου) added in the margin of excerpts from this work (Fresenius l.l. 76). Cf. also Tzetze's hist. var. 6, 874 Τράγκυλλος Σουητῖνός τις ἐν παιδιαῖς Ἑλλήνων πολλὰς μὲν ἄλλας παιδιὰς καὶ συμποσίων λέγει κτλ. Eustathios p. 1397, 7. 39 also refers to Suetonius in the words: ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἑλληνικῆς παιδιᾶς γράψας and has likewise largely employed Suetonius' work.—The corresponding treatise (as regards its subject) on games among the Romans (περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις θεωριῶν καὶ ἀγώνων βιβλία β′ in Suidas) was probably written in Latin and bore the title Historia ludicra; Gell. 9, 7, 3 *Suet. Tranq. in libro ludicrae historiae primo.* Serv. Aen. 5, 602 *Suet. Tranq. in libro de puerorum lusibus;* cf. besides Acr. on Hor. AP. 417.—Cf. Reifferscheid l.l. p. 273. 454. 322. 461 and especially AFresenius, de λέξεων Aristophanearum et Suetonianarum excerptis Byzantinis, Wiesb. 1875 (there too p. 128 a review of the Suetonian fragments). See also LCohn, de Aristophane et Suetonio Eustathii auctoribus, JJ. Suppl. 12, 283. ANauck, Mél. gréco-rom. de l'ac. de StPétersb. 3, 165. On the employment of this Historia ludicra by later authors (Tertullian de spect., scholia on Juvenal) PIMeier, de gladiatura rom., Bonn 1881, 1. 7.—Suetonius' versatility as a writer both in Greek and Latin indicates that, not content with his influence on his own countrymen, he addressed himself likewise to the wide circle of readers in the East (see above p. 193). His views hardly gained in depth, as compared with Varro, by this enlargement of their horizon. Suetonius was, however, preserved by his sober rationalism from the errors of the antiquarians of his time (Reifferscheid p. 422. 449); he professed the principles of Cicero and even pleaded for him against his detractors (n. 2 l. 5). The adherents of Fronto attempted therefore to obscure Suetonius (Reifferscheid p. 473), but in vain; from the 3rd cent. Suetonius as an authority occupied more and more the position formerly held by Varro.

6. Suetonius' diction aims above all at simplicity, lucidity and brevity (Vopisc. Firm. 1, 2 *Suetonio . . . familiare fuit amare brevitatem*); he always prefers the truest expression, though it be actually coarse; hence also he employs an unusual number of Greek words. His striving for brevity has caused many harsh omissions, and a great variety of participial constructions, which are even more numerous (comparatively) than in Livy and are employed without his skill. But even Suetonius could not quite escape the influence of his age; he betrays himself in many graecisms, poetical phrases and constructions, and especially in a careless use of the ablative, subjunctive, infinitive, and the consec. tempp. as well as in his endeavours to diversify his diction. HRThimm, de usu atque elocutione Suet., Königsb. 1867. PBagge, de elocutione Suet., Upsala 1875. ETrachmann, de coniunctt. causal. ap. Suet. usu, Halle 1886.

7. Of the works of Suetonius we possess only a part of the viri illustres and the Lives of the Emperors. The work de viris illustribus treated in all probability de poetis, oratoribus, historicis, philosophis, de grammaticis et rhetoribus,

thus limiting the subject to literature and to the Roman world. A list of the men treated of was given in the first place, next followed the earlier history of the department in question and the principal representatives of it were then discussed in chronological order. Suetonius, as it seems, opened his series of orators with Cicero, and that of historians with Sallust; the preceding writers, whom Suetonius appears to have considered as possessing only historical interest, may have been touched upon in his introduction. Juvenal, Tacitus and Pliny the Younger were not included in the work, which (like his Caesares) terminated with the time of Domitian. His sources were chiefly Varro and the scriptores de viris ill. (see § 211, 2), as well as (probably) Asconius and Fenestella. Of the earlier parts of the work we possess the excerpts made by Diomedes (§ 419, 8) and Jerome (in his Latin version of Eusebios' Chronicle); from the book de poetis are extant the lives of Terence, Horace, and partly of Lucan (Vergil and Persius), thanks to the MSS. of these poets; from the book de historicis we possess fragments of a life of Pliny the Elder (§ 312, 1). Finally, of that part which was probably the last, de grammaticis et rhetoribus, a section of peculiar interest to the grammarians and which was therefore copied separately at an early time, we possess the index (which in some instances supplies the praenomina), and the greater portion (25 out of 36) is preserved in copies of the same MS. which contained also the Dialogus and the Germania of Tacitus; see § 334, 4. Suetonius here treats, in a close and condensed manner, of the teachers rather than the scholars in these departments (VAHLEN l.l. 6). In gen. see REIFFERSCHEID p. 363. Suet. de gramm. et rhett. libelli . . . rec. et adn. crit. instr. FOSANN, Giessen 1854. HDÖRGENS, über Suet. de vir. ill., Lpz. 1863. Cf. also MOMMSEN, Phil. 1, 180 and below § 434, 11. Criticism on the book de gramm. et rhet.: JVAHLEN, Berl. ind. lect. 1877/78. AREIFFERSCHEID, Bresl. ind. schol. 1877/78.

8. De vita Caesarum, dedicated to the praef. praet. C. Septicius Clarus (p. 198 l. 11; LYD. de mag. 2, 6), who held this position a. 119–121, hence published a. 120. The work is divided into eight books, so that the first six Emperors (Caesar to Nero) form one book each, the three Emperors of a. 69 the seventh, and the three Flavii the eighth. The beginning of the life of Caesar is missing, but Lydus seems still to have possessed it. The materials are collected from good sources with care and judgment; Velleius, Josephus and Plutarch have not been employed, Tacitus also being rarely made use of and never mentioned, which is also the case with Pliny (§ 312, 5) and Cluvius Rufus (§ 314, 2). De Suetonii fontibus et auctoritate FCLSCHWEIGER (Gött. 1830) and AKRAUSE (Berl. 1831). ALEHMANN, Claudius 39. OCLASON, Plut. u. Tac. (Berl. 1870) 70; Tac. u. Suet., Breslau 1870. GDEDERDING, de Suet. vita Caesaris I, Berl. 1871. MTHAMM, de fontt. ad Tiberii hist., Halle 1874, p. 33. LKRAUSS, de vitarum imp. Othonis fide, Zweibr. 1880. See also § 337, 4. The work is biographical, so that it might properly dispense with an account of contemporary events, or an exposition of the internal connection of the facts, but not (as it does) with a comprehensive characterisation of the subject of each biography. The author does not possess the slightest psychological subtlety. Numerical statements but rarely occur, nor is there much chronological discrimination (Aug. 9 *partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar*), or evidence of political insight. His Lives are not works of art. The treatment is monotonous: the early history of the Emperor chronologically arranged, his reign divided in certain sections (Iul. 44 *forma, habitus, cultus, mores, civilia, bellica studia*), last of all death and signs announcing it, burial, subsequent events. In collecting details, even minute and obscene ones, Suetonius is indefatigable, and we may believe that he has never knowingly

traversed or concealed the truth. He rarely gives his individual judgment, though he is not wanting in moral earnestness (cf. e.g. Tib. 42 sqq. 49), and Commodus knew well why he *eum qui Tranquilli librum vitam Caligulae continentem legerat feris obici iussit* (LAMPRID. Comm. 10). That Suetonius was unable to flatter appears from his terminating with Domitian. Cf. CLROTH's praef. p. IX. In general HNISSEN, RhM. 41, 496.

9. All the MSS. have the same gap at the beginning and are, therefore, derived from the same original. The earliest and best MS. is the Paris. 6115 (Memmianus) s. IX. Next to it we have the Vaticanus Lipsii saec. XI/XII, (GBECKER, symb. phil. Bonn. p. 687), also the Laur. 68, 7 (Medic. III) s. XI. Other classes are represented by Laur. 66, 39 (Medic. I) s. XIII and Paris. 6116 s. XII; the numerous MSS. of s. XV are worthless. ROTH, praefatio p. XVII. XX. On excerpts in miscellaneous MSS. ib. p. XXXII. Cf. also BECKER, quaestt. crit. (n. 11).

10. Editions e.g. by PHBEROALDUS (Bon. 1493. 1506), DERASMUS (1518), RSTEPHANUS (Par. 1543), ICASAUBONUS (Geneva 1595. Par. 1610), JGGRAEVIUS (Utr. 1672. 1691. 1703), SPITISCUS (Utr. 1690. Leov. 1714 II), PBURMAN (Amst. 1736 II), JAERNESTI (Lps.[2] 1775; recogn. FAWOLF, Lps. 1802 IV), FOUDENDORP (Leid. 1751), JHBREMI (explained, Zür. 1800. 1820), CGBAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS (Lps. 1816 III), CBHASE (Par. 1828 II), and especially rec. CLROTH, Lps. 1858.—Translations of the Lives of the Emperors e.g. by KANDREE and HREICHARDT (Stuttg.) and by ASTAHR (Stuttg. 1857). Life of Caesar by HDÖRGENS, Lpz. 1864.

11. Criticism and explanation: DRUHNKEN (scholia ed. JGEEL, Leid. 1828), HEDIRKSEN (Schr. 1, 213), GBECKER (quaestt. crit. de Suet. Caess., Königsb. 1862; JJ. 87, 193. 89, 839 and symb. phil. Bonn. 687), RUNGER (Friedland 1864), MADVIG, adv. 2, 570 and other articles.

348. An abridgment of Roman History down to Augustus, bellorum omnium annorum DCC libri duo, was composed by Florus, chiefly from Livy, but solely from rhetorical standpoints, not without spirit, but with little taste and much verbiage, historical truth being frequently misrepresented both intentionally and unconsciously. This writer is probably identical with the Florus who is known as a declaimer and poet.

1. The title is in the Bamb. (n. 5) *epitoma Iuli Flori de T. Livio bellorum omnium annorum DCC libri duo*, in the Nazar. (n. 5) *L. Annei Flori epitoma de T. Livio* in four books. The remaining MSS. also call the author *Annaeus Florus*; cf. also GBECKER, catal. bibl. antiqui p. 311. See n. 8 ad fin.

2. MALALAS 8, p. 211, 2 Bonn *καθὼς ὁ σοφώτατος Φλῶρος ὑπεμνημάτισεν ἐκ τῶν Λιβίου συγγραμμάτων.* Cf. above p. 54. Livy is often copied verbatim, especially in rhetorical phrases, but he is not the sole source of the abridgment; UKÖHLER, qua rat. Liv. ann. (1860) p. 23. 27. Sallust and Caesar are also employed (HEYN l.l. 36, RJACOBI, de Festi breviarii fontibus 35, VOGEL, act. sem. ph. Erl. 2, 436, OPITZ, spicil. 17). So is Lucan (OJAHN p. XLVII. MEINERT, Wiener Jahrbb. 28, 186. HJMÜLLER, JJ. 113, 559. EWESTERBURG, RhM. 37, 35). Were the Historiae of the elder Seneca employed (§ 269, 3)? ORossbach, de Sen. phil. recens. 164. The work consists (as the author intended) of a panegyric on the Roman people:

praef. 3 *in brevi quasi tabella totam eius imaginem amplectar, non nihil, ut spero, ad admirationem principis populi collaturus si pariter atque insemel universam magnitudinem eius ostendero.* He purposed *non tam narrare bella romana quam romanum imperium laudare* (AUGUSTIN. civ. dei 3, 19). Hence he always prefers the account most favourable to the Romans, wherever he may chance to find it. Independently of these intentional misrepresentations he is full of errors of every kind. UKÖHLER l.l. 26 gives a list of the writer's mistakes, confusions, contradictions, geographical and esp. chronological errors etc.; cf. OJAHN p. XXXIV. XLVI. SPENGEL l.l. 340. HEYN p. 3. 19. The arrangement is chiefly chronological, but aims also at a certain disposition according to the subject-matter, e.g. in the chapters headed de seditionibus (1, 17, cf. 2, 2–5), res in Hispania gestae (1, 33). The author follows the division (cf. § 269, 3) according to the various ages (infantia, adolescentia, iuventus, senectus, GFUNGER, Phil. 43, 429), as he *populum rom. quasi unum hominem considerat* (praef. 4). JAHN p. XXXVIII. SPENGEL p. 345. After the account of the regal period (1, 1) we get (1, 2) a rhetorical summary concerning it, and likewise another at the close of the first book with rhetorical complaints about the increase of moral decay. The last bellum is (2, 33) b. cantabricum et asturicum, after which (2, 34) pax Parthorum et consecratio Augusti. The first book treats of the good time of the Roman People, the second of its decline (after the Gracchi). There is a large amount of moralising (SPENGEL p. 328). As a specimen of the political views of the writer 2, 1 *seditionum omnium causas tribunicia potestas excitavit, quae specie quidem plebis tuendae, . . . re autem dominationem sibi adquirens, studium populi . . . aucupabatur.* Specimens of ridiculous exaggerations are given by SPENGEL p. 337.

3. He wrote under Hadrian: praef. 8 *a Caesare Augusto* (born 691/63 B.C.) *in saeculum nostrum haut multo minus anni ducenti, quibus inertia Caesarum quasi consenuit atque decoxit, nisi quod sub Traiano principe movit lacertos et praeter spem omnium senectus imperii quasi reddita iuventute reviruit.* FNTITZE (de epitomes . . . quae . . . Flori . . . fertur aetate probabilissima etc., Linz 1804, and in his ed., Prague 1819) placed Florus under Augustus and considered all contradictory passages to be spurious; see against this view MEINERT, Wien. Jahrbb. 28, 169, GOSSRAU, de Flori qua vixerit aetate, Quedlinb. 1837 (under Trajan). GFUNGER, Phil. 43, 443 (under Marcus Aurelius about a. 167).

4. The diction of Florus is partly rhetorical, partly poetical. It attests a decided literary gift, but its obtrusive immoderation severely tries the reader's patience. JAHN p. XLVII and the praefatio of GRAEVIUS. The few felicitous passages are lost amid the mass of bombast and exaggeration. Cf. SPENGEL p. 322. 343. Just as the rhetorician's horizon is limited, his command of words is scanty, and he frequently repeats himself; he is especially fond of *quasi*, which he uses 125 times in his 81 chapters (*quippe* he has 75 times) and also of exclamations (SPENGEL p. 336). He imitates Lucan (cf. n. 2) and Tacitus (EWÖLFFLIN, Phil. 29, 557. AEGEN, de Fl. hist. elocutionis Tacit. imitatore, Münst. 1882). In his use of *post* he agrees with Tertullian, BINSFELD, RhM. 26, 313.

5. This epitome found favour with later centuries and the Middle Ages on account of its brevity and probably also for its rhetoric. Especially the author of the viri illustres urbis Romae (§ 414, 4), Orosius, and still more Jordanes employed him largely; at a later time he is quoted by Malalas (n. 2). Hence the number of MSS. of Florus is very great. The best is the Bambergensis s. IX. It resembles the MS. used by Jordanes (de summa tempp., § 485, 4; cf. on this MOMMSEN on Jord. p. XXIV. THOPITZ, JJ. 121, 203; spicil. 3). The rest of the MSS.

are derived from a very corrupt source; but even this second class is very important for criticism. Its earliest representative is the Nazarianus s. IX (at Heidelberg), in which the epitome is divided into four books and attributed to 'L. Annaeus Florus'; see n. 1 and JAHN p. v. The quotations in Orosius frequently agree with the Nazar. ZANGEMEISTER, Oros. p. XXVI. OPITZ, spicil. 1. HSAUPPE, de arte crit. in Flori bellis recte facienda, Gött. 1870. HMÜLLER, JJ. 103, 565. EBÄHRENS, RhM. 30, 628.

6. Editions e.g. by JCAMERS (Vienn. 1518), EVINETUS (in the Solinus, Poitiers 1554 and elsewhere), JGRUTER (Heidelb. 1597), CLSALMASIUS (Heidelb. 1609 and elsewhere), JGGRAEVIUS (Utr. 1680 and elsewhere), CADUKER, cum nott. varr. (Leid. 1722, last Lpz. 1832 II), JFFISCHER (Lpz. 1760), FNTITZE (Prague 1819), GSEEBODE (Lpz. 1821). First critical edition by OJAHN (Iuli Flori epit. . . . rec. et emendavit, Lps. 1852; cf. CHALM, JJ. 69, 172); then recogn. CHALM, Lps. 1854. —Textual criticism: FEKÖHLER (Gött. 1865), JFREUDENBERG (RhM. 22, 25), JPBINSFELD (Düsseld. 1867), EBÄHRENS, lectt. lat., Bonn 1870, p. 5, HSAUPPE (n. 5), HMÜLLER, RhM. 26, 350; Festschr. d. Friedr.-Wrd.-Gymn., Berl. 1881, 37, TH OPITZ, JJ. 121, 210; in Iulio Floro spicileg. crit., Dresden 1884, JJCORNELISSEN, Mnemos. 6, 312. 12, 233, OESCHMIDT, JJ. 131, 801.

7. HGPLASS, de auctoribus epitomes L. Annaei Flor., Verden 1858. LSPENGEL, die Geschichtsbb. d. Florus, Abh. d. Münch. Ak. 36 (1861), 319. JREBER, d. Geschichtswerk d. Fl., Freising 1865. CHEYN, de Floro hist., Bonn 1866. GBIZOS, Flori historici vel potius rhetoris de vero nomine, aetate, scriptis, Paris 1876.—THOMÉ, de Flor. elocutione, Frankenstein i/Schl. 1881. THEGEN (n. 4). EBIELIGK, de casuum syntaxi a Floro usurpata, Halle 1883. ISORN, d. Inf. b. Sall. Flor. Eutr. u. Pers., Hall i/Östr. 1888.—Jahresberichte on Florus by AEUSSNER, Phil. 34, 166. 37, 130.

8. *P. Annii Flori Virgilius orator an poeta incipit* (the same school-theme in MACR. 5, 1, 1); only the graceful introduction to the so-called dialogue has been preserved in Bruxell. 10677 s. XII and was first published by FRITSCHL, RhM. 1, 302=op. 3, 729. Subsequent collation of the MS. by MOMMSEN, RhM. 16, 135. Printed also in the edd. of the epitome of Florus (n. 6) by OJAHN p. XLI and by KHALM p. 106. Contributions to textual criticism: JFREUDENBERG, RhM. 22, 30. EBÄHRENS, lectt. latt., Bonn 1870, 19; JJ. 105. 632. MHAUPT, op. 3, 459. 586. HJORDAN, Herm. 8, 85. On reminiscences of Vergil AEUSSNER, BlfbayrGW. 24, 80. From this introduction we learn that the author was born in Africa and as *puer sub Domitiano* appeared at Rome in the Capitoline competition, but was not crowned owing to party prejudice; in disgust he betook himself to travelling but finally settled at Tarraco (EHÜBNER, Herm. 1, 97) and adopted the *professio litterarum*. Here an acquaintance meets him and asks him e.g. *quid tu tam diu in hac provincia? nec . . . urbem illam revisis ubi versus tui a lectoribus concinuntur et in foro omni clarissimus ille de Dacia triumphus* (Trajan's, a. 102 or 106) *exultat?* In point of fact we find him in Rome under Hadrian, as he is no doubt the Florus poeta with whom Hadrian exchanged jocular verses (SPART. Hadr. 16); cf. CHARIS. GL. 1, 53, 14 and 140, 6 (*Annius Florus ad divum Hadrianum: poematis delector*). ib. 123, 7 (*Florus ad divum Hadrianum*). It is also quite credible that he may be the author of the pleasing lines (26 trochaic tetrameters) attributed in the MSS. to a certain Florus, which contain reflections on human life (AL. 245–252 PLM. 4, 346), and also of the five hexameters *Flori* concerning roses (AL. 87 PLM. 4, 279). Both are also to be found in LMÜLLER's Rutil. 26. EHOMÜLLER, de P. Annio Floro poeta et de Pervigilio Veneris, Berl. 1855. FEYSSENHARDT, Hadrian u. Florus, Berl. 1882.—

Lastly the correspondence in the name Florus and in the date (n. 3) as well as in the rhetorical character of the composition and in numerous single phrases suggests that we should identify the author of the Bella with P. Annius Florus (so MOMMSEN, HALM, AEUSSNER, Phil. 34, 173. 37, 143. EWÖLFFLIN, Münch. SBer. 1880 1, 413. EWESTERBURG, RhM. 37, 47; similarly SPENGEL and others). Cf. *per diversa terrarum* in HALM's ed. p. 107, 11 and Bella 1, 40, 27. 1, 41, 1. 2, 7, 2; *victor gentium populus* (rom.) ib. p. 106, 26 and Bella 1, 44, 3. 2, 1, 3. 2, 34, 61. HALM, JJ. 69, 192. In that case the *Iuli* in the Bamb. (and the *L.* in the Nazar.) should be regarded as a false reading for *Publi* and the *Annei* of the Nazar. (n. 1) as a corruption of *Anni*.

349. To the same period belongs, in all probability, Justinus' abridgment of history, and Juventius Martialis' History of Caesar. The other historical writers wrote in Greek, e.g. Cassius Longinus and Phlegon.

1. On Justinus see § 258, 7.—APOLL. SIDON. ep. 9, 14 *si omittantur quae de titulis dictatoris invicti* (i.e. Julius Caesar) *scripta Patavinis sunt voluminibus, quis opera Suetonii* (§ 196, 1 in fin.), *quis Iuventii Martialis historiam, quisve ad extremum Balbi ephemeridem* (§ 196, 1) *fando adaequaverit?* Reinesius has attempted to restore the name of this Juventius also in AMMIAN. 28, 4, 14 (§ 331, 7 l. 6) instead of *Iuvenalem*.

350. Of the jurists of this time the most influential is the Sabinian Salvius Julianus, who was commissioned by Hadrian to collect the Edicts of the praetors (together with those of the aediles and others); these he sifted and published in proper order in a handy edition, which was sanctioned by the Imperial authority as a code of law, with the proviso that it should be altered only by the Emperor and not by the officials. Julian also wrote original legal works, and was held in high esteem for several centuries. Junior contemporaries of his were the jurists Aburnius Valens, Pactumeius Clemens and Sex. Pomponius, the last rather a scholar than a practical jurist and important for us as the author of a short history of law and jurisprudence down to the time of Hadrian, which was also embodied in the Digest; but Pomponius was altogether a fertile writer on jurisprudence and remained active until a very advanced age.

1. POMPON. dig. 1, 2, 2, 53 *Iavoleno Prisco* (*successit*) *Aburnius Valens* (n. 4) *et Tuscianus* (of whom nothing further is known), *item Salvius Iulianus*. Cf. § 342, 3. The latter was *ex Adrumetina colonia* (SPART. Did. Iulian. 1, 2) in Africa and (on the mother's side) proavus of the subsequent Emperor Didius Julianus, *bis consul* (cf. dig. 40, 2, 5), *praefectus urbi et iuris consultus* (SPART. Did. Iul. 8, 1). SPART. Hadr. 18, 1 *cum iudicaret in consilio habuit . . . iuris consultos et praecipue Iulium Celsum* (§ 342 1 l. 10), *Salvium Iulianum* etc. FRONTO ad Caes. p. 59. 60 Julian is ill and Fronto visits him to please M. Aurelius. Even the Divi

fratres dig. 37, 14, 17 pr. *plurium etiam iuris auctorum, sed et Salvii Iuliani amici nostri* (cf. M. Aurel. ap. Fronto ep. ad Caes. p. 60), *clarissimi viri, hanc sententiam fuisse* (he was dead then, as this shows). His sepulchre was *miliario quinto via Labicana* (Spart. Did. Iul. 8, 10).

2. Eutr. 8, 17 *Salvii Iuliani, qui sub divo Hadriano perpetuum composuit edictum.* Hieron. ad a. Abr. 2147=131 a.d. *Salvius Iulianus perpetuum composuit edictum.* On this date see Mommsen, über die Chronographen (1850) 673. Justinian's constit. Δέδωκεν 18 'Αδριανὸς . . . ὅτε τὰ παρὰ τῶν πραιτώρων κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον νομοθετούμενα ἐν βραχεῖ τινι συνῆγε βιβλίῳ, τὸν κράτιστον 'Ιουλιανὸν πρὸς τοῦτο παραλαβών. constit. Tanta (Cod. 1, 17, 2 of a. 533) 18 *et ipse Iulianus, legum et edicti perpetui subtilissimus conditor, in suis libris hoc retulit . . . et divus Hadrianus in compositione edicti et scto quod eam secutum est* etc. AFRudorff, Edictum perpet. 1, Lps. 1869. OLenel, das Edictum perpetuum, Lpz. 1883. The individual edicts which have been preserved verbatim (esp. in the Digest) are also given in Bruns font.[5] 188. Cod. 3, 33, 15 (of a. 530) *summum auctorem iuris scientiae Salvium Iulianum.* 4, 5, 10 (of a. 530) *sublimissimum testem adducit Salvium Iulianum, summae auctoritatis hominem et praetoriani edicti ordinatorem.* 6, 61, 5 (of a. 473) *Iuliani, tantae existimationis viri atque disertissimi iurisperiti.* Africanus and Terentius Clemens were pupils of his.

3. Original works by Julianus. Digestorum libri XC (Ind. Flor.), 376 fragments of which were admitted into Justinian's Digest, both the title and the design of Julian's work influencing Justinian's collection. It contained continuous explanations (quaestiones) on jurisprudence in connection with the questions of auditores and answers returned by the professor. Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 9, 82. The first 58 books followed the order of the Edict and were composed and published under Hadrian; the later books under Antoninus Pius; HHFitting (see § 49, 11) p. 4–7. Cf. Rudorff, röm. RGesch. 1, 171, KViertel, de vitis ictorum, Königsb. 1868, p. 6. Notes on this work were written by Ulpius Marcellus and Cervidius Scaevola, as early as in the reign of Pius, then by Mauricianus and Paulus. Julian himself wrote notes on Urseius Ferox (§ 316, 3) in 4 books (Ind. Flor.; but cf. Viertel, de vitis ictorum p. 18), fragments of which are given in 41 places of the Digest, and on Minicius (§ 342, 6) in 6 books (? cf. KViertel l.l. 24). There are four fragments of Julian's liber singularis de ambiguitatibus in the Digest. In general see Hommel, palingen. 1, 223. Lenel, paling. 1, 318. There are also many decisions by Julian in the quaestiones of Africanus, his pupil (§ 360, 3). The quotation *Iulianus libro I ad edictum* (dig. 3, 2, 1) is due to a confusion of the revision of the Edictum by Julian (n. 2) with an original work; Zimmern, röm. Privatr. 1, 1, 132).—Heinneccius (de Salvio Iuliano), opp. 2, 798. 7, 196. FABiener, de S. I. meritis de edicto praetorio rite aestimandis, Lps. 1809. Borghesi, oeuvr. 9, 302. HBuhl, Sab. Iulianus I, Lpz. 1886. PKrüger, Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. R. 167.

4. *L. Fulvius C. f. Pupin(ia) Aburnius Valens* (Orelli 3153 cf. dig. 32, 78, 6). As according to this inscription (where he is called *clarissimus iuvenis*) he was praef. urbi feriarum Latinarum a. 118 (before entering the Senate, Mommsen Staatsr. $2^3$, 671), he must have been born shortly before a. 100. He wrote Actiones in at least 7 books (dig. 36, 4, 15) and libri fideicommissorum, also in at least 7 books (dig. 33, 1, 15), which latter work is used in 19 places in the Pandects. Cf. Hommel, palingen. 2, 533. As the latter quotes not only Javolenus (dig. 33, 1, 15), but also (Salvius) Julianus (ib. 4, 4, 33 *Iulianus . . . respondit.* 32, 94 *Iulianus . . . putavit*), and as Trajan is designated as divus (49, 14, 42), he seems to have survived Julian. He is no doubt the Fulvius (so Mommsen instead of *Salvius*)

Valens in Capitol. Ant. Pi. 12, 1 *usus est iuris peritis . . . Fulvio Valente.* Cf. dig. 48, 2, 7, 2 *divus Pius Salvio* (Fulvio) *Valenti rescripsit.* PFSmeding, de Aburnio Valente, Leid. 1824. Zimmern, Gesch. d. röm. Privatr. 1, 1, 334. KViertel, de vitis ictorum p. 30. Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 9, 90.

5. Pompon. dig. 40, 7, 21, 1 *Pactumeius Clemens* (cos. suff. a. 138) *aiebat* etc. His official career is best known to us from an inscription found at Constantine, CIL. 8, 7059 (cf. 7060. 61; cf. Or.-Henzen 6483 Wilm. 1180) *P. Pactumeio P. f. Quir. Clementi* etc. Borghesi, oeuvr. 5, 407.

6. Sex. Pomponius lived and wrote both under Hadrian and M. Aurelius or at least under the Divi fratres. The expression in his Epistolae b. VII (dig. 40, 5, 20) is significant: *ego discendi cupiditate, quam solam vivendi rationem optimam in LXXVIII^um^ annum aetatis duxi.* As he styles Antoninus divus in the same book (dig. 50, 12, 14), he wrote this at the very earliest a. 162, and could not, therefore, have been born earlier than a.d. 84. That he was a contemporary of Julian, appears partly from the fact that he terminates his history of jurisprudence (n. 9) with the latter, partly because each quotes the other (n. 7). Pomponius himself seems to have survived Julian, as Julian used only one work of Pomp., while Pomp. used several of Julian's; see n. 7. As his teachers Pomp. names the jurists Pegasus (dig. 31, 43, 2 *Pegasus solitus fuerat distinguere*), Aristo (ib. 40, 5, 20 *putabat.* 36, 1, 72 *aiebat*, cf. 34, 5, 18. fragm. Vat. 83. 88) and Octavenus (dig. 40, 4, 61 *aiebat.* 40, 5, 20 *putabat*). He frequently appeals in his works to the veteres, especially Q. Mucius, Ser. Sulpicius, Trebatius, Alfenus, Labeo.

7. On the relation between Julian and Pomponius. Pomp. uses Julian's Digest and frequently quotes him, at least in his libri ex Plautio, Epistolae and variae lectiones, and also in the libri ad edictum; cf. dig. 6, 1, 21 (*Pomponius libro XXXIX° ad edictum scribit* etc. *Iulianus autem* etc. *idque Pomponius libro XXXIV° variarum lectionum probat*). 14, 6, 19 (*Iulianus scribit*). 39, 2, 18, 5 (*Pomponius relata Iuliani scriptura dicit non se improbare* etc.). 40, 4, 40 (from Pomp. libr. V. ex Plaut.: *Iulianus ait*). 61 (*et Iul. ait*). 40, 5, 20 (*apud Iulianum ita scriptum est. . . . ea quae Iulianus scribit*, from Epist. VII). 49, 14, 35 (from Epist. XI *apud Iulianum scriptum est*). Fragm. Vat. 75 (*Pomponius ait libro VII ex Plautio, relata Iuliani sententia. . . . urgetur tamen Iuliani sententia argumentis Pomponii*). Julian (in his Digest) employs Pomp.'s books ad Sabinum; cf. Fragm. Vat. 88 (*Iulianus subicit Sextum quoque Pomponium referre*). dig. 28, 5, 41 (*ut refert Sex. Pomponius*, cf. Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 7, 478). 17, 2, 63, 9 (*ait Iulianus Sextum Pomponium referre Sabinum respondentem* etc.). Cf. Fitting l.l. 8 sq. 11. 12. 13. The succession of *Iulianus et Pomponius* dig. 28, 2, 9, 2. 45, 1, 2, 5. Cf. Gai. inst. 2, 218 (*Iuliano et Sexto placuit*). There is no valid reason for distinguishing two jurists of the name of Pomponius. Rudorff, Rechtsgesch. 1, 172. Fitting l.l. 13. Mommsen l.l. 478.

8. The works of Pomponius. Enchiridii liber singularis (n. 9), Ad Sabinum libri XXXV and Fideicommissorum libri V, all written under Hadrian, the notes ad Sabinum certainly before Julian's Digest; Ad edictum at least 83 books (and in all probability far more, Krüger l.l. 174); Ad Q. Mucium lectionum libri XXXIX (above § 154, 2), composed after Hadrian, probably under Antoninus Pius; Ex Plautio libri VII, written under Antoninus Pius, and probably also Senatusconsultorum libri V; Variarum lectionum libri (dig. 4, 4, 50. 50, 12, 14) at least 41 books, Epistularum l. XX of the time of the Divi fratres (see n. 6). Probably not before Antoninus Pius the work De stipulationibus in at least 8 books, and under Pius at the very latest the Regularum liber singularis. We do not know

the date of Enchiridii libri II. The same holds good of the collection of the legal views of Aristo (§ 342, 4) from his notae, decreta, responsa and epistulae; see dig. 24, 3, 44 (from Paulus) *Nerva et Cato responderunt, ut est relatum apud Sex. Pomponium digestorum ab Aristone libro quinto; ibidem Aristoni consensit.* The works of Pomp. are used in the Digest in 900 places altogether; see the collection in HOMMEL, palingenesia 2, 303. LENEL, paling. 2, 15. They were valued both for their casuistry and for the excerpts they contained from the works of earlier jurists of importance.

9. The Enchiridion (liber sing.) seems to have contained an explanation of the fundamental principles of Law (dig. 50, 16, 239) and a sketch of the history of Roman law and jurisprudence until Julian (dig. 1, 2, 2). It was written under Hadrian (dig. 1, 2, 2, 49 *optimus princeps Hadrianus*). Cf. above § 166 d.—Separate editions by EBÖCKING (Bonn 1831) and FOSANN (recogn. et annot. crit. instr., Giessen 1847). § 41–44. Cum notis ed. ESCHRADER, Berl. 1837. HBREINOLD (de Sex. Pomponio icto), opusc. 502. HEINECCIUS (de Sex. P. icto), opp. 3, 2, 66. ZIMMERN, Gesch. d. röm. PRechts 1, 1, 337. FITTING (above § 49, 11) 8. KRÜGER, Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. Rechts 173.

351. The majority of the rhetoricians of the time of Hadrian, and those who possessed most authority, wrote in Greek, e.g. Hadrian himself, Polemon, Lollianus, Dionysios of Miletus, Favorinus and others. Castricius wrote in Latin; perhaps to this period belong the scanty excerpts from the scholastic declamations of Calpurnius Flaccus (a writer not known to us from other sources). Philosophy was represented principally by Greeks such as Plutarch and the Platonist Calvisius Taurus.

1. On Hadrian's declamations see § 346, 3; on Aelius Verus § 353, 2.

2. GELLIUS, 13, 22, 1 *T. Castricius, rhetoricae disciplinae doctor, qui habuit Romae locum principem declamandi ac docendi, summa vir auctoritate gravitateque et a divo Hadriano in mores atque litteras spectatus, quo . . . usus sum magistro;* cf. GELL. 11, 13, 1. 1, 6, 4. 2, 27, 3. FRONTO ep. ad am. p. 190 (*Castricius noster*).

3. HIERON. ad a. Abr. 2148=132 A.D. *Favorinus et Polemo rhetores insignes habentur.* Favorinus of Arelate (Arles), the pupil of Dion (Chrysostomos), on friendly terms with Plutarch and Fronto (§ 356, 2), an encyclopaedic writer, the author e.g. of philosophical treatises (Πυρρώνειοι τρόποι and Ἀπομνημονεύματα) and of a Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία (EMAASS and UVWILAMOWITZ in the phil. Unterss. 3 [Berl. 1880], 1, 142), acquainted also with Roman literature and opposed to the antiquarian party (GELL. 1, 10, cf. 8, 2. 18, 7. 20, 1, 20); see PHILOSTR. vitae soph. 1, 8 with KAYSER (Heidelb. 1838) p. 181. JLMARRES, de Favorini Arelatensis vita, studiis, scriptis, Utr. 1853.

4. *Ex Calpurnio Flacco excerptae · excerpta · X · rethorū minorum.* Under this heading the Montepess. 126 s. X. once contained and the Monac. and Chigian. (§ 325, 12 l. 13) give short excerpts from 51 declamationes, the Montepess. after the excerpts from Seneca the rhetorician (§ 269, 7, which bear the heading *Hic iam incipit Seneca decem rhetorum feliciter*, KIESSLING's ed. p. 140). This title can hardly imply (CRITTER, d. quintilian. Declamationen 270) that, as the Seneca heading refers to excerpts from his 10 books, so this title was originally followed by excerpts from 10 books of Calpurnius. It is more probable that the general title

*Excerpta X rhetorum minorum* was wrongly placed after the first special title *Ex Calpurnio Flacco excerptae*, and that the large collection of declamations (Quintilian's decl., Sen. rhet.) set out in the Montepessulanus etc. concluded with excerpts from 10 rhetores minores: amongst these there were e.g., if we may trust the codex of Campanus (see § 325, 12 in fin.) which has now disappeared, also pieces by Antonius Julianus (§ 356, 1). The date of Calpurnius Flaccus is uncertain (see a conjecture in BORGHESI, opp. 3, 367). 'The assumption that the extant excerpts from Calp. Fl. are derived from 10 rhetoricians is precluded by the fact that in each case the view of only one rhetorician is given,' MHERTZ.—First ed. (with the Quintil. declamat., § 325, 12) by PITHOEUS, Par. 1580. Then in the edd. of the Quintil. declamations by JFGRONOV (Leid. 1665), UOBRECHT (Strasb. 1698) and PBURMAN (Leid. 1620).

5. From the rhetoric of the Imperial period is probably derived a declamation in L. Sergium Catilinam, excessively exaggerated in style, but still passable in diction; it is preserved in the Monac. 68 s. XV and (in part) in the Leid. 19 s. XV, mentioned by Poggius a. 1451, printed first with Sallust, Rome 1490, then in other editions of Sallust (e.g. by KORTTE, HAVERKAMP, GERLACH, § 205, 9), last in ZIMMERER l.l. Since the Sallust, Venice 1491 it has been wrongly attributed to Porcius Latro (§ 286, 2), because the phrase used by Porcius Latro '*quid exhorruistis, iudices?*' (SEN. contr. 9, 2, 24) occurs also in this declam. 4, 11. HZIMMERER, declamatio in L. Serg. Catil., eine Schuldeclamation usw. I, Munich, 1888.

352. The principal grammarian of the age of Hadrian is Q. Terentius Scaurus, the author of a work on Latin grammar and of commentaries on Plautus, Vergil and Horace. We possess by him a treatise de orthographia, in an abridgment, which is of importance for the history of the language. To the same period belong also Velius Celer, Aelius Melissus and Domitius; among the Greeks the grammarians Vestinus and especially Heliodoros.

1. GELL. 11, 15, 3 *Terentius Scaurus, divi Hadriani temporibus grammaticus vel nobilissimus, inter illa quae de Caeselli* (§ 343, 4) *erroribus composuit.* Cf. CAPITOLIN. Ver. 2, 5 *audivit (Verus) Scaurinum grammaticum latinum, Scauri filium qui grammaticus Hadriani fuit.* Learned communications with Hadrian: CHARIS. GL. 1, 209, 12 '*obiter*' *divus Hadrianus sermonum I quaerit an latinum sit . . . et cum Scaurus . . . neget addit quia* etc. (cf. n. 3).—Scaurus is mentioned together with other famous grammarians in AUSON. epp. 18, 27, opusc. 3, 20.—Grammar: CHARIS. GL. 1, 133, 1 *Scaurus in arte grammatica.* 136, 16 *Scaurus artis grammaticae libris* (but ib. 146, 36 *Scaurus libro III* refers to M. Aemilius Scaurus § 136, 10; cf. DIOM. GL. 1, 374, 14. 385, 30). Quotations (with the author's name) from this grammar especially in Charisius and Diomedes (from Romanus) and in the Explanationes in artem Donati (GL. 4, 486). On other instances of its employment by the above-named authors and elsewhere see HKUMMROW l.l. 9. 16. 30. 52. PEMEYER, quaestt. gramm. ad Scauri artem restituendam, Jena 1885. It is not probable that Audax' (§ 482, 4) de Scauri et Palladii libris excerpta is based on an independent acquaintance with Scaurus' works.—RUFIN. GL. 6, 561, 2 *Scaurus in eadem fabula* (i.e. in the commentary on Plaut. Pseud.) etc.; cf. ib. 565, 2. RITSCHL, Parerga p. 375.—Commentaries on the Aeneid, but not, as far as we know, on the

Bucolica (KUMMROW l.l. 2).—Commentaries on Horace: PORPHYR. on HOR. s. 2, 5, 92 '*capite obstipo*', *tristi ac severo. Scaurus inclinato dicit.* CHARIS. GL. 1, 202, 26 '*impariter*' *Horatius epistolarum* (AP. 75) '*versibus impariter iunctis*', *ubi Q. Terentius Scaurus in commentariis in artem poeticam libro X* '*adverbium*' *inquit* '*figuravit*'; ib. 210, 19 '*primus*' *pro* '*in primis*' *ut Maro* '*Troiae qui primus ab oris*', *ubi* (i.e. perhaps in the explanation of AP. 130) *Q. Terentius Scaurus commentariis in artem poeticam libro X* '*non qui ante omnes*' *inquit* '*sed ante quem nemo est*' *et addit* '*quo genere plures primi accipi possunt*'. As a commentary on the AP. in 10 books is out of the question, we may suppose Scaurus to have composed an extensive commentary on Horace and to have devoted one book of explanation to each of the 10 Horatian books. The AP., which was counted separately, was placed (differing in this from our MSS., § 239, 7 init.) at the end, as in our editions. KZANGEMEISTER, de Hor. verbis sing., Berl. 1862, 40; RhM. 29, 634. 40, 480. THBIRT, RhM. 38, 199.—The fragments of Scaurus have been collected by AKUMMROW, symb. crit. in gramm. lat., Griefsw. 1880.

2. We possess two abstracts from Scaurus, a larger one (Terentii Scauri de orthographia) GL. 7, 11, 1–29, 2 on orthographical subjects, and another which immediately follows in the MSS. on adverbs, prepositions etc. GL. 7, 29, 3–33, 13 (in the GL. 7, 34 there is an excerpt from Par. 7520 s. XI, the subject-matter of which is closely connected with this). Both are especially valuable, inasmuch as they take account of early Latin. The principal authority, particularly in the second, is Varro (HUSENER, RhM. 24, 94). Each of the abridgments concludes with a short address, the first: *haec sunt quae urgenti tempori complecti tibi in praesentia potui. si quid* (*a te si quid* FBÜCHELER, RhM. 34, 349) *exemplis defecerit vel quaestionibus, subiungetur. nam quod ad rem maxime pertinet, regulam vides*; the second: *brevitatem huius libelli, si tibi videtur, adglutinabis ei quem de litteris novis* (THBERGK: of the Emperor Claudius, § 268, 3) *habes a me acceptum. quod ipse feci quia huius pusillitas sub isto decentius prodire quam per se censeri poterat.* The principal MS. is Bern. 330 s. X, and next to it Palat. 1741 s. XV. In gen. HKEIL on GL. 7, 3. WBRAMBACH, lat. Orthogr. 47. Criticism: FBÜCHELER, RhM. 34, 384.—In the Einsidl. 32 s. X/XI (HHAGEN, anecd. Helvet. p. CXXXII) we read before some glosses on the synonyms: *Terentius de verbo tractans hanc differentiam dicit.* Is Scaurus meant by this (JWBECK, de differentiarum scriptt. lat., Gron. 1883, 16)?? Cf. § 482, 2.—On a (fictitious) quotation *Scaurus lib. IX de orthographia* see § 343, 3 middle.—GSCHEPSS, ArchfLexikogr. 6, 253.

3. PRISC. GL. 2, 547 *Velius* (*Vellius* in the cod. D) *Celer respondens Hadriano imperatori per epistulam de hoc* (the quantity of *ambitus*) *interroganti . . . ostendit* etc. He is perhaps identical with Κέλερ τεχνογράφος, βασιλικῶν μὲν ἐπιστολῶν προστάτης, in PHILOSTR. vit. soph. 1, 22, 3. Cf. however § 355, 4 l. 2 and LFRIEDLÄNDER, SG. 1[6], 187.

4. GELL. 18, 6, 1 *Aelius Melissus in nostra memoria fuit Romae summi quidem loci inter grammaticos id temporis; sed maiore in litteris erat iactantia et σοφιστείᾳ quam opera. is praeter alia quae scripsit complura librum composuit . . . cui titulus est . . . de loquendi proprietate.* CHARIS. GL. 1, 101, 4 '*clunes*' *feminino genere dixit Melissus* (cf. BAEDA GL. 7, 266, 6), cf. besides what is quoted above § 244, 2 ad fin. See also § 224, 4. 233, 3.

5. GELL. 18, 7, 1 *Domitio, homini docto celebrique in urbe Roma grammatico, cui cognomentum Insano factum est, quoniam erat natura intractabilior et morosior, ei Domitio Favorinus noster cum forte . . . obviam venisset atque ego cum Favorino essem* etc.

6. Q. Octavius Avitus perhaps belongs to this period, see § 225, 3.—On Sulpicius Apollinaris, whose influence commenced at this time, see § 357, 2.

353. Hadrian's time and the period immediately following (§ 362) did not produce any poets of distinction. There was however no lack of poetical attempts, in which special stress was laid on pretty and elegant metres, which had hitherto been used but little or not at all; the anapaest and iambic dimeter were particularly in favour and considerable interest was excited by these trifles (poetae neoterici or novelli). Annianus and Septimius Serenus celebrated, with a certain degree of skill, subjects from rural life, the former in his Falisca, the latter in his opuscula (ruralia). Annianus also wrote Fescennini. Alfius Avitus even treated Roman history in iambic dimeters, and Marianus composed Lupercalia in the same metre. Similar verses were also written by Hadrian himself, by Annius Florus, L. Aelius Verus, Voconius and others.

1. On Hadrian's poems § 346, 2 and 4; on Annius Florus § 348, 8 middle; on Voconius § 346, 4.

2. SPART. Helius (L. Verus the father, the son: § 363, 4) 5, 1 *fuit . . . eruditus in litteris, . . . eloquentiae celsioris, versu facilis.* 4, 7 *cum de provincia Aelius redisset atque orationem pulcherrimam, quae hodieque legitur, sive per se seu per scriniorum aut dicendi magistros pararet, qua kalendis Ianuariis Hadriano patri gratias ageret, . . . kalendis ipsis Ianuariis* (a. 891=138) *perit.*

3. On the metrical trifles by these poets see in particular DIOM. GL. 1, 514 sqq., e.g. 514, 23 *huic metro quod enervatum diximus simile est illud neotericum quod est tale.* 516, 24 *reciprocus* (§ 26, 4) *versus apud neotericos talis.* 517, 3 *reciprocum neoterici, si non fallor, novum protulerunt.* Cf. the notices collected in BÄHREN's FPR. 388 sqq. These fashionable poets (novelli, cf. § 355, 7 l. 15) are frequently mentioned by TERENTIANUS GL. 6, 400, 252 *si novelli versus erit poetae*, ib. 384, 1973 *nemo tamen culpet, si sumo exempla novella: nam et melius nostri servarunt metra minores. Septimius . . .* (n. 5 l. 3). Cf. on this designation and on the poets in question and their period GSCHULTZ, Herm. 22, 274. FLEO, ib. 24, 294.

4. GELL. 6, 7, 1 *Annianus poeta praeter ingenii amoenitates litterarum quoque veterum et rationum in litteris oppido quam peritus fuit et sermocinabatur mira quadam et scita suavitate.* ib. 3 *se audiente Probum grammaticum* (§ 300) *. . . legisse dicit.* Hence Annianus was probably born not later than a. 70. 9, 10, 1 *Ann. poeta et plerique cum eo eiusdem Musae viri.* 20, 8, 1 *A. poeta in fundo suo quem in agro Falisco possidebat . . . me et quosdam item alios familiares vocavit.* According to this Annianus was probably a native of Etruria. His name points that way (MÜLLER-DEECKE, Etrusk. 2², 298. WDEECKE, die Falisker, Strasb. 1888, 114), and so does the title of his poems *Fescennini* (see § 5). AUSON. cento nupt. p. 146 Sch. *nam quid Anniani fescenninos?* LACHMANN ad Terent. Maur. p. XIII rightly considers A. to be the *poeta Faliscus* to whom TERENTIAN. GL. 6, 379, 1816 ascribes *ludicra carmina*. cf. ib. 385, 1998 *talia docta Falisca legimus.* MAR. VICT. GL. 6, 122, 12 *quod genus metri Anniunus Faliscum carmen inscribit* (cf

ib. 123, 18. Serv. GL. 4, 465, 5). LMüller, RhM. 25, 337 and in his edition of Rutil. Nam. p. 34. Bährens, FPR. 374.

5. Terentian. GL. 6, 382, 1891 *dulcia Septimius qui scripsit opuscula nuper ancipitem tali cantavit carmine Ianum* etc. 384, 1973 *nemo tamen culpet si sumo exempla novella; nam et melius nostri servarunt metra minores. Septimius, docuit quo ruris opuscula libro, hoc genere adsidue cecinit. . . . sic hephthemimeres servavit carmine utroque.* 385, 1991 *ultima quae metro fuit hoc inventa Sereni.* 403, 2627 *hoc de Septimii potes iunctis noscere versibus.* Serv. Aen. 2, 15 *quamvis Serenus lyricus 'ad instar' dixerit* (cf. on Aen. 6, 289 *Serenus poeta*). Examples of Serenus' artistic metrical constructions in Diomedes GL. 1, 511. 513 (cf. Mart. Cap. 5, 518). 514. 517. 518. Others in Nonius (e.g. 539, 19 *Serenus opusculorum lib. I;* 210, 22. 258, 2. 431, 16. 467, 26 *Ser. in opusculis*, on the other hand 212, 23 *Ser. ruralibus*), Servius and others. The fragments in Wernsdorf, PLM. 2, 279. LMüller in his Rutil. Nam. p. 44. Bährens' FPR. 384. What Terentian. GL. 6, 385, 1998 describes as *docta Falisca* are erroneously ascribed by Mar. Vict. GL. 6, 122, 15 (LMüller, RhM. 25, 338) to Septimius Serenus (n. 4 ad fin.). Sept. Ser. also revived the variety introduced by Annianus (n. 4); cf. Servius GL. 4, 465, 6 *docta falisca, Serene, reparas.* He is probably also alluded to by Ap. Sidon. carm. 9, 260 (*Stella et Septimius Petroniusque*), cf. carm. 14, praef. (see § 374, 4), and by Hieron. ep. 53 (p. 279 Vall.) *Catullus et Serenus.* On Sept. Ser. cf. Wernsdorf l.l. 2, 247. Lachmann, Terentianus p. xii. LMüller, de re metr. 97; RhM. 25, 343; on Rutil. Nam. p. 35. The trifling which he often displays was necessitated by the artificiality of the metres.

6. Terentianus GL. 6, 398, 2446 concerning the iambic dimeter: *plerumque nec carmen modo sed et volumen explicat, ut pridem Avitus Alfius libros poeta plusculos, usus dimetro perpeti, conscribit Excellentium* (cf. Mar. Victorin. GL. 6, 137 *apud nos metro continuo* [iamb. dim.] *Alfius Avitus libros rerum excellentium fecit*). Prisc. GL. 2, 134, 3 (in part of the MSS.) *Alpheus Avitus in I excellentium* (three dimeters follow); ib. GL. 2, 427, 1 *Alphius Avitus in II excellentium* (six dimeters follow, cf. 409, 18. 233, 21 *spatiandō*); similarly GL. 2, 591, 14 (two dim.). Quotations in Wernsdorf, PLM. 3, xxxi. LMüller, de re metr. 102 and in his Rutil. Nam. p. 51. Bährens' FPR. 383.

7. Five iambic dimeters by *Marianus Lupercaliorum poeta* in Philargyr. on Verg. ecl. 1, 20. Cf. LMüller de re metr. 103 and in his Rutil. Nam. p. 53. FPR. 384.

8. Gell. 19, 7, 1 *in agro Vaticano Iulius Paulus poeta, vir bonus et rerum* (cf. 13, 18, 2 *morum*) *litterarumque veterum inpense doctus, herediolum tenue possidebat. eo saepe nos ad sese vocabat* etc. Cf. ib. 5, 4, 1 and 16, 10, 9 (*I. P. poeta, vir memoria nostra doctissimus*). 1, 22, 9 (*homo in m. n. d.*). Perhaps identical with the Paulus who wrote commentaries on Antipater and Afranius (§ 137, 6 ad fin. 145, 3). HPeter, rell. hist. 1, ccxxxi.

9. A metrical inscription (hexam., iamb. sen., iamb. and troch. dim.) by Q. Tullius Maximus (of Leon) CIL. 2, 2660 Wilm. 147.—The graceful inscription (in iambics) on Ursus, a ball-player at the end of the time of Hadrian, CIL. 6, 9797 (Orelli 2591 Wilm. 574). Cf. WHenzen, bull. 1866, 174. Mommsen, eph. epigr. 1, 55.—Perhaps to this period belong also the 14 (7 Latin and 7 Greek) epigrams on the funeral monument of Atilia Pomptilla near Cagliari in Sardinia, which are superior to the ordinary poetry of the inscriptions. VCrespi, ephem. epigr. 4, 484.

## 3. THE TIME OF THE ANTONINES, A.D. 138–180.

### A. Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138–161.

354. Antoninus Pius (born a. 86, † 161 A.D., Emperor from a. 138), though he did not write himself, still by his admirable administration secured to literature a favourable atmosphere and room for development. The genius of the nation had, however, already sunk so low that a Fronto was its principal spokesman, and it was only in the departments of jurisprudence and of grammar that a certain vitality was visible. Greek literature possessed at this time, along with empty declaimers and Pausanias the topographer, the ingenious writer Lucian and the astronomer Claudius Ptolemaeus.

1. Capitolin. Antoninus Pius 2, 1 *fuit . . . eloquentiae nitidae, litteraturae praecipuae.* 11, 3 *rhetoribus et philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria detulit.* Cf. dig. 27, 1, 6 from an *ἐπιστολὴ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς : αἱ μὲν ἐλάττους πόλεις δύνανται πέντε ἰατροὺς ἀτελεῖς ἔχειν καὶ τρεῖς σοφιστὰς καὶ γραμματικοὺς τοὺς ἴσους* (the larger ones 7 physicians and 4 professors, the greatest 10 physicians and 5 *ῥήτορες* and *γραμματικοί*). (§ 7) *περὶ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἡ αὐτὴ διάταξις ποῦ Πίου οὕτω λέγει· φιλοσόφων δὲ οὐκ ἐτάχθη ἀριθμὸς διὰ τὸ σπανίους εἶναι τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας.* Capitol. Ant. Pi. 11, 3 *orationes plerique alienas dixerunt quae sub eius nomine feruntur ; Marius Maximus eius proprias fuisse dixit.* An oratio of A. P. and Verus (gratiarum actio) is mentioned by Fronto ep. ad Caes. p. 87. Two letters of A. P. to Fronto in Front. epist. p. 163 sq. 167 sq. Two in Greek to the Ephesians in Waddington, mém. sur Aristide p. 8 sqq. The rescripts issued by A. P. are collected by Hänel, Corpus legum p. 101.

2. The two brothers Quintilii, natives of Troja (Philostr. vit. sophist. 2, 1, 11), together coss. 151 A.D., who wrote jointly on husbandry and who are frequently quoted in the Geoponica (see p. 1279 ed. Niclas), in Gargilius Martialis (Mai, class. auct. 1, 392. 396. 405. 412) and elsewhere, wrote in Greek. Cf. PRE. 6, 373. EHFMeyer, Gesch. d. Botan. 2, 164. MHertz, anal. ad carm. Horat. hist. 3, 9. WGemoll, Unterss. üb. d. Geopon., Berl. 1887, 187.

355. The most characteristic figure of this time is the rhetorician M. Cornelius Fronto of Cirta (probably a. 100–175 A.D.), who held under Hadrian a conspicuous position as an orator, and under Antoninus Pius taught M. Aurelius and L. Verus. He was consul 143 A.D. We possess by him above all the greater part of his correspondence with M. Aurelius both as heir apparent and as Emperor. The rhetorician appears in these letters conceited, insipid, laboured, with little genius and much want of taste and pretence, but well-informed and an enthusiastic admirer of early Roman literature, which he zealously endeavours to make more generally known ; at the same time his character appears honour-

able, upright and independent; he never abuses his influential position, is faithful as a husband and friend and gives fatherly advice to his pupils, whose gratitude subsequently surrounded his name with a brilliant lustre.

1. Personal circumstances. Fronto is called *Cirtensis noster* in Minuc. Fel. Oct. 9; cf. Fronto p. 242 *ἐγὼ δὲ Λίβυς τῶν Λιβύων*, also p. 122. 200 sq. His official career previous to his consulate in an inscription from Africa CIL. 8, 5350: *M. Cornelio T. f. Quir. Frontoni IIIvir. capital., q. provinc. Sicil.* (before 138, so that he must have been born before 113), *aedil. pl., praetori, municipes Calamensium patrono. L. Cornelius L. fil. Quir. Fronto Probianus* CIL. 8, 7963 (about a. 220) was probably a relation of this Fronto. He declines to become the patron of Cirta p. 200 sq. Consul a. 143 during July and August; see p. 25. 26. 32 sq. 34. 243, 1. 254 in fin. Auson. grat. act. 7 p. 23 Sch. In his character of proconsul he was to govern Asia (p. 86 ad fin.), but obtained remission on account of his health (p. 169). He lived to see the reign of the Divi fratres (a. 161–169) and survived at least until a. 175: see p. 161 *malim mihi nummum Antonini aut Commodi aut Pii;* no coins with the name of Commodus were struck previous to a. 175 (Mommsen, Herm. 8, 216).—Fronto's health gives him much cause for complaint (esp. ad Caes. V, p. 78 sqq.). He was a victim to gout, from which almost every part of his body suffered (Gell. 2, 26, 1. 19, 10, 1). —He owned the Maecenatiani horti (p. 23).—A descendant of Fronto, Leo, Apoll. Sid. ep. 8, 3.

2. His personal character. Fronto p. 235 sq. (after the death of his grandson): *mors cum aderit . . . quae mihi conscius sum protestabor: nihil in longo vitae meae spatio a me admissum quod dedecori aut probro aut flagitio foret; . . . contra multa liberaliter, multa amice, multa fideliter, multa constanter, saepe etiam cum periculo capitis consulta. cum fratre optimo concordissime vixi . . . honores quos ipse adeptus sum numquam improbis rationibus concupivi. . . . studia doctrinae rei familiari meae praetuli* (cf. p. 135, 2 *nostrae res haud copiosae;* but see Gell. 19, 10, 1). *. . . verum dixi sedulo, verum audivi libenter. . . . quod cuique potui pro copia commodavi. . . . neque me parum gratus quispiam repertus segniorem effecit ad beneficia quaecumque possem prompte impertienda.* Cf. M. Aurel. p. 55 *a Marco Cornelio meo, oratore maximo, homine optimo.* The tender attachment exhibited towards him by his pupils, even after their accession to the throne, is the best testimony in his favour; so also his letters ad amicos, cf. p. 165 *numquam ita animatus fui, imp.* (Ant. Pi.), *ut coeptas in rebus prosperis amicitias si quid adversi increpuisset desererem.* In the amiable letter concerning his grandson p. 181 sq. the tenderhearted grandfather shows even a tinge of humour.

3. Fronto p. 244 *ἥρων τότε μὲν Ἀθηνοδότου τοῦ σοφοῦ, τότε δὲ Διονυσίου* (§ 351) *τοῦ ῥήτορος.* p. 73 *a meo magistro et parente Athenodoto ad imagines quasdam rerum . . . animo comprehendendas . . . institutus sum* (cf. p. 115). p. 154 *meus magister Dionysius.* Cf. p. 169 *Alexandriam ad familiares meos scripsi.* As a native of Cirta, he may have studied there. Dio 69, 18 (a. 136) *Κορνήλιος Φρόντων, ὁ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐν δίκαις φερόμενος.* Even under Antoninus Pius he pleaded in the law-courts; p. 83 in fin. (*ad agendum ad forum ibam*). p. 86 (*in plurimis causis a me defensus*). p. 169 (*duas amicorum causas . . . tutatus sum*) and p. 252 (a. 143) *nec tu consilium causarum agendarum dimiseris aut tecum simul omnia ora taceant.* As such juridical speeches we know those pro Bithynis (p. 183 sq.), pro Ptolemaeensibus (Charis. GL. 1, 138, 11), in Heroden Atticum (ep. p. 111 in fin.= p. 138, 3; cf. p. 42 sq.), pro Demonstrato Petiliano (ep. p. 111=p. 137), in Pelopem

(SIDON. epist. 8, 10 *M. Fronto, cum reliquis orationibus emineret, in P. se sibi praetulit*). There were also political speeches, e.g. ep. p. 25 *divom Hadrianum . . . laudavi in senatu saepenumero . . . et sunt orationes istae frequentes in omnium manibus*, and his speech of acknowledgment for the consulate in the Senate (p. 105, cf. p. 163. 239), the gratiarum actio in senatu pro Carthaginiensibus (p. 260, of which a few disconnected lines have been preserved in the Vaticano-Palat. palimps. 24) and others.—Speech against the Christians see § 368, 1.

4. His relation to M. Aurelius and Verus. CAPITOLIN. Antonin. phil. 2, 4 *oratoribus usus et graecis Aninio Macro, Caninio Celere, et Herode Attico; latino Frontone Cornelio* (cf. DIO 61, 35). *sed multum ex his Frontoni detulit, cui et statuam in senatu petit.* EUTROP. 8, 12 *latinas litteras eum Fronto, orator nobilissimus, docuit.* HIERON. ad a. Abr. 2180=164 A.D. (cf. on the other hand n. 1) *Fronto orator insignis habetur, qui M. Antoninum Verum latinis litteris erudivit.* An inscription from Pisaurum (ORELLI 1176): *M. Corneli Frontonis oratoris, consulis, magistri imperatorum Luci et Antonini;* see § 364, 2. The admiration and tenderness exhibited by M. Aurelius towards his tutor in his letters (e.g. p. 3 sq. p. 26 sq. 55 sq.) and Fronto's love for his pupil are extravagant (e.g. p. 50 *quid est mihi osculo tuo suavius? ille mihi suavis odor* etc. 74, 1 *si quando te . . . video in somnis numquam est quin amplectar et exosculer*); Fronto's affection is frequently outpoured in the language of flattery, but occasionally he tells him the truth (especially p. 74, 7 sqq., cf. p. 64 sq. 66. 95 sqq.) When his pupil, after his accession to the throne, had given up rhetorical studies and devoted himself to philosophy, Fronto tried appeals in every key from plaintiveness to irony, to recall him from this supposed error. Cf. p. 142. 144–146. 148. 153 sq. 161. So p. 150: *tu mihi videre . . . laboris taedio defessus eloquentiae studium reliquisse, ad philosophiam devertisse, ubi nullum prooemium cum cura excolendum, nulla narratio breviter et dilucide . . . collocanda, nullae quaestiones partiendae, nulla argumenta quaerenda, nihil exaggerandum* etc. What follows is almost comical, the description of the supposed paradise lost by the Emperor, where he might amuse himself *synonymis colligendis* and with similar pastimes. But he is very serious p. 155: *fateor . . . unam solam posse causam incidere qua causa claudat aliquantum amor erga te meus,—si eloquentiam neglegas.* Somewhat maliciously he writes to him p. 227: *Chrysippum tuum, quem quotidie ferunt madescere solitum*, and even more strongly to his son-in-law p. 183: *non sine metu fui ne quid philosophia perversi suaderet* (to M. Aurelius). His pupil as Emperor (*εἰς ἑαυτ.* 1, 11) confesses to having learnt from Fronto *τὸ ἐπιστῆσαι οἷα ἡ τυραννικὴ βασκανία καὶ ποικιλία καὶ ὑπόκρισις καὶ ὅτι ὡς ἐπίπαν οἱ καλούμενοι οὗτοι παρ' ἡμῖν εὐπατρίδαι ἀστοργότεροί πως εἰσί.* Cf. to Fronto p. 49 *me felicem nuncupo . . . quod verum dicere ex te disco.*

5. The favourite authors of Fronto, whose study he strongly recommended to his pupils, were Plautus, Ennius, Cato, Gracchus, Lucretius, Laberius, Sallust: cf. p. 62. 28 sq. 36. 48. 56. 68 and other passages. He does not mention Terence and Vergil; but we find in him reminiscences of Vergil, Horace (HERTZ, Renaissance 47; anall. ad hist. Horat. 3, 4) and Tacitus (ep. p. 144=hist. 4, 6). He has a decided antipathy to Seneca, both as a philosopher and as diametrically opposed to him in point of style; see above § 288, 1. Ironically he says p. 224 *ut homo ego multum facundus et Senecae Annaei sectator.* He sometimes praises Cicero, especially where he finds it useful to appeal to his authority against the detractors of oratory, e.g. p. 145 (*tribunalia Catonis et Gracchi et Ciceronis orationibus celebrata*). Cf. p. 125 and 184, 2 (*ut aestimes nostrum mediocre ingenium quantum ab illo eximiae eloquentiae viro abfuat*). He prefers Cicero's letters to his speeches, see § 187, 1. He also asserts (p. 63): *eius scripta omnia studiosissime lectitavi.* He prepares writings of Cicero for publication,

ad amicos p. 190. But repeatedly the adjective *tullianus* has in Fronto a somewhat contemptuous meaning; cf. p. 23. 25. 76 (*oratiunculae*). 98 (*sententiae*). His views on Cicero's style and diction are given p. 63 sq., e.g.: *mihi videtur a quaerendis scrupulosius verbis procul afuisse, vel magnitudine animi vel fuga laboris vel fiducia. . . . itaque . . . in omnibus eius orationibus paucissima admodum reperias insperata atque inopinata verba, quae nonnisi cum studio atque cura atque vigilia atque multa veterum carminum memoria indagantur* (which is Fronto's forte and likewise his fault). Yet he acknowledges: *multo satius est volgaribus et usitatis quam remotis et requisitis uti, si parum significent* (p. 63 sq., cf. p. 40. 162 sq.). On Fronto's borrowing from and reminiscences of early Latin and the curiosities of his diction see RKlussmann, emendatt. Front. p. 75 together with WStudemund's ep. crit. (see n. 9) p. xxx. Cf. n. 10. On his orthography cf. HWeissbrodt in the Braunsberg Ind. lect. 1872, 18.

6. More or less considerable remains (n. 8) of the following works are preserved: correspondence with M. Aurelius as heir apparent 5 books (epistularum ad M. Caesarem et invicem libri V) and as Emperor (Antoninus Imperator), also probably 5 books originally (Charis. GL. 1, 223, 27 *Fronto ad Antoninum quinto*), the latter in a very imperfect condition. Also (p. 113–138) ad Verum Imp. [Aurelium Caesarem] two books. Besides these, we have a correspondence (one book) with Antoninus Pius (p. 163–171) and two books ad amicos (p. 172–201), also letters in Greek (p. 174. 239–251). Also addressed to M. Aurelius are the treatises on oratory, concerning its value as compared with philosophy (p. 139–148), and de orationibus (p. 155–162), likewise the letter de bello parthico (p. 217–222, cf. AWPassow, Lucian u. die Geschichte, Mein. 1854, 13) and that entitled Principia historiae (p. 202–210), a panegyric on the military career of Verus (or rather his lieutenant Avidius Cassius) in the East. Cf. besides Eumen. paneg. in Constantium Caes. 14 (p. 141, 28 Bähr.) *Fronto, Romanae eloquentiae non secundum sed alterum decus, cum belli in Britannia confecti laudem Antonino principi daret.* To M. Aurelius as Caesar he dedicates the laudes fumi et pulveris and laudes neglegentiae (p. 211–216), which he says were written *facetiarum et voluptatis causa* (p. 212 cf. 228, 2); to him as Emperor he addressed the letters de feriis Alsiensibus (p. 223–231), a cheerful summons to employ his holidays for recreation. There is also the Emperor's letter of condolence to Fronto concerning his grandson's death, and Fronto's reply to it (p. 231–236). Likewise the ἐρωτικὸς (p. 255–259), a pendant to the two in Plato's Phaedrus, and to which letters of M. Caesar are prefixed from the year of Fronto's consulate. The tale of Arion (p. 237) serves likewise a rhetorical purpose.—HCrossley (the corresp. of Fronto and M. Aurelius), Hermathena 5, 67; also in his edition of the Meditatt. M. Aurel. l. IV, Lond. 1882.—An insignificant treatise (best given in Keil's GL. 7, 519) de nominum verborumque differentiis, which has come down to us in a single MS., the old Neapolitanus of Charisius (§ 419, 3), without a heading or the name of the author, was arbitrarily attributed to Fronto by IParrhasius in the ed. princ. Vicenza 1509. JWBeck, de different. scriptt. lat. 16. The Exempla of Messius Arusianus were just as erroneously attributed to Fronto, see Keil GL. 7, 444 and below § 427, 4.

7. On the time when these letters were composed cf. Naber's edition p. xx and esp. Mommsen, die Chronologie der Briefe des Fr., Herm. 8, 198. The second book ad Caes. belongs to the time of Fronto's consulship; in the first Caesar appears to be 22 years (p. 23, 3), in the fourth 25 years old (p. 75 in fin.). Being a correspondence between a professor of rhetoric and his pupil, these letters do not furnish much information on the history of the time, but are on the contrary frequently petty, monotonous and full of repetitions (p. 111=137 sq.; p. 135=176, 1 sq.; p. 149=159), yet they are interesting and in a way instructive.

Latin and Greek are mixed up sometimes in quite a macaronic manner (*in hac εἰκόνε* p. 47, 1). But at the same time Fronto adheres even in these letters to his mannerisms, his distorted and conceited diction and the obtrusion of archaic and rare words, and he cannot drop his pedagogism even after his pupil has become Emperor, nor when he writes in his affliction (de nepote amisso p. 233, 7 sqq. *fata fando appellata aiunt; hocine est recte fari?*). Even stronger specimens of his *elocutio novella* (p. 153), and of the *ornatae et pompaticae orationes* (p. 55, 1) with their elaborate (ad Caes. 2, 1) dressing, are his rhetorical treatises, those on history being at the same time models of the worst kind of historical composition, in which history is merely treated as a vehicle of rhetorical diction. Very unjust is the criticism (see EUMENIUS paneg. Constant. 14, 2): *Fronto romanae eloquentiae non secundum, sed alterum decus.* Similarly the oral expositions of Fronto and his contemporaries abounded in pedantic erudition, to judge by the specimens in GELLIUS 2, 26. 13, 29. 19, 8. 10. 13. None of his treatises seem to bear an earlier date than a. 160.

8. We owe what is preserved of Fronto's works (n. 6), with the exception of the few lines extant of the speech pro Carthagin. (see n. 3 ad fin.), to a cod. palimps. Bobiensis s. VI (unfortunately in a very imperfect state), of which the smaller half is now in Rome (Vatic. 5750), and the larger at Milan (Ambros.). A specimen of the writing in ZANGEMEISTER-WATTENBACH, exempl. codd. latt. t. 31. In the MS. we find below b. 3 of the epp. ad Caesarem the subscriptio (§ 41, 2 in fin.): *Caecilius saepe rogatus* (? LHAVET, rev. de phil. 10, 109) *legi emendavi* and subsequently frequently *legi emendavi qui supra.*—The Milan portions were first published by AMAI, Milan 1815; a new edition of the same (by NIEBUHR, BUTTMANN, HEINDORF), Berl. 1816. Then in 1823 and 1846 MAI published them at Rome together with the Vatican portions.—From a new collation of the MS. by GNDU RIEU (supplements to this by WSTUDEMUND in Klussmann's stud. Front. see n. 9) recensuit SANABER, Lps. 1867.

9. Textual criticism: LSCHOPEN, emendatt. Fronton., Bonn 1830. 1841. ASCHÄFER, Phil. 26, 575. HALAN, Dublin 1841. 1863. 1867. JMÄHLY, Phil. 17, 176. 19, 159. MHAUPT, op. 2, 346 and elsewhere. RELLIS, Journ. of phil. 1 [Lond. 1868], 15. AEUSSNER, RhM. 25, 541. RKLUSSMANN, emendatt. Fronton., Berl. 1874 (with epistula crit. by STUDEMUND); JJ. 109, 636; curae africanae, Gera 1883. EBÄHRENS, JJ. 105, 632. MADVIG, adv. crit. 2, 613. JJCORNELISSEN, Mnemos. NS. 1, 91. 13, 105. HVHERWERDEN and CGCOBET ib. 1, 293. 305. EHRENTHAL, SCHWIERCZINA ll. ll. (n. 10). AMDESROUSSEAUX, rev. de phil. 10, 149. 16, 159. WFRÖHNER, Phil. Suppl. 5, 49.

10. FROTH (die Schriften des M. Corn. Fronto u. das Zeitalter der Antonine), Sammlung etlicher Vorträge (Frankf. 1851) 52. NIEBUHR, kl. Schrr. 2, 52. FAECKSTEIN in Ersch and Gruber's Encykl. 1, 51, 442. MHERTZ, Renaissance etc. 26. LVALMAGGI, i precursori del Front., Ivrea 1887. EDROZ, de M. Corn. Front. institutione oratoria, Besançon 1885.—AEBERT, de Frontonis syntaxi, act. semin. phil. Erl. 2, 311; BlfbayrGW. 19, 527. THSCHWIERCZINA, Frontoniana, Bresl. 1883. LEHRENTHAL, quaestt. Front., Königsb. 1881.—CPRIEBE, de Frontone imitationem prisci serm. lat. adfectante, Stettin 1885. 86. II. LVALMAGGI, quaestt. Frontonianae, Eporediae 1889.

11. Others of the same name: see § 52, 4. 327, 4. 329, 3. Also a poet: SCHOL. BERN. ad Verg. ge. 4, 283 *hic enim* (Aristaeus) *iuxta fabulam quam Fronto poeta descripsit originem gignendarum apium primus invenit.* BÄHRENS' FPR. 376.

356. Friends of Fronto were his colleagues Antonius Julianus of Spain, Favorinus of Gaul, Herodes Atticus, and the historian Appianus, all of whom however, except Julianus, composed only in Greek. L. Fabius Severus of Tergeste is mentioned as a pleader at law.

1. Gell. 1, 4 *Antonius Iulianus rhetor perquam fuit honesti atque amoeni ingenii. doctrina quoque ista utiliore ac delectabili veterumque elegantiarum cura et memoria multa fuit. ad hoc scripta omnia antiquiora tam curiose spectabat et aut virtutes pensitabat aut vitia rimabatur ut iudicium esse factum ad amussim diceres. . . . ad hunc modum Iulianus enodabat diiudicabatque veterum scriptorum sententias, quae apud eum adulescentes delectitabant.* 19, 9, 2 *venerat nobiscum ad eandem cenam Antonius Iulianus rhetor, docendis publice iuvenibus magister, hispano ore florentisque homo facundiae et rerum litterarumque veterum peritus.* Examples of his erudition 9, 1, 2. 15, 1, 4. 18, 5, 5. 19, 9, 8. 20, 9. That he taught Gellius appears from Gell. 18, 5, 1 *cum A. I. rhetore, viro hercle bono et facundiae florentis, complures adulescentuli, familiares eius, Puteolis aestivarum feriarum ludum . . . agitabamus.* Cf. ib. 9, 15, 1 *cum A. I. rhetore per feriarum tempus . . . Neapolin concesseramus.* 15, 1, 1 *declamaverat A. I. rhetor . . . feliciter. . . . ergo familiares eius circumfusi undique eum prosequebamur domum.* There seems to be a reference to works by the same author published at a later time ib. 18, 5, 12 *hoc tum nobis Iulianus . . . dixit. sed eadem ipsa post etiam in pervulgatis commentariis scripta offendimus.* On an indication pointing to declamations by Julianus see § 325, 12 l. 17. 351, 4 l. 14.—On an earlier A. J. § 314, 5.

2. Gell. 2, 26, 1 *Favorinus philosophus cum ad M. Frontonem consularem, pedibus aegrum, visum iret* etc. Fronto p. 215 *Favorinus noster.* Cf. § 351, 3.—A letter from Appian to Fronto in which he offers him two slaves as a present, and Fronto's answer declining the gift p. 244–251.

3. The two royal tutors and rhetoricians (§ 355, 4 init.) Fronto and Herodes Atticus (PRE. $1^2$, 2096) were indeed often at variance, but as it seems rather through the fault of the latter (cf. § 355, 3), and M. Aurelius was obliged to mediate between them (Fronto p. 60). At last, however, they appear to have been permanently reconciled. Fronto p. 111 and 138 *fieri amicissimum, tam hercule quam est Herodes summus nunc meus, quamquam extet oratio* (against him).

4. On the quaestor urbanus L. Fabius Severus, the son of Fabius Verus at Tergeste (Trieste), see the laudatory decree CIL. 5, 532 (Or.-Henzen 7668 Wilm. 693) where we read e.g.: *ut qui a prima sua statim aetate id egerit uti . . . et dignitate et eloquentia cresceret. nam ita multas et magnificas causas publicas apud optimum principem Antoninum Aug. Pium adseruisse egisse, vicisse . . . ut quamvis admodum adulescens senilibus tamen et perfectis operibus et factis patriam suam obstrinxerit. . . . civilia studia, quae in eo quamvis admodum iuvene iam sint peracta atque perfecta* etc. . . . *causis publicis patrocinando, quas . . . sua eximia ac prudentissima oratione semper nobis cum victoria firmiores remisit.*

5. Rudorff l.l. assigns to this period the funeral oration preserved in an inscription on Murdia L. f. mater CIL. 6, 10230 (Orelli 4860 Bruns, font.[5] 305; cf. § 81, 6), which Mommsen CIL. l.l. refers rather to the Augustan period. Cf. AFRudorff, Abh. d. Berl. Ak. 1868, 217.

357. Erudition and grammar were popular in this period,

and everywhere, in the streets and in the market-places, in public buildings as well as private houses, at dinner-parties and at visits to the sick, questions of scholarship were discussed before attentive audiences; this was done likewise in writing, in the form of questions and answers, after the manner of the jurists. The principal representative of this learning is C. Sulpicius Apollinaris of Carthage, who taught Gellius and Pertinax, the author e.g. of learned epistles and of metrical arguments to (Plautus,) Terence and to the Aeneid. Next to him ranks Arruntius Celsus, who likewise devoted himself to the investigation of archaic literature.

1. Characterisation. GELL. 20, 10, 2 *rem doceo grammaticam; . . . si quid igitur ex Vergilio, Plauto, Ennio quaerere habes, quaeras licet.* 19, 13, 1 *stabant forte una in vestibulo palatii fabulantes Fronto Cornelius et Festus Postumius* (§ 364, 1) *et Apollinaris Sulpicius, atque ego ibi adsistens cum quibusdam aliis sermones eorum quos de litterarum disciplinis habebant curiosius captabam.* 18, 4, 1 *in Sandaliario forte apud librarios fuimus, cum ibi in multorum hominum coetu Apollinaris Sulpicius iactatorem quempiam Sallustianae lectionis inrisit inlusitque.* 13, 20, 1 *cum in domus Tiberianae bibliotheca sederemus . . . prolatus forte liber est* etc. *tum quaeri coeptum est* etc. 19, 10, 1 *memini me quondam et Celsinum Iulium Numidam* (cf. ib. 19, 7, 2) *ad Frontonem Cornelium, pedes tunc graviter aegrum, ire et visere. . . . offendimus eum cubantem . . . circumundique sedentibus multis doctrina aut genere aut fortuna nobilibus viris.* A calculation of the expense of a bath occasions a discussion of the expression *praeterpropter.*

2. GELL. 4, 17, 11 *equidem memini Sulpicium Apollinarem, virum praestanti litterarum scientia, . . . dicere.* 12, 13, 1 *Sulpicium Ap., doctum hominem.* 13. 18, 2 *ad S. A., hominem memoriae nostrae doctissimum, . . . nam id tempus ego adulescens Romae sectabar eum discendi gratia.* 13, 20, 5 *Apollinaris, ut mos eius in reprehendendo fuit, placide admodum leniterque.* 16, 5, 5 *Sulpicium Ap. memini dicere, virum eleganti scientia ornatum.* 18, 4, 1 *A. S., vir in memoria nostra praeter alios doctus.* On Gellius' relation to him see § 365; † c. a. 160, as Pertinax (§ 364, 6) succeeded him (CAPITOLIN. Pert. 1, 4). GELL. 15, 5, 3 *Sulpicius Ap. in quadam epistula scriptum reliquit.* Cf. ib. 13, 18, 3. In his learned epistles he paid great attention to Vergil (cf. GELL. 2, 16, 8 sqq.), of whose Aeneid Sulpicius had perhaps published an edition (SCHOL. VERON. Verg. Aen. 9, 369 *hoc loco adnotant . . . Probus et Sulpicius* etc.). At all events in addition to an introductory epigram in three distichs, he composed the arguments to the 12 books of the Aeneid each in six hexameters, and always beginning with the first line of the book in question, AL. 635 PLM. 4, 169. The heading in the Voss. F. 111 s. IX (§ 421, 6) reads *hexasticha Sulpicii Cartayiniensis.* The opening epigram (but with wide variations in the text) in DONATUS' vita Vergilii (§ 224, 1, b) p. 63 Reiff. (*de qua re Sulpicii Carthaginiensis extant huius modi versus*) and in PROBUS' Vergilii vita (§ 224, 1, a) p. 54 Reiff. (but here the preceding words are: *quod et Servius Varus* [*Maurus* OJAHN, cf. § 431, 1] *hoc testatur epigrammate*). Cf. BÄHRENS PLM. 4, p. 45. 5, 385. 396. He also wrote metrical arguments to the plays of Terence (§ 109, 3). It is therefore probable that the Plautine arguments (§ 99, 3) are likewise by him, or by one of his contemporaries. GRÄFENHAN, ZfAW. 1847, 19. RIB-

BECK, prolegg. Vergil. 173.—In general OPITZ, Lpz. Studd. 6, 195. 204. 229. 282. JWBECK, de Sulpicio Apollinari, Groningen 1884.

3. Arruntius Celsus (CHARIS. GL. 1, 213, 18. 222, 6. 30) is a grammarian already used by Julius Romanus and whose short explanations of Plautine and Terentian phrases (esp. Phorm.) as well as of Vergil (esp. Aen. XI) are repeatedly quoted by Charisius, Priscian and others, generally by the name of Celsus, more rarely by that of Arruntius). Cf. CONSENT. GL. 5, 375, 1. 390, 6. RUFIN. GL. 6, 565, 5. He does not seem to have written complete commentaries on those poets. RITSCHL, Parerga 367. RIBBECK, prolegg. 25.

4. IUL. CAPIT. v. Antonin. philos. 2, 3 *usus . . . grammaticis . . . latinis Trosio Apro et Polione et Eutychio Proculo Siccensi.* (6) *Proculum usque ad proconsulatum provexit oneribus in se receptis.* Cf. TREB. POLL. XXX tyr. 22, 14 *quod apud Proculum grammaticum, doctissimum sui temporis grammaticum, cum de peregrinis regionibus loquitur, invenitur.* M. AURELIUS himself ad Front. p. 17, 34 *rogo ne Horatii memineris qui mihi cum Polione est emortuus.* SERV. Aen. 2, 7. 6, 554. 11, 183 probably also refers to this Pollio, not to Asinius Pollio (§ 221). According to this the Pollio in question devoted his attention to Vergil and Horace, THBERGK, ZfAW. 1845, 119. ORIBBECK, proleg. Vergil. 115. HPETER, JJ. 119, 423.

5. A learned dilettante was (Sex.) Erucius Clarus, *qui praef. urbi* (after a. 138? STEUP, de Prob. 74) *et bis consul* (a. 177? and 146, KLEIN, fasti cons. p. 59. 70), *fuit vir morum et litterarum veterum studiosissimus*, GELL. 13, 18, 2 and 3 (*vir eruditus*), cf. 7, 6, 12. He is the son of the orator Erucius Clarus under Trajan (§ 341, 4), *iuvenis probissimus*, for whom the younger Pliny procured the quaestorship and the tribuneship of the people (PLIN. ep. 2, 9). Cf. FRONTO p. 165. DIO 68, 30.

6. GELL. 2, 3, 5 *venit nobis in memoriam Fidium Optatum, multi nominis Romae grammaticum, ostendisse mihi librum* etc.

7. To the same time belongs the Auruncan Furius Philocalus, *magister ludi litterari, summa quom castitate in discipulos suos, idemque testamenta scripsit cum fide*, according to his epitaph, CIL. 10, 3969 FBÜCHELER, anthol. epigr. lat. 1 (Greifsw. 1870), 19 WILM. 579.

8. Anonymous grammarians and scholars of this time occur in GELLIUS e.g. 19, 10, 7 (*grammaticum haud incelebri nomine Romae docentem*). 19, 13, 4 (*grammatico cuipiam latino, Frontonis familiari*). 5, 4, 2 (*grammaticus quispiam de nobilioribus*). 14, 5, 1 (*duos grammaticos non parvi in urbe Roma nominis*). Cf. 1, 7, 4 (*amicus noster, homo lectione multa exercitus, cui pleraque omnia veterum litterarum quaesita erant*). 5, 21 (*vir adprime doctus, meus amicus*). 10, 1, 1–3. 14, 6, 1. 20, 10, 2 (*rogavi Romae grammaticum, celebri hominem fama et multo nomine*).

358. Philosophy, especially the Stoic system, had not so many adherents as rhetoric, but it increased in importance from the time when the youthful heir apparent manifested his passion for it. These philosophers originated little or nothing, but some of them, such as Junius Rusticus, were men of highly honourable character. Christianity was now defended in a dogmatic manner, at least in the East.

1. On the relative scarcity of the *φιλοσοφοῦντες* see § 354, 1.

2. Capitol. M. Ant. philos. 2, 6 *philosophiae operam vehementer dedit, et quidem adhuc puer. . . . usus est etiam Commodi magistro, . . . Apollonio Chalcedonio stoico philosopho* (cf. ad Front. p. 86 *Apollonius magister meus philosophiae*). 3, 2 *audivit et Sextum Chaeronensem Plutarchi nepotem* (cf. Dio 71, 1. Philostr. vit. soph. 2, 1, 9), *Iunium Rusticum, Claudium Maximum* (see n. 4) *et Cinnam Catulum, stoicos, peripateticae vero studiosum audivit Claudium Severum.* Dio 71, 35 διδασκάλους εἶχε τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγων τόν τε Ῥούστικον τὸν Ἰούνιον καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Νικομηδέα, τοὺς Ζηνωνείους λόγους μελετῶντας. Hieron. ad a. Abr. 2165=149 a.d. *Apollonius stoicus natione Chalcidicus et Basilides Scythopolitanus philosophi inlustres habentur, qui Verissimi quoque Caesaris praeceptores fuerunt.* M. Aurelius himself (εἰς ἑαυτ. 1, 6 sqq.) mentions among those who influenced his philosophical studies the following: Διόγνητος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Σέξτος, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πλατωνικός, Κάτουλος. Fronto p. 115 *quid nostra memoria Euphrates, Dio, Timocrates, Athenodotus? quid horum magister Musonius?* Cf. EZeller, Gesch. d. griech. Philos. 3, 1³, 690.

3. Capitol. l.l. (see n. 2) *Iunium Rusticum . . . et reveritus est et sectatus, qui domi militiaeque pollebat, stoicae disciplinae peritissimum, cum quo omnia communicavit publica privataque consilia, . . . quem et consulem iterum designavit* (II a. 162), *cui post obitum a senatu statuas postulavit.* dig. 49, 1, 1, 3 from a rescriptum divorum fratrum: . . . *ad Iunium Rusticum amicum nostrum*, praef. urbi. (a. 167, Borghesi, oeuv. 5, 58) M. Aurelius εἰς ἑαυτ. 1, 7 παρὰ Ῥουστίκου . . . τὸ μὴ ἐκτραπῆναι εἰς ζῆλον σοφιστικὸν . . . καὶ τὸ ἀποστῆναι ῥητορικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ ἀστειολογίας . . . καὶ τὸ ἀκριβῶς ἀναγιγνώσκειν . . . καὶ τὸ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς Ἐπικτητείοις ὑπομνήμασιν, ὧν οἴκοθεν μετέδωκεν. Themist. or. XIII. XVII. He is probably identical with Q. Iun. Rust., consul with Q. Flavius Tertullus (CIL. 6, 858). Cf. Wilm. 2764.—Orelli 1190 *L. Iunii Rustici philosophi stoici* (inscribed beneath his bust, which has now disappeared together with the inscription: Bernoulli, röm. Ikonogr. 1, 283): elsewhere this Rusticus has the praenomen Q. Is the person here alluded to the same as the Rusticus mentioned § 319, 5. 329, 2.?

4. The Stoic Claudius Maximus (n. 2 l. 5) is probably that Μάξιμος whom M. Aurelius εἰς ἑαυτ. 1, 15 (παράκλησις Μαξίμου τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ) mentions as having influenced his education, and 8, 25 as having died a long time previously (before his wife Secunda). He is therefore probably that Claudius Maximus before whose tribunal, when proconsul in Africa, Apuleius had to appear on a charge of practising magic arts (§ 336, 3; Apul. apol. 19 *virum tam austerae sectae tamque diutinae militiae.* 25 *vir severus.* 36 *pro tua eruditione legisti profecto Aristotelis . . . multiiuga volumina* etc. 48 *doctrinae tuae congruens;* cf. ib. 91. 64 *scit me vera dicere Maximus, qui . . . legit in Phaedro diligenter* etc.). This proconsul is probably identical with his namesake the leg. Aug. Pannoniae a. 154 in CIL. 3, p. 881. Waddington, bull. dell' inst. 1869, 254. ERohde, RhM. 40, 67.

359. The predominance of wordy rhetoric and the dead-calm now prevailing were by no means favourable to historical pursuits. It is possible that L. Ampelius wrote his liber memorialis at this time. The short history of the Roman Republic, which shows a great predilection for miracles and fictitious tales, bearing the name of Granius Licinianus, should probably be placed about this period.

1. *L. Ampelius Macrino suo s. Volenti tibi omnia nosse scripsi hunc librum memorialem, ut noris quid sit mundus, quid elementa* (cosmography), *quid orbis terrarum ferat* (physical geography, wonders of the world, mythological genealogies) *vel quid genus humanum peregerit* (Oriental, Greek, early Roman history). The historical events are also arranged in sections according to their subjects and the whole work is concise to the last degree, after the manner of an index, though not without an occasional parade of curious learning. If the Macrinus to whom the work is dedicated were identical with the Emperor of a. 217-218, who was assassinated at the age of 54 (or 52), we should have to carry the date of the composition of this small work to the end of the century. But the name of Macrinus is by no means uncommon. On the other hand the latest name mentioned in the book is that of Trajan (47, 7 *fortuna Traiani principis;* cf. 23 *Caesar Dacicus*), and in treating of the wars with the Parthians (c. 31) those of L. Verus are not alluded to. In the centuries following (esp. in the cod. Theodos.) the name of Ampelius occurs more frequently. For a later date of composition see besides Gläser (beginning of the 3rd cent., n. 3) Rohden l.l. and AEnmann, Phil. Suppl. 4, 495.—As authorities amongst others Nigidius Figulus, Nepos, Trogus, Hyginus de viris illustr. and Florus are used. On a sound Greek authority is based cap. 8 (miracula mundi, HvRohden, de mundi miraculis [Bonn 1875] p. 3); in it e.g. § 10 an important notice concerning Pheidias' Athena Parthenos and § 14 the passage *Pergamo ara marmorea magna* etc., which has become celebrated in connection with the Pergamene sculptures in Berlin. The interpolation 8, 18–23 is probably derived from Varro. In many other places likewise the original text has been disturbed.

2. A. was first published according to the codex Divionensis Iureti (the only one known), which has now disappeared, by CLSalmasius, Leid. 1638 (subjoined to Florus); then with Florus by Duker and others. Separate editions by CHTzschucke (cum notis, Lps. 1773), FABeck (with a comm., Lpz. 1826); in particular by EWölfflin (Lpz. 1854) subjoined to Halm's Florus, after Salmasius' copy (=Monac. 10383) of the Dijon codex.

3. CEGläser, das Zeitalter d. Amp., RhM. 2, 145. EWölfflin, de L. Amp. libro mem. quaestt. crit. et hist., Gött. 1854. FBücheler, RhM. 13, 179. HJacob, quaestt. Amp., Cleves 1860.—Textual criticism: LUrlichs, RhM. 17, 632. MZink, Eos 2, 317. AEussner, spec. crit., Würzb. 1868, p. 37 and Phil. 37, 147. ERohde, RhM. 32, 638.

4. Macr. 1, 16, 30 *apud Granium Licinianum libro secundo.* Serv. Aen. 1, 737 *Granius Licinianus cenae suae (V?).* Solin. polyh. 2, 12 (p. 37, 12 middle) *Liciniano* (HPeter: *Licinio Muciano*) *placet.* Cf. § 199, 7.

5. From a codex ter scriptus (12 parchment leaves from Egypt, Licinianus is the lowest) in London (British Mus. Add. 17212, see PBöttticher, Phil. 9, 394; specimen of the writing: catalogue of anc. MSS. in the Brit. Mus. 2, tab. 1 and 2) Licinianus was first edited by CAFPertz, Gai Grani Liciniani annalium quae supersunt etc., Berl. 1857. The praenomen however rests on a very uncertain reading. The books must have been very short; the fragments are from b. xxvi, xxviii and xxxvi and relate to events of a. 591/163 and 676/78. The scheme is annalistic. Omens and prodigies, anecdotes and curiosities are all minutely treated. The narrative (in about 40 books) does not appear to have been brought down beyond the death of Caesar; yet the completion by Hadrian of the Olympieion at Athens is alluded to (p. 8. sq. Bonn. *aedes Olympii Iovis Atheniensis diu imperfecta permanserat*). This circumstance, and also the minute attention paid

to Sallust (just as we find in Fronto, see § 355, 5 and MHertz, JJ. Suppl. 7, 22), that writer's period being specifically distinguished (*tempora reprehendit sua*, see § 206, 4 in fin.), the antiquarian affectation (*Ariobardianen, Archelauo*) and the character of the work as an excerpt from Livy for school use, accord with the time of the Antonines at earliest. The fact that the work is quoted by Solinus or his authority deters us from assigning it to a later date. Cf. Mommsen, Solin. p. xxviii. The Bonn editors on the other hand (Bücheler and others) assume, on account of the archaic forms already mentioned, that the original work was composed under Augustus and epitomised in the time of the Antonines, while Madvig fixes its composition in the 3rd or 4th cent. A.D. The identification of the author (see also GKettner, Cornel. Lab. 16) with Granius Flaccus (§ 199, 7) falls to the ground, if we refuse to assign the work to the Augustan period.

6. Editions by Pertz (n. 5) and: Grani Licinïani quae supersunt emendatiora ed. philologorum Bonnensium heptas, Lps. 1858.—Textual criticism: CGSchmidt, Phil. 13, 224, GLinker, JJ. 77, 628, KKeil, ib. 640. JAWynne, Phil. 15, 357, HHeerwagen, Nürnb. 1858, DComparetti, RhM. 13, 457, CMFrancken, JJ. Suppl. 3, 235.

7. On Lic. see especially GLinker, JJ. 77, 633 and Madvig, kl. philol. Schrr. (Lpz. 1875) 391.

8. The historian Bruttius perhaps belongs to the family of the Bruttii which held a high position in the time of the Antonines (e.g. C. Bruttius Praesens cos. a. 153, and the coss. of the same name a. 139. 217); Malal. 2, p. 34 Dind. Βρούττιος, ἱστορικὸς χρονογράφος, quoted for matters of mythology, for Alexander's campaigns and for the persecutions of the Christians under Domitian, Peter, hist. rom. fragm. 375.—On Fronto's historical works see § 355, 6 and 7.

360. The Roman jurists were in this period divided into practicians who gave opinions on legal questions or pleaded in actions, with or without any public position, and actual professors of jurisprudence. Most of the first class were pupils of Julian; e.g. Vindius and Sex. Julius Africanus, a man known by the difficulty of his definitions, then Terentius Clemens, Junius Mauricianus and Venuleius Saturninus. M. Aurelius' teacher in legal matters, L. Volusius Maecianus, wrote, besides juridical works, a treatise (still extant) on numerical divisions, weights and measures. One of the jurists most highly valued in the succeeding centuries was Ulpius Marcellus under Pius and M. Aurelius.

1. Gell. 13, 13, 1 *cum . . . in lucem fori prodissem quaesitum esse memini in plerisque Romae stationibus ius publice docentium* (cf. fragm. Vat. 150 *neque geometrae neque hi qui ius civile docent.* dig. 27, 1, 6, 12. 50, 13, 1, 5 *iuris civilis professores*) *aut respondentium* etc. Some of the latter had an official character; see Vol. I. p. 406. Capitolin. Antonin. P. 12, 1 *multa de iure sanxit ususque est iuris peritis Vindio Vero* (n. 2), *Fulvio Valente* (§ 350, 4), *Volusio Maeciano* (n. 8), *Ulpio Marcello* (n. 9) *et Diaboleno* (cf. § 342, 3).

2. M. Vindius Verus (n. 1) was cos. A.D. 138. Fragm. Vat. 77 *Vindius cum consulit Iulianum in ea opinione est.* Marcian. dig. 35, 2, 32, 4 *Vindius noster.*

Cf. Ulpian. ib. 2, 14, 7, 18 (*Vindius scribit*). 5, 1, 5 (*Pomponius et V. scripserunt*). Paul. ib. 2, 9, 2, 1 (*putat V. . . . idque Iulianus scribit* etc. *Pomponius et V. scribunt*).

3. Gell. 20, 1, 1 *Sex. Caecilius in disciplina iuris atque in legibus populi rom. noscendis interpretandisque scientia usus auctoritateque inlustris fuit. ad eum forte . . . philosophus Favorinus* (§ 351, 3) *accessit* etc. *in illis tunc eorum sermonibus orta mentio est legum decemviralium. . . . eas leges cum Sex. Caecilius, inquisitis exploratisque multarum urbium legibus . . . eleganti . . . brevitate verborum scriptas diceret* etc. On his relation to Julian, see Paul. dig. 19, 1, 45 pr. *idque et Iulianum agitasse Africanus refert.* Ulp. dig. 25, 3, 3, 4 *Iulianus Sexto Caecilio Africano respondit.* 30, 39 pr. *Africanus libr. XX° epistolarum apud Iulianum* (see § 49, 6) *quaerit.* Afric. dig. 12, 6, 38 pr. *id maxime consequens esse ei sententiae quam Iulianus probaret.* Cf. ib. 12, 1, 23 and 13, 7, 31 *Iulianus ait.* His works (besides the Epistolae): Quaestionum libri IX, discussions of maxims and legal cases, frequently in the shape of questions and answers, closely following Julian (Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 9, 90, Fitting, Alter d. Schrr. 15, Krüger, Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. R. 179). In the Digest we find 130 fragments of this work, collected by Hommel, palingen. p. 3. Lenel 1, 1. With the jurists of the last centuries *Africani lex* is a proverbial expression to denote something difficult. The passages in which Caecilius or Sextus is quoted (e.g. Gai. 2, 218 *Iuliano et Sexto placuit*) should in all probability likewise be understood of him. Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 7, 479. 9, 92. In general see Cujacius Tractat. IX ad Afr., opp. 2, 1253. FKämmerer, obss. iur. civ. (Rost. 1827), 1, 74. Zimmern, Gesch. d. Privatr. 1, 1, 350.

4. Terentius Clemens, the author of twenty books ad legem Iuliam et Papiam, from which there are 37 passages in the Digest (Hommel, palingen. 2, 499. Lenel, pal. 2, 353). Dig. 28, 6, 6 he speaks of *Iulianus noster* (*hoc ita interpretari Iul. n. videtur*) and in other places also pays attention to his Digest, whence his work would appear to belong to the latest part of the time of Pius. Fitting, Alter. d. Schrr. 16.

5. Junius Mauricianus wrote under Pius (dig. 31, 57 *divus Hadrianus . . . et proxime Imp. Antoninus.* 33, 2, 23 *nuper Imp. Antoninus . . . rescripsit.* 49, 14, 15), also Ad legem Iuliam et Papiam libri VI and at least 2 books De poenis (dig. 2, 13, 3) and notes on Julian's Digest; cf. Ulp. dig. 2, 14, 7, 2 *puto recte Iulianum a Mauriciano reprehensum in hoc* etc. 7, 1, 25, 1 *Iulianus quidem libro XXXV° Digestorum scripsit; . . . Marcellus vero et Mauricianus* etc. *sed Iuliani sententia humanior est.* Krüger l.l. 180.

6. Venuleius Saturninus wrote, according to the ind. Flor., 10 books actionum, 6 interdictorum, 4 de officio proconsulis, 3 publicorum or de publicis iudiciis, 19 stipulationum. On the liber de poenis paganorum see n. 7. Hommel, paling. 2, 539. Fitting, d. Alter d. Schrr. 17 wrongly assumes only one jurist of the name Claudius Venuleius Saturninus (cf. n. 7). Q. Saturninus in the dig. 12, 2, 13, 5 (*Marcellus scribit* etc. *cui Q. Sat. consentit*) and 34, 2, 19, 7 (*Q. Saturninus libro X° Ad edictum scribit*) appears to be later, even if he is not to be identified with Venuleius Sat. Karlowa, Rechtsgeschichte 1, 730. Krüger l.l. 182. Cf. also Vol. I, p. 552, l. 7.

7. From Venuleius Saturninus (n. 6) must be distinguished Claudius Saturninus, the author of a 'liber de poenis paganorum,' which in the ind. Florent. is attributed to Venuleius Sat., but which dig. 14, 19, 16 (immediately after a fragm. of Venul. Sat.!) rightly ascribes to Claudius Saturninus. He also wrote the

*liber de coronis et origines et caussas et species earum edisserens*, as the author of which TERTULL. de cor. mil. 7 names the *praestantissimus in hac quoque materia commentator Claudius Saturninus*. Tertullian has borrowed from this book almost all the learned material which he interwove with his Christian writings (cf. besides TERT. l.l. 10. 12. 13), and we recognise therein the same antiquarian and philological bent which is also manifested in the quotations from Homer and Demosthenes in the liber de poenis. Claudius Saturninus may be identical with his namesake the legatus Belgicae under Hadrian (Vatic. fr. 223) or with the Cl. Sat. to whom two decrees of Pius were addressed (MARCIAN. dig. 20, 3, 1, 2. 50, 7, 4 pr.) and who was praetor under the Divi fratres, dig. 17, 1, 6, 7 (ERohde).

8. CAPITOL. M. Ant. philos. 3, 6 *studuit et iuri, audiens* (c. a. 146) *L. Volusium Maecianum*. Cf. in FRONTO p. 61, and above n. 1. He was on friendly terms with Salv. Julianus (*Iulianus noster*, dig. 35, 1, 86. 35, 2, 30, 7. 36, 1, 65, 1) and with Vindius (*Vindius noster*, ib. 35, 2, 32, 4). Dig. 37, 14, 17 pr. *divi fratres . . . rescripserunt: . . . Volusius Maecianus, amicus noster, ut iuris civilis praeter veterem et bene fundatam peritiam anxie diligens* etc. VOLCAC. GALL. Avid. Cass. 7, 4 *exercitus . . . Maecianum, cui erat commissa Alexandria, . . . invito atque ignorante Antonino* (M. Aurel.) *interemit* (as a member of the conspiracy of Cassius, a. 175).—Under Antoninus Pius he wrote his 16 books Quaestionum de fideicommissis or Fideicommissorum (dig. 40, 5, 42 *Antoninus Aug. Pius noster* etc.) and probably also the work Ex lege rhodia (ib. 14, 2, 9). Besides this libri XIV de publicis iudiciis. The fragments of these works are collected by HOMMEL, palingen. 1, 353. LENEL, paling. 1, 575.—We possess the metrological manual which he composed for his princely pupils: *Distributio . . . partium in rebus quae constant* (thus MOMMSEN: the MSS. read *pecuniariis*) *pondere, numero, mensura*. See the preface: *Saepenumero, Caesar, animadverti aegre ferentem te quod assis distributionem, et in heredum institutione et in aliis multis necessariam, ignotam haberes. quare, ne tam exigua res ingenium tuum ullo modo moraretur, cum partes ipsas tum vocabula et notas proponendas existimavi*. The end of the work is lost. Manuscripts: Paris. 8680, Vatic. 3852, both s. X. Editions by JFGronov (de sestertiis etc., Leid. 1691), EBöcking (Bonn 1831 and in the Corpus iur. anteiust. p. 183), MOMMSEN (Abh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 3 [1853], 286), FHultsch (scriptores metrolog. rom. p. 61), HUSCHKE (iurispr. anteiust.[4] 409). Cf. MOMMSEN l.l. 281. HULTSCH l.l. 17.

9. Ulpius Marcellus (cf. n. 1) was also an adviser of M. Aurelius; cf. his account of a transaction *proxime in cognitione principis*, when we read of sententia Imperatoris Antonini Aug. Pudente et Pollione coss. (a. 166), Cornelius Priscianus being the advocate of one party, and Calpurnius Longinus advocatus fisci, dig. 28, 4, 3 (where the maxim is mentioned: *in re dubia benigniorem interpretationem sequi non minus iustius est quam tutius*) from (ULP.) MARCELLUS libro XXIX Digestorum. The jurist might be identical with *L. Ulpius Marcellus legatus Aug. pr. Pannon. inf.* (CIL. 3, 3307). On the other hand the Ulpius Marcellus who was victorious in Britain under Commodus (DIO 72, 8) was perhaps the son of the jurist, PRE. 6, 2713. The works of the jurist are: Digestorum libri XXXI (the ind. Flor. mentions 31 books, and b. 31 is quoted dig. 46, 3, 73; on the other hand *lib. XXXIX* in dig. 49, 15, 2 is wrong), passages from which are quoted 128 times in the Justinian digest; Notae ad Iuliani Digesta and on Pompon. lib. sing. regularum (dig. 29, 2, 63. GMAscher, ZfRGesch. 5, 102), Ad legem Iuliam et Papiam libri VI, Responsorum liber singularis, De officio consulis (*libro quinto* quoted by MARCIAN. dig. 40, 15, 1, 4) and perhaps (if not by Macer) Publicorum (iudiciorum) libri (*libro II*, dig. 3, 2, 22), De officio praesidis (dig. 4, 4, 43 *Marcellus libro I de off. praes.*) Collected by

Hommel, palingen. 1, 363, Lenel, pal. 1, 589. The Digest can be shown to have been written after Pius' death (dig. 4, 1, 7 *Marcellus libro III digestorum: Divus Antoninus Marcio Avito praetori . . . rescripsit*) and (see above) to have been finished a. 166 or 167. It is not known when the other works were composed. Fitting, d. Alter d. Schrr. 23.—MTydeman, de L. Ulpii Marcelli icti vita et scriptis, Utr. 1762 (=Oelrich's thesaur. nov. 1, 1). CFWalch, op. (1875) 1, 2, 313 (de aetate Ulpii Marcelli). Zimmern, Gesch. d. Privatr. 1, 1, 357.

361. The jurist Gaius, probably a native of the east of the Roman Empire, was occupied at Rome exclusively in the capacity of a teacher and writer (perhaps A.D. 110–180). His avocations took much the same direction as those of Sex. Pomponius (§ 350, 6). He was the author of numerous works on civil law, of which the most famous were his seven books Rerum cotidianarum (called Aurei) and his four books Institutionum, an introduction to jurisprudence—a branch of literature in which he had numerous successors—written and probably published A.D. 161. These Institutiones are for the most part extant, and their graceful, lively and natural style together with their uneven treatment of the subject renders it probable that they originated from oral lectures. On account of its clear and easy diction the work became a favourite manual and served also as the foundation of Justinian's Institutions.

1. Gaius was a contemporary of Hadrian: Gai. dig. 34, 5, 7 pr. *nostra quidem aetate Serapias Alexandrina mulier ad divum Hadrianum perducta est* (§ 342, 7 l. 5): but it does not follow from this that Gaius was already living at Rome. His life probably extended into the reign of Commodus (n. 7 l. 5).—Mommsen, Jahrb. d. gem. Rechts 3 (1859), 1 is of opinion that Gaius lived and taught in the consular province of Asia (perhaps Troas). This he infers from the fact that G. is mentiond so rarely and so late in literature (see n. 2), from his designation by a mere praenomen, from the attention he seems to pay to provincial law (cf. n. 3 sq.), to foreign law, to Greek (Solonian), Bithynian, Galatian law and to the earlier Roman sources, while he apparently neglects more recent authorities, from his accurate knowledge of Greek, and from the fact that for the ius Italicum he cites only instances from the Graecised East (dig. 50, 15, 7 *Gaius . . . iuris italici sunt* Τρωάς, Βήρυτος, Δυρράχιον). But all these arguments are not sufficient to outweigh certain clear indications of the composition of the Inst. at Rome; HDernburg, d. Inst. d. Gai. 80. Huschke, iurispr. anteiust.[4] 158; ZfRGesch. 7, 161. It is very possible that Gaius was born in the Hellenistic East, and brought thence to Rome his single name (which was very foreign to the Roman usage). Perhaps he had already previously taught in the East (at Berytus? FPBremer, Rechtslehrer u. Rechtsschulen 81) and there acquired his knowledge of provincial law etc.; but the more important part of his career as a teacher and author certainly belongs to Rome.—*Gaius* is not likely to have been a familiar name given him by his pupils: moreover there are other instances of the use of the praenomen among jurists (as among Emperors); cf. n. 2 ad init. and 4 in fin. A Gaius v(ir) p(erfectissimus) among the agrimensores (§ 58, 2) p. 307, 1. 345, 23 Lachm. GPadelletti, del nome di Gaio,

Rome 1874 takes 'Gaius' to be the gentile name, while FCATTANEO, rendic. del R. Istit. Lomb. 2, 14 (1881), 10/11 holds it to be a cognomen.

2. POMPON. dig. 45, 3, 39 (*non sine ratione est quod Gaius noster dixit*) relates to a deceased personage, perhaps the leading jurist C. Cassius Longinus, who is frequently called Gaius; § 298, 3; cf. GMASHER, ZfRGesch. 5, 83 sq. The jurists of the period immediately following never mention Gaius, which may be explained from the fact that Gaius did not give responsa (cf. FPBREMER, Rechtslehrer der Kaiserzeit 65), and happens also in the case of others, DERNBURG l.l. 105. The earliest certain mention of G. occurs in the law of citation a. 426. After this SERV. georg. 3, 306 (*quod et Gaius homerico confirmat exemplo* = Inst. 3, 141), coll. Mos. et Rom. leg. 16, 2 (*Gaius institutionum lib. III* = Inst. 3, 1–17), PRISC. GL. 1, 282 (*Gaius in I Institutorum* = Inst. 1, 113). The Lex romana Visigothorum (a. 506) contains also a *liber Gaii* in two books, an abridged version of Gaius' Inst. which is also alloyed with additions from other sources, probably as early as saec. V; DERNBURG l.l. 119. At least it appears from Justinian's Const. Omnem reip. (dig. pr.) 1 that until then in the first year of legal study *ex tanta legum multitudine . . . nihil aliud nisi sex tantummodo libros et ipsos confusos . . . studiosi accipiebant; . . . in his autem sex libris Gai nostri Institutiones et libri singulares quattuor* (so that they appear to have formed only two books = *liber Gai*) *. . . connumerabantur.* The expression *Gaius noster* employed here (and Inst. pr. 6. and ib. 4, 18, 5) does not at all imply that G. and Justinian were compatriots.

3. GAIUS Inst. 1, 188 *nos diligentius hunc tractatum executi sumus et in edicti interpretatione et in his libris quos ex Q. Mucio fecimus.* 3, 33 *de quibus* (i.e. bonorum possessiones) *in his commentariis consulto non agimus quia alias hoc ius totum propriis commentariis explicavimus.* 3, 54 *alioqui diligentior interpretatio* (of the iura patronorum et libertorum) *propriis commentariis exposita est.* Hence it appears that G. had written Ex Q. Mucio and a commentary on one or other Edict previously to his Inst. But it is not settled whether the latter means merely the one ad edictum praetoris urbani or includes also the libri XXX (with the aedil. cur. XXXII, see below) ad edictum provinciale (of any special province? cf. MOMMSEN, ZfRGesch. 9, 95). Yet the latter is probable, as in the fragments of the work (cf. HOMMEL, paling. 1, 66. LENEL 1, 189) nothing leads us beyond Antoninus Pius, divus Hadrianus, Imp. Antoninus, princeps Antoninus being mentioned in them, but never divus Antoninus or divus Pius or even Verus. FITTING, Alter der Schrr. 19. The view that the commentary on the provincial edict was written at Rome is supported by dig. 27, 10, 5 *vel a praetore vel in provinciis a praeside.* The commentary ad ed. praet. urb. (or briefly edictum urbicum) was likewise an extensive work: cf. in the ind. dig. *ad edictum urbicum τὰ μόνα εὑρεθέντα* (the rest were therefore missing at the time of Justinian) *βιβλία δέκα.* dig. 30, 73 and 50, 17, 56 *Gaius libro III de legatis ad ed. praet.* (or *urbicum*). 50, 17, 55 *Gaius libro II de testamentis ad ed. urbicum.* In addition two books ad edictum aedilium curulium (dig. 21, 1, 32. 21, 2, 57).

4. Institutiones: the work is thus correctly entitled in the excerpta from it in the Digest; cf. also n. 2 l. 9, the title is not preserved in the cod. Veronensis. It is inaccurately designated as *instituta* in the ind. dig.—where the same designation is wrongly applied to the similarly entitled works of Florentinus, Ulpian, Paulus, Callistratus—; see also n. 2 l. 9. WKALB, Arch. f. lat. Lexicogr. 1, 92. In accordance with the received idea of such a work, they contain *totius doctrinae substantiam* (LACTANT. inst. div. 5, 4, 3). Plan: 1, 8 *omne ius quo utimur vel ad personas pertinet* (b. 1) *vel ad res* (b. 2 law of things and testamentary succession; b.

3 intestate succession and obligations) *vel ad actiones* (b. 4). The division into four commentarii is due to G. himself; see e.g. 2, 23 (*superiore commentario tradidimus* =1, 119). 3, 38 (*sup. comm. trad.* =2, 119. 148). 4, 153 (*secundo comm. rettulimus* =2, 89). 3, 181 (*sequenti comm. referemus* =4, 103). The designation of commentarii (*ὑπομνήματα* as distinct from *συγγράμματα*) is meant to disclaim any pretension to polished literary style, and is e.g. used of notes taken on lectures; see Dernburg l.l. 55. The Inst. of G., in spite of accurate definitions and precisely limited legal maxims (Dernburg l.l. 52), exhibit a certain ease of diction in repetitions, variations and transitions (Dernburg l.l. 40). There are also a number of anacoluthias (ib. p. 50). His loose observance of the rules of consecutio temporum G. shares with Suetonius (§ 347, 6). On the whole G.'s diction is pure and especially free from archaisms in the style of Fronto. B. 4 in particular offers much new information concerning actions, as does b. 1 on public law. Cf. ESchrader (on the gains of Roman jurisprudence through G.'s Institutions), Heidelb. Jahrb. 1823, no. 60–64. One of the peculiar features of G. is his method of explaining the Roman law by illustrations taken from foreign law. He generally quotes only earlier jurists; of his contemporaries only Julianus (2, 218. 280) and (2, 218) Sextus= Pomponius; Dernburg l.l. 102. The work was written at Rome, cf. 4, 109 and Dernburg l.l. 85. The first book was composed at the end of the reign of Pius, who is there styled *optimus imp. Antoninus* (1, 102) and *imp. Antoninus* (1, 53. 74). but 2, 195 already *divus pius Antoninus* (whence ib. 2, 120. 126. 151 *imp. Ant.* probably means Marcus); see Dernburg l.l. 67; cf. 74. Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 9, 107.

5. The Institutiones of Gaius (though much interpolated, e.g. with glosses, and in an incomplete state) are solely preserved (excepting the abridged version in the lex rom. Visigothorum § 488, 2) in a palimpsest of the chapter at Verona s. V (the upper writing consists of letters etc. of Jerome, s. VI); only a single leaf (containing 4, 134–144) is not written over, a specimen of this is given in Studemund's Apographum and in Zangemeister-Wattenbach's exempl. codd. lat. t. 24. Niebuhr discovered it (1816), after which Göschen and Hollweg deciphered the work and first published it, Berlin 1820 ([2] 1824 by EBluhme after a fresh collation of the MS. [3] 1842 by Lachmann). Ed. EBöcking, Lps. [5] 1865. Codicis Veronensis apographum ad Goescheni Hollwegi Bluhmii schedas scripsit lapidibusque exceptam scripturam publicavit EBöcking, Lps. 1866. Especially Codicis Veronensis denuo collati apographum confecit et edidit WStudemund, Lps. 1874 (here p. 253 an index notarum and—p. 313—orthographicus). Edd. PKrüger et WStudemund (after a fresh examination of the MS.), Berl. [2] 1884. Also in EHuschke's iurispr. anteiust. [4] 170 and elsewhere. By EDubois, Par. [6] 1881. A comparative collation of the Inst. Gai. and of Justinian by Klenze and Böcking, Berl. 1829. Cf. the Collatio by WvSwinderen (annal. acad. Groning. 1821), FPotter v. Loon (Groning. 1823) and by BJPolenaar (syntagma institutionum novum, Leiden 1876). Gaius, the institutes and the rules of Ulpian, with notes etc. by JMuirhead, Edinburgh 1880. Inst. of Gaius and Justin., by TLMears, Lond. 1882.

6. Criticism and explanation: e.g. HEDirksen, Versuche zur Kritik u. Ausl. 104. Puchta, Verisimilia, Lps. 1837. PhEHuschke, Gaius, Beitr. z. Krit. u. zum Verständnis sr. Inst., Lpz. 1855; krit. Bemerkk. z. G., ZfRGesch. 7, 161. KMPöschmann, Studien zu G., Lpz. 1854–62 III. AFRudorff, d. lexikalen Excerpte aus den Inst. d. G., Abh. d. Berl. Ak. of the year 1865, 323. WStudemund, der antiquar. Gewinn aus d. neuen Collation d. G., Verh. d. Würzb. Philologenvers. (Lpz. 1869) 121. PKrüger, krit. Versuche im Gebiete des röm. Rechts, Berl. 1870, 113. On the diction: Studemund pref. to his ed. p. xvii. WKalb, Arch. f. lat. Lexikogr. 1, 82.

7. After the death of Pius (as appears from the expression divus Antoninus) G. wrote Fideicommissorum libri II (dig. 32, 96. 35, 1, 90. 36, 63, 5), and (at least the last of the) XV libri ad legem Iuliam et Papiam (dig. 31, 56) and the liber singularis ad SCtum Tertullianum (dig. 38, 17, 8) under Marcus and Orphitianum, A.D. 178 (dig. 38, 17, 9). Certainly after Julian's Digest he wrote De verborum obligationibus libri III and Ad legem XII tabularum libri VI (§ 86, 6), probably also the liber singularis de formula hypothecaria (dig. 20, 1, 15 pr.), and Rerum cotidianarum (s. Aureorum) libri VII, a discussion of the legal maxims applicable to daily life, in the order of the Institutions, a work also used by Justinian in preparing his own; prooem. 6 *quas ex omnibus antiquorum Institutionibus et praecipue ex commentariis Gai nostri tam Institutionum quam Rerum cotidianarum . . . compositas* etc. Cf. dig. 44, 7, 5 (from *Gaius libro III aureorum*), 5 (*Iuliano placuit*). We do not know when G. wrote his works Ad legem Glitiam, liber (singularis and libri III) regularum, libri III de manumissionibus, the libri singulares dotalicion, de tacitis fideicommissis and de casibus. See the collections of HOMMEL, paling. 1, 55. LENEL 1, 181. HUSCHKE, iurispr. anteiust. [4] 388.

8. That Gaius had not obtained the ius respondendi appears both from his silence Inst. 1, 7 and the omission of his name by the jurists of the succeeding time, and from his not composing either quaestiones or responsa. In his literary works G. endeavoured to go beyond the pale of technical scholars and gained popularity especially among students.

9. On Gaius see ZIMMERN, Gesch. d. Privatr. 1, 1, 341. RUDORFF, Rechtsgesch. 1, 173. HUSCHKE, iurispr. anteiust.[4] 148. HDERNBURG, d. Institutionen des G., ein Collegienheft aus J. 161, Halle 1869, with HDEGENKOLB, in Pözl's Vierteljahrschrift f. Gesetzgeb. 14 (1872), 489. EGLASSON, étude sur Gaius, Par.[2] 1885. JE KUNTZE, der Provinzialjurist Gaius wissenschaftlich abgeschätzt, Lpz. 1883. PKRÜGER, Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. R. 183. 243.

362. Of poetical productions of the time of M. Antoninus we know and possess nothing, unless indeed the Pervigilium Veneris (§ 398, 1) is as early as this period. Authors probably followed in the paths traced by the poetae neoterici (§ 353).

1. ORELLI 855 (Anthol. lat. 812 Meyer) *Iulius Faustinus M.* . . . the author of an inscriptional poem in acrostics (on Antoninus Pius?).—GELL. 19, 8, 3 *quispiam familiaris eius* (of Fronto) *bene eruditus homo et tum poeta inlustris.* On Sulpicius Apollinaris' verses § 357, 2.

### B. THE TIME OF M. AURELIUS, A.D. 161–180.

363. During the reign of the noble-minded M. Aurelius literature was still controlled by the influence of Fronto, though Apuleius manifested far more genius and power within these limits than Gellius. Philosophy was most in favour, on account of the Emperor's zealous devotion to it, but Stoicism shrank down to mere practical wisdom, and the so-called Platonism was strongly tinged by mysticism and rhetoric. Grammar was in Greek literature brilliantly represented by Apollonios Dyskolos, who was

succeeded by his equally distinguished son Herodianos, medical science by Galenos. The Sophist Aristeides of Bithynia belongs also to this time, as likewise the grammarians Nikanor and Phrynichos, the rhetorician Polyainos and the poet Oppianos. Lastly to this period we should probably also assign the first Christian work in Latin, by Minucius Felix.

1. The young M. Aurelius was taught by Fronto; § 355, 4. GBoissier, la jeunesse de Marc-Aurèle et les lettres de Fronton, rev. des deux mondes 1 Apr. 1868, p. 671. EMüller, M. Aur. in s. Briefen an Fronto, Ratibor 1869. With characteristic zeal the Caesar (thus Fronto addresses him before his accession, afterwards as *Antonine* or *M. Aureli*) excerpted the writers recommended to him by Fronto, collected synonyms, maxims, similes and other rhetorical figures, and even made verses (*hexametri*, Fronto p. 24. 34), but realising more and more the emptiness of these pursuits he was gained over by Junius Rusticus (§ 358, 3) to (Stoic) philosophy, to the great vexation of Fronto (§ 355, 4 middle). His turning-point is about a. 146; cf. ad Front. p. 75 *Aristonis libri me hac tempestate . . . habent male; . . . nimis quam saepe erubescit discipulus tuus sibique suscenset quod viginti quinque annos natus nihildum bonarum opinionum et puriorum rationum animo hauserim.*

2. We possess by Marcus Aurelius besides his letters to Fronto (other letters, e.g. in Capitol. Clod. Alb. 10, 6 sqq.) his twelve books of meditations (εἰς αὑτόν; ed. JStich, Lpz. 1882) in Greek, written a. 169–176, pages from his diary with brief remarks, reflections and good resolutions manifesting the noblest intentions. That he lacked severity (δριμύτης) he himself admits as a fault; cf. Avidius Cassius in Vulcac. Gall. (Av. Cass. 14, 3. 5) *Marcus homo sane optimus, qui dum clemens dici cupit eos patitur vivere quorum ipse non probat vitam. . . . M. Antoninus philosophatur et quaerit de elementis et de animis et de honesto et iusto, nec sentit pro republica.* Capitol. Ant. phil. 8, 3 *dabat se Marcus totum philosophiae, amorem civium adfectans.*

3. Digest. 27, 1, 6, 8 ὁ θειότατος πατήρ μου (probably M. Aurelius, not Pius, whose organisation was more limited, see § 354, 1) παρελθὼν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διατάγματι τὰς ὑπαρχούσας τιμὰς καὶ ἀτελείας ἐβεβαίωσεν, γράψας φιλοσόφους, ῥήτορας, γραμματικούς, ἰατροὺς ἀτελεῖς εἶναι γυμνασιαρχιῶν etc. καὶ μήτε κρίνειν μήτε πρεσβεύειν μήτε εἰς στρατείαν καταλέγεσθαι ἄκοντας etc. Capitol. M. philos. 23, 9 *fama fuit quod sub philosophorum specie quidam remp. vexarent et privatos.*—PRE. 1², 1197. E Zeller, Vortr. u. Abhh., Lpz. 1875, ²89. ERenan, Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique, Par. ³ 1882. Watson, M. Aur. Ant., Lond. 1884.

4. On the correspondence of Fronto and L. Verus (M. Aurelius' co-regent, see above § 355, 6, † a. 169; his father § 353, 2). The eloquentia of Verus is eulogised by Fronto p. 120. Verus commissions Fronto to write a panegyric account of his deeds p. 131. Verus' gratiarum actio p. 87; his orationes ad senatum et allocutiones ad exercitum p. 131. An official military report in the form of a letter (a. 163 sq.) p. 126.

5. Capitol. Ant. phil. 8, 1 *adepti imperium ita civiliter se ambo egerunt ut . . . eos Marullus, sui temporis mimographus, cavillando impune perstringeret.* Cf. ib. 29, 2 (*de quo mimus in scena praesente Antonino dixit* etc.). A line of his in Serv. buc. 7, 26. Aen. 7, 499 (*Marullus mimographus*). Galenos (in Rome from a. 164) περὶ ἀνατομικῶν ἐγχειρήσεων 7, 12 ὁ Μαρύλλου τοῦ μιμογράφου παῖς ἐθεραπεύθη καὶ ζῇ νῦν ἔτι, καίτοι

γυμνωθείσης αὐτῷ ποτε τῆς καρδίας. MHaupt, op. 1, 337. The mimographi Lentulus and Hostilius appear to have been older than Marullus: Tertull. de pall. 4 *pugil Cleomachus . . . mimographo Lentulo in Catinensibus commemoratus.* Hieron. adv. Rufin. 2, 20 (2, p. 514 Vall.) *quasi mimum Philistionis* (§ 254, 6) *vel Lentuli ac Marulli stropham eleganti sermone confictam.* Tertull. apol. 15 *dispicite Lentulorum et Hostiliorum venustates utrum mimos an deos vestros in iocis et strophis rideatis: moechum Anubim* (Friedländer SG. 1[6], 501) *et masculam Lunam et Dianam flagellatam et Iovis mortui testamentum recitatum* (cf. § 28, 3) *et tres Hercules famelicos inrisos.* Of uncertain date is *Aemilius Severianus* (of Tarraco) *mimographus* CIL. 2, 4092 Or. 2622.

6. Gell. 19, 11, 3 *hoc distichon amicus meus, οὐκ ἄμουσος adulescens, in plures versiculos . . . vertit.* 15 iamb. dimeters follow.

7. Apul. flor. 1, 7 *Alexandri multa sublimia facinora . . . adgressus est meus Clemens, eruditissimus et suavissimus poetarum, pulcherrimo carmine inlustrare.* Therefore an epos.

364. Of the other pupils of Fronto the most important seems to have been his son-in-law C. Aufidius Victorinus, cos. II A.D. 183; after him we may mention Servilius Silanus and M. Postumius Festus. On the whole it would seem that all those who were engaged at Rome as public rhetoricians were influenced by him, though they did not all imitate his manner. So also Julianus Titianus, who was occupied with a number of different subjects (epistolography, rhetoric, geography etc.).

1. Fronto p. 95 *ut parentes cum in voltu liberum oris sui liniamenta dinoscunt, ita ego cum in orationibus vestris vestigia nostrae sectae animadverto, γέγηθεν δὲ φρένα Λητώ* (cf. Λ 683 hymn. in Cer. 237). *meis enim verbis exprimere vim gaudii mei nequeo.* p. 200 *suadeo vobis* (i.e. the Cirtenses) *patronos creare . . . eos qui nunc fori principem locum occupant, Aufidium Victorinum* (n. 2), *quem . . . mihi generum cum illis moribus tantaque eloquentia elegi. Servilium quoque Silanum* (cos. 189, cf. Lamprid. Commod. 7, 5) *optimum et facundissimum virum iure municipis patronum habebitis, cum sit vicina et amica civitate Hippone regio. Postumium Festum et morum et eloquentiae nomine recte patronum vobis feceritis, et ipsum nostrae provinciae et civitatis non longinquae.* Cf. § 357, 1. Capitol. Ant. phil. 3, 8 *frequentavit et declamatorum scholas publicas amavitque e condiscipulis praecipuos senatorii ordinis Seium Fuscianum et Aufidium Victorinum, ex equestri Baebium Longum et Calenum.* On this M. Postumius Festus see Gell. 19, 13. To him refers—and this shows for how long a period he was held in esteem—an inscription set up about a. 300 (CIL. 6 1418): *T. Fl. Postumio Titiano . . . oratori* (cos. a. 301), *pronepoti et sectatori M. Postumi Festi orat(oris)* and a fragment of an inscription (CIL. 6, 1416) [*M. Pos*]*tumium Fest*[*um*] *oratorem utraque facundia maximum, procos. Asiae destinat., VII virum, flam., venerabilis memoriae virum T. Fl. Postumius Varus* (praef. urbi a. 271) *cos. pronepos, sectator eius.* Borghesi, ann. dell' instit. 1844, 53.

2. C. Aufidius Victorinus (cf. n. 1), one of the ablest men of this period, was praef. urbi, bis consul (Or. 1176, cos. II a. 183 CIL. 6, 746 Or. 1918 Wilm. 136). A. 186 he committed suicide, καίπερ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τιμηθεὶς καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν λόγων παρασκευῇ οὐδενὸς τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν δεύτερος γενόμενος, Dio 72, 11. Fronto p. 232 *Victorinum, pietate, mansuetudine, veritate, innocentia maxima,*

*omnium denique optimarum artium praecipuum virum.* Cf. p. 179.—His son by Fronto's daughter Gratia is the same (M. Aufidius) Fronto consul (a. 199), who erected to his son M. Aufidius Fronto the tomb bearing the inscr. Orelli 1176 (from Pisaurum), in which Fronto the rhetorician is also mentioned (see § 355, 4 init.); and C. Aufidius Victorinus, cos. a. 200, is probably a younger brother of the cos. of a. 199. Teuffel, PRE. 1², 2130, 20. 33. Mommsen, Herm. 8, 209. WHenzen, bull. arch. 1881, 54.

3. Fronto p. 191 *Volumnio Quadrato: legam, fili, libenter orationem istam quam misisti mihi et si quid videbitur corrigendum corrigam* (cf. p. 190).—p. 191 *Fabianum, spectatum in iudiciis civilibus, frequentem in foro, meum familiarem.* Cf. Spart. Sever. 13, 3 *occidit . . . Masticium Fabianum.* On the appearance of Gallicanus, the son of Squilla, as an orator see Fronto p. 188 (*orator noster*).—p. 179 *Antoninus Aquila vir doctus est et facundus* (Fronto recommends him to Victorinus for a vacant professorship of rhetoric in his province). The *Antoninus grammaticus* mentioned GL. 7, 525, 22 is probably a different person.—p. 173 *commendando Corneliano Sulpicio familiarissimo meo. . . . industrius vir est, strenuus, ingenio libero ac liberali, . . . litterarum studio et bonarum artium elegantia mihi acceptissimus.*—p. 175 *bonarum artium sectator est meus* (Licinius) *Montanus, tum doctrina et facundia est eleganti.*—p. 176 *Iulium Aquilinum, virum . . . doctissimum, facundissimum, philosophiae disciplinis ad optimas artes, eloquentiae studiis ad egregiam facundiam eximie eruditum. . . . si eum audire disputantem de platonicis disciplinis dignatus fueris.*—p. 177 *maximi concursus ad audiendum eum Romae saepe facti sunt.*

4. Apoll. Sidon. ep. 1, 1 *quem* (Cicero's epistolary style) *nec Iulius Titianus sub nominibus illustrium feminarum* (fictitious letters) *digna similitudine expressit. propter quod illum ceteri quique Frontonianorum, utpote consectaneum aemulati cur veternosum dicendi genus imitaretur* (the Ciceronian, instead of the fashionable style of Fronto), *oratorum simiam nuncupaverunt.* He is probably identical with *Titianus senior* (see § 397, 7) *qui provinciarum libros pulcherrimos scripsit et qui dictus est simia temporis sui, quod cuncta esset imitatus* (Capitolin. Maximin. 27, 5). These *libri* are probably the *chorographia* mentioned by Serv. Aen. 4, 42 (*Barcaei . . . secundum Titianum in chorographia Phoenicem . . . superavere*), cf. ib. 11, 651 and Isid. orig. 9, 2, 64 (*unimammae*). The fragment on Aetna in Gregor. Turon. de cursu stell. 13 (Mon. Germ. Scriptt. Merov. 1, 862) *meminit et huius montis et ille Iulius Titianus his verbis* etc. (cf. AMai, coll. Vat. 3, 239) seems also to have belonged to this work.—The Titianus who wrote on rhetoric (Isid. orig. 2, 2, 1), cf. Serv. Aen. 10, 18 *Titianus et Calvus, qui themata omnia de Vergilio elicuerunt et adformarunt ad dicendi usum,* is probably to be identified with him and not with his son. The fabulist Titianus on the other hand in all probability is the son; see § 379, 8. It cannot well be Titianus to whom Diom. GL. 1, 368, 26 refers. Cf. § 168, 1 l. 7, also § 132, 6. Macr. 3, 19, 6. FHaase, Greg. Tur. de cursu stell., Bresl. 1853 p. 37.

5. To about this time we should probably assign *Romanius Iovinus, rhetor eloquii latini,* to whom his grateful heirs inscribed the following epitaph (Orelli 5606 from Rome): *docta loqui doctus quique loqui docuit. Manibus infernis si vita est gloria vitae, vivit et hic nobis ut Cato vel Cicero.*

6. Capitol. Helv. Pert. 1, 4 *puer litteris elementariis et calculo imbutus, datus etiam graeco grammatico atque inde Sulpicio Apollinari* (§ 357, 2) *post quem idem Pertinax grammaticen professus est. sed cum in ea minus quaestus proficeret, per Lollianum Avitum, consularem virum, . . . ducendi ordinis dignitatem petit.* 2, 1

*bello parthico* (a. 163 sqq.) *promeritus* etc. Pertinax (born a. 126) was cos. 179 and 192; reigned as Emperor for three months † a. 193. This L. Lollianus Avitus (cos. a. 144, proconsul in Africa about a. 157, ERohde, RhM. 40, 67) is called in Apul. apol. 93 *vir bonus dicendi peritus* (§ 44, 1) and ib. 94 his eloquence is praised in exaggerated language; PRE. 1², 2155.

7. Capitol. Pert. 12, 7 *adhibebat (cenis) . . . Valerianum, qui cum eo docuerat, ut fabulas* (dialogues) *litteratas haberet.*

365. The twenty books of Noctes atticae by A. Gellius (born perhaps c. 130) are highly important for many departments of knowledge and likewise for contemporary information. Though Gellius was a man of limited capacities, petty and blind in his admiration as in his antipathies, still he collected and put together with honest industry and conscientious care all that he could learn both from books and from conversation concerning archaic literature and language, law and philosophy and natural science. The arrangement of his work is merely casual, his diction sober but replete with archaisms. Of the eighth book only the tables of contents have come down to us.

1. His name: in the MSS. and throughout the Middle Ages A. Gellius, in consequence of a jumble of his praenomen and gentile name, is frequently called Agellius (an *Agellius Redditus* CIL. 6, 1056, [2], 33).—His life and education: Gell. 18, 4, 1 *cum iam adulescentuli Romae praetextam et puerilem togam mutasssemus* (15–17 years of age) *magistrosque tunc nobis nosmet ipsi exploratiores quaereremus, . . . Apollinaris Sulpicius* (357, 2) etc. 7, 6, 12 *adulescens ego Romae, cum etiamtum ad grammaticos itarem, audivi Apollinarem Sulpicium, quem in primis sectabar, . . . Erucio Claro praef. urbi* (§ 357, 5) *dicere.* 20, 6, 1 *percontabar A. S. cum eum Romae adulescentulus sectarer.* ib. 15 *haec memini mihi Apollinarem dicere eaque tunc ipsa ita ut dicta fuerant notavi.* In his later years also G. preferred in doubtful cases to apply to S. A.; cf. 11, 15, 8. 12, 13, 1. 13, 20, 1 (*ego et Ap. S. et quidam alii mihi aut illi familiares*). Gellius had been taught rhetoric by Antonius Julianus (§ 356, 1); he was also influenced by T. Castricius (§ 351, 2) and Fronto (19, 8, 1). But Favorinus (§ 351, 3) always had the strongest hold on him; cf. esp. 16, 3, 1 *cum Favorino Romae dies plerumque totos eramus tenebatque animos nostros homo ille fandi dulcissimus atque eum quoquo iret . . . sequebamur.* MHertz, rament. Gell. mant. 2 (Bresl. 1869), 5. Gellius' African origin is conjectured by KSittl, d. lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache, Erl. 1882, 144; see against this view ThVogel, JJ. 127, 188.

2. Gell. praef. 12 *volvendis multis admodum voluminibus per omnia semper negotiorum intervalla in quibus furari otium potui exercitus defessusque sum.* 11, 3, 1. 16, 10, 1. 14, 2, 1 *quo primum tempore a praetoribus lectus in iudices sum* (for iudicia privata) *libros . . . de officio iudicis scriptos conquisivi, ut homo adulescens a poetarum fabulis et a rhetorum epilogis ad iudicandas lites vocatus* (hence at least 25 years old, see dig. 42, 1, 57. 50, 4, 8), *rem iudiciariam . . . cognoscerem.* 12, 13, 1 *cum Romae a consulibus iudex extra ordinem datus . . . essem.* 13, 13, 1 *cum ex angulis secretisque librorum ac magistrorum in mediam iam hominum et in lucem fori prodissem* etc.; cf. 1, 22, 6 *memini ego praetoris . . . tribunali me forte adsistere.*

3. As *iuvenis* (2, 21, 1. 4; cf. 7, 10, 1. 12, 5, 4. 15, 2, 3), i.e. about the age of 30 years and after his judicial service (n. 2), he continued his studies at Athens. Gell. 1, 2, 1 *Herodes Atticus* († a. 177, § 356, 3) . . . *accersebat saepe nos, cum apud magistros Athenis essemus, . . . me et cl. v. Servilianum compluresque alios nostrates qui Roma in Graeciam ad capiendum ingenii cultum concesserant.* Cf. 18, 2, 1. 18, 13, 1. He chiefly attached himself to Taurus (§ 351; see 12, 5, 1 sq.), but had also much intercourse with Peregrinus Proteus († a. 165); see 12, 11, 1; cf. 8, 3. The length of his sojourn there appears to have been a single year, the summer (2, 21, 2), autumn (1, 2, 2), and winter (praef. 4. 10. 17, 8, 7. Saturnalia 18, 2, 1. 18, 13, 1) being referred to by Gellius. He mentions his return journey from Greece 19, 1, 1. 4. 9, 4, 1. 16, 6, 1. Concerning his later life we have only brief and indefinite notices. The date of his death is also uncertain; see n. 5.

4. The work of Gellius. Praef. 1 *ad hoc ut liberis quoque meis partae istiusmodi remissiones essent.* (2) *usi autem sumus ordine rerum fortuito quem antea in excerpendo feceramus. nam proinde ut librum quemque in manus ceperam . . . vel quid memoratu dignum audieram . . . promisce adnotabam. . . .* (3) *facta igitur est in his quoque commentariis eadem rerum disparilitas quae fuit in illis adnotationibus pristinis. . . .* (4) *sed quoniam longinquis per hiemem noctibus in agro . . . terrae atticae commentationes hasce ludere ac facere exorsi sumus, idcirco eas inscripsimus Noctium esse atticarum.* (13) *erunt autem in his commentariis pauca quaedam scrupulosa et anxia vel ex grammatica vel ex dialectica vel etiam ex geometria, . . . item paucula remotiora ex augurio iure et pontificio.* (22) *volumina commentariorum ad hunc diem viginti iam facta sunt.* (23) *quantum autem vitae mihi deinceps deum voluntate erit quantumque a tuenda re familiari procurandoque cultu liberorum meorum dabitur otium, ea omnia . . . tempora ad colligendas huiuscemodi memoriarum delectatiunculas conferam.* It seems, however, that this plan was not carried out, perhaps because G. died a short time after the completion of his twenty books. The beginning of the praefatio as well as the close of b. 20 are not extant; of b. 8 we possess only the headings of the chapters.

5. Radulphus de Diceto (§ 258, 3 in fin.) *Agellius scribit anno CLXIX* (FRühl, die Verbreitung des Just. p. 33; cf. 35). This is supported by the fact that Gellius mentions Herodes Atticus (cos. 143), Fronto (cos. 143), and Erucius Clarus (cos. 146) as men of consular dignity. That Gellius never refers to any works of Fronto (e.g. not even to his Arion 16, 19), may be explained from his habit of never mentioning the works of living writers whom he admired, as e.g. in the case of Herodes Atticus and (partly) Favorinus, but introducing them instead speaking in propria persona (MHertz, mant. alt. 7). Very little evidence can be gained from 20, 1, 6: *trecentesimo anno p. R. c. tabulae* (XII) *scriptae sunt, a quo tempore ad hunc diem anni esse non longe minus DCC* (*DC?* Vogel) *videntur.* From the nature of the work and from isolated indications contained in it (see esp. the praef.) we can infer that the composition began as early as during the author's stay at Athens (about a. 160?) (praef. 4), and was subsequently carried on for years *per omnia semper negotiarum intervalla in quibus furari otium potuit* (praef. 12), and that at last, when the author was already advanced in age, the extant 20 books were prepared for publication. According to this they may have been published about a. 175?

6. Gellius is a lackey by nature; he cannot help admiring, flunkeying, applauding great persons, however widely they may be opposed in character, as e.g. he lauds Fronto and Cicero together (cf. 17, 1, 1). His attachment to his

chosen patrons is really touching, except when it breaks forth in depreciation of those who belong to a different school. In his well-meaning though somewhat stupid mediocrity he is a faithful mirror of his time, its self-important fussiness without serious aims, its waste of effort on nonentities, its complete want of individual talent and of creative power, judgment and discrimination, its erudition and its pedantry. He often succeeds in giving very lively and (unintentionally) amusing sketches of the pursuits of these days. His collection of excerpts from lost works of archaic literature is of the greater importance to us because the author, with his scrupulous conscientiousness, is very trustworthy wherever he has used his own eyes. He is of course infected with the mania of his time to appear more learned than he is, and he may have taken some things at second hand, while claiming to have derived them from the actual sources. On the way in which G.'s antiquarianism influenced his style see MHertz, JJ. Suppl. 7, 12. 20. 23. Another writer who treats of Gellius' diction is OGorges, de quibusd. sermonis Gell. proprietatibus, Halle 1883. Cf. n. 7.

7. Was Gell. used already by his contemporary Apuleius? cf. § 367, 6 (middle) and Hertz, ed. mai. 2, p. VII; then in Vopisc. Prob. 1, 1 (Hertz l.l.) and in the abridgment of Lactantius' inst. div. (§ 397, 5), but especially in Nonius Marcellus, Ammianus Marcellinus and Macrobius. Nonius and particularly Macrobius transcribe Gellius freely, but without ever mentioning him. *Vir elegantissimi eloquii et multae ac facundae scientiae* G. is called by Augustine de civ. dei 9, 4.—In general see FBähr, Ersch and Gruber's Encycl. 1, 57, 39. MHertz, Renaissance 35. ThVogel, de A. Gellii vita, studiis, scriptis, Zittau 1860; de A. Gellii copia verborum, Zwickau 1862; de Gell. N. A. compositione in the Philol. Abhh. f. MHertz, Bresl. 1888, 1. LFriedländer, de A. G. vitae temporibus, Königsb. 1869; Sittengeschichte 3 [5], 470. JSteup, de Probis 77. VII. HBecker, stud. Apul. 83. JWBeck, de Sulpic. Apollin. (Groning. 1884) 5.—LMercklin, die Citiermethode und Quellenbenützung des A. G., JJ. Suppl. 3, 635; A. Gellii capita quaedam ad fontes revocata, Dorpat 1861. JKretzschmer, de A. G. fontibus I: de auctoribus Gellii grammaticis, Greifsw. 1860. MHertz, Gell. u. Nonius, JJ. 85, 706. 779. LRuske, de Gell. fontt. quaestt. sel., Bresl. 1883. HNettleship, lectures and essays 248.

8. All the earlier known manuscripts of Gellius contain either only b. 1–7 or b. 9–20 or portions of these two groups. The MSS. of Gellius which contain both groups are (with the exception of the imperfectly known Buslidianus, which has now disappeared) of late date throughout (s. XV) and very corrupt, but they are derived from a somewhat more complete copy: they alone give e.g. the index to b. 8 (n. 4 ad fin.) and they also give at the close of the work rather more than the mutili. The text of b. 1–7 is based chiefly on the Vatic.-Palat. 24 (palimps.) s. V (§ 180, 2 l. 3), Vat. 3452 and Par. 5765 s. XIII, as well as Leidensis Gronov. 21 (Rottendorfianus) s. XII; the text of b. 9–20 in Leid. Voss. 112 s. X, Vatic. Reg. 597 s. X, Paris. 8664 s. XIII, Leidensis Voss. F 7 s. XIV, Bern. 404 s. XII and other MSS. Cf. MHertz, Berl. SBer. 1847, 403 and pref. to his larger edition.

9. Editions: e.g. by LCarrio, Par. 1585 (specimens of his notes on Gell. reprinted by MHertz, Bresl. 1885–86 III). J. F. (and Jac.) Gronovius, Leid. 1706 (Lps. 1762 II by JLConradi) and esp. Ex recensione et cum apparatu critico MHertz, Berl. 1883. 85 II. Also his editio minor, Lps.[2] 1886 and opuscula Gelliana, Berl. 1886.—Translated by FWeiss, Lpz. 1875. 76. II.

10. On matters of law in Gell. JvGlöden (Rost. 1843), HEDirksen, hinterlass.

Schrr. 1, 21.—AFleckeisen, zur Krit. der altlatein. Dichterfragm. bei G., Lpz. 1854.

Other critical and explanatory contributions by RBentley (RhM. 35, 633), ACramer (ad G. excursus, Kiel 1827–32 IV), RKlotz (quaestt. Gell., Lps. 1857), MHertz (opusc. Gell., see n. 9 ad fin.), Mommsen (ad Gell. 4, 1, 4 in the symbolae Bethmanno Hollw. oblatae, Berl. 1868), Madvig (adv. crit. 2, 583 and MHertz, vindiciae Gell. alterae, JJ. Suppl. 7, 1 and JJ. 111, 506), ThBergk, JJ. 113, 279, ThBüttner ib. 121, 182, Cobet, Mnem. N. S. 6, 111 (compare FRühl, JJ. 117, 320). 7, 85. 97. 179, HRönsch, JJ. 127, 211, HBlümner (on Gell. 2, 26) in the phil. Abhh. f. MHertz, Berl. 1888, 14, ThVogel, JJ. 133, 71. JCGBoot, Mnem. 15, 283.

366. The Platonic philosopher and rhetorician L. Apuleius of Madaura in Africa wrote under Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius. Educated at Carthage, at Athens and by his travels, Apuleius practised for some time as an advocate at Rome, and then in Africa as a travelling lecturer on philosophical subjects and professor of oratory, after the manner of the Greek Sophists, but in Latin. He is a genuine child of his age and country, versatile and manysided in his intellectual and literary activity, but utterly uncritical, wildly fantastic, vain and conceited, devoid of taste in his diction, which is a medley of all periods and styles. But on the other hand, his vivacity and facility of production, together with his rhetorical skill and power, entitle him to a prominent place among the writers of the 2nd century.

1. His name. In the good MSS. he is simply called *Apuleius*, the name being thus spelt. Elsewhere in the inscriptions and MSS. this name varies between *Appuleius* (the older form) and *Apuleius*. The praenomen *L.* is insufficiently supported, e.g. before b. 2 de dogm. Plat. and before de mundo in the Monac. 621 s. XII and in the Flor. olim S. Marci 284 s. XII, in both by a late writer, also in late Guelferbytani etc. The corresponding notice from the supposed Victorianus [see § 367, 7 l. 2. Krüger, pref. to his ed. of the Apol. p. viii] is valueless. The praenomen may be borrowed from the hero of the Metamorphoses. Cf. also n. 7 ad fin.—A. is called Madaurensis in the best MSS., and accordingly he speaks of himself apol. 24 as *Seminumida et Semigaetulus*, his native town being situated *Numidiae et Gaetuliae in ipso confinio.* The correct version of the headings of his works also gives him the epithet *Platonicus* or *philosophus Pl.;* and he calls himself thus apol. 10; cf. also *περὶ ἑρμην.* (§ 367, 5) p. 267 Oud. *Apuleius philosophus platonicus Madaurensis.* Augustin. civ. dei 8, 14 *Apuleius Platonicus Madaurensis.* Charis. GL. 1, 240 *ut apud Apuleium Platonicum de proverbiis scriptum est libro II.* Augustin. civ. dei 8, 12 *in utraque lingua . . . Apuleius Afer extitit Platonicus nobilis.* Apoll. Sid. 9, 13 (see below, n. 8 ad fin.).

2. On the life of Apuleius (see Hildebrand, pref. to his ed. ERohde, RhM. 40, 66) down to the time of his law-suit (see n. 3) the apologia contains abundant information. In the year of this suit (under Antoninus Pius, apol. 85), perhaps a. 158 (§ 367, 2) the wife of Apuleius was not much over 40 (apol. 89), but Apuleius was her junior (apol. 27; he is repeatedly called *iuvenis:* 27 70). On

the other hand, although *arto contubernio intime iunctus* (apol. 72), Apuleius was older than his pupil and (subsequently) stepson Pontianus (born perhaps a. 135?). Apuleius was of about the same age as his former schoolfellow (flor. 16, 73) Aemilianus Strabo (cos. a. 156, n. 4 ad fin.), so that he would be born about the year 125. ERohde, RhM. 40, 67. He was descended from a distinguished and wealthy (apol. 23) family, his father being the chief official (duumvir) in Madaura (apol. 24). florid. 18, 86 *pueritia apud vos* (Carthag.) *et magistri vos, et secta, licet Athenis Atticis confirmata, tamen hic incohata est, et vox mea utraque lingua iam vestris auribus ante proximum sexennium probe cognita.* 20, 97 *ego et alias crateras* (than grammar and rhetoric) *Athenis* (cf. 15, 60. 18, 92. apol. 72) *bibi, poeticae . . ., geometriae . . ., musicae . . ., dialecticae . . ., iam vero universae philosophiae.* met. 11, 28 *viriculas patrimonii peregrinationis* (cf. also apol. 23 [*patrimonium*] *longa peregrinatione et diutinis studiis . . . modice imminutum*) *adtriverant impensae. . . . quae res . . . victum uberiorem subministrabat . . . quaesticulo forensi nutrito* (in Rome) *per patrocinia sermonis romani.* 11, 30 *gloriosa in foro patrocinia.*

3. On a journey from Madaura to Alexandria Ap. fell ill at Oea, became acquainted there with a rich widow, Aemilia Pudentilla, and married her. Her relations were incensed at this and brought an action against Ap. before the procos. Claudius Maximus (§ 358, 2), charging him with having won the love of the widow by magic arts. Ap. defended himself in his extant apologia (see § 367, 2). He was no doubt acquitted, and after having stayed at Oea for three years (ap. 55), went to live at Carthage, whence he undertook journeys in Africa to give lectures. In the next centuries that adventure (cf. also n. 5 init.) procured him the reputation of a magus and enchanter, who might rival even the Christian workers of miracles. Augustin. ep. 2 quaest. 6 (2, p. 426 c ed. Gaume, Par. 1838) *si hoc quod de Iona scriptum est Apuleius Madaurensis vel Apollonius Tyaneus fecisse diceretur, quorum multa mira nullo fideli auctore iactitant.* epist. 136 (ib. 2, 599 a.) *Apollonium quidem suum nobis et Apuleium ceterosque magicae artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum maiora contendunt extitisse miracula.* ep. 138, 18 (ib. 2, 633 a.) *Apollonium et Apuleium ceterosque magicarum artium peritissimos conferre Christo vel etiam praeferre conantur.* Lactant. inst. 5, 3, 7 *Apuleium, cuius solent et multa et mira memorari.* PMonceaux, Apulée magicien, rev. des deux mondes 1888 1, 572.

4. Augustin. ep. 138 (2, p. 623 d) *Apuleius, ut de illo potissimum loquamur qui nobis Afris Afer est notior, . . . ne ad aliquam quidem iudiciariam reip. potestatem cum omnibus suis magicis artibus potuit pervenire, honesto patriae suae loco natus et liberaliter educatus magnaque praeditus eloquentia. . . . sacerdos provinciae* (Africa; cf. Friedländer, SG. $3^5$, 531) *pro magno fuit ut munera ederet . . . et pro statua sibi ad Oeenses locanda . . . adversus contradictionem quorundam civium litigaret. quod posteros ne lateret, eiusdem litis orationem scriptam memoriae commendavit.* Apul. flor. 16, 61 *vobis occipiam, principes Africae viri, gratiam agere ob statuam quam mihi praesenti honeste postulastis et absenti benigne decrevistis* etc. 16, 72 *testimonium mihi perhibuit in curia Carthaginiensium non minus splendidissima quam benignissima vir consularis. . . . nam . . . libello misso, per quem postulabat locum celebrem statuae meae, . . . commemoravit inter nos iura amicitiae a commilitio studiorum eisdem magistris honeste incohata. . . . quin etiam commemoravit et alibi gentium et civitatium honores mihi statuarum et alios decretos. . . . etiam docuit argumento suscepti* (see above l. 4) *sacerdotii summum mihi honorem Carthagini adesse. . . . Aemilianus Strabo, vir consularis, brevi votis omnium futurus proconsul, sententiam de honoribus meis*

*in curia Carthaginiensium dixit* etc. We know nothing of the rest of Ap.'s life nor regarding the time of his death.

5. Apol. 55 *sacrorum pleraque initia in Graecia participavi. . . . multiiuga sacra et plurimos ritus et varias caerimonias studio veri et officio erga deos didici. . . . primis diebus quibus Oeam veneram publice disserens de Aesculapii maiestate . . . quot sacra nossem percensui. ea disputatio . . . . in omnium manibus versatur.* 63 *morem habeo quoquo eam simulacrum alicuius dei inter libellos conditum gestare eique diebus festis ture et mero et aliquando victimis supplicare.* This studied and ostentatious sanctimoniousness arises partly from Apuleius' superstitious mysticism and occultism, partly from his opposition to Christianity, which was spreading fast and which he detested; met. 9, 14 *nec vel unum vitium nequissimae illi feminae deerat: . . . saeva scaeva, virosa ebriosa, pervicax pertinax, . . . inimica fidei, hostis pudicitiae. tunc spretis atque calcatis divinis numinibus in vicem certae religionis mentita sacrilega praesumptione dei quem praedicaret unicum confictis observationibus vacuis fallens omnes homines* etc. Christianity however is not expressly mentioned by A. The Platonism of this time, which Ap. professed (n. 1), was likewise of a mystical kind; cf. flor. 15, 60 *noster Plato, nihil ab hac secta* (of Pythagoras) *vel paululum devius, pythagorissat in plurimis. aeque et ipse, ut in nomen eius a magistris meis adoptarer, utrumque* (to speak and to keep silence) *meditationibus academicis didici.*

6. Apol. 4 *accusamus apud te philosophum et tam graece quam latine disertissimum.* met. 1, 1 *in urbe latia advena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore, nullo magistro praeeunte, aggressus excolui. en ecce praefamur veniam si quid exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero.* Ap.'s diction always retained a foreign tinge in spite of his fluent command of the language. He does not perceive how very strange old Latin and popular words and phrases sound in his serious style. His diction is overlaid with rhetorical figures of all kinds, exaggerated pathos and artificial mannerism. His language however is not uniform in all his works: on the one side we must place the Metamorphoses, which notwithstanding all their verbal jugglery and their exaggerated tone are founded on and akin to the popular language, whereas in the other (scientific) works Apuleius rather adopts the literary language (rhetorical and technical); a distinction which shows itself even in the use of the particles: see on this subject HBecker, studia Apuleiana (Berl. 1879), 7. HJordan, krit. Beitr. z. Gesch. d. lat. Spr. 325. Cf. also ChrLütjohann, act. Lps. 3, 502.—In general see OErdmann, de Apulei elocutione, Stendal 1864. HKretschmann, de latinitate Ap., Königsb. 1865. ThJeltsch, de Ap. floridis (Bresl. 1868) p. 3. HKoziol, der Stil des Ap., ein Beitr. z. Kenntn. der sog. afrikan. Latinität, Vienna 1879. IPiechotta, curae Apuleianae, Bresl. 1882 (on this KSittl, JB. 1884 3, 333). See also GGötz, acta Lips. 6, 240. 325.

7. Apul. flor. 9 *plura mea extant in Camenis quam Hippiae in opificiis operibus.* 9, 37 *fateor uno chartario calamo me reficere poemata omnigenus, apta virgae* (ῥάβδος, to denote epic poems), *lyrae, socco, cothurno, item satiras ac griphos, item historias varias rerum* (such as the Metamorphoses and the Hermagoras? KBürger, Herm. 23, 497), *nec non orationes laudatas disertis, nec non dialogos laudatos philosophis, atque haec et alia eiusdem modi tam graece quam latine, . . . simili stilo.* 20, 98 *canit Empedocles carmina, Plato dialogos, Socrates hymnos, Epicharmus modos* (? *mimos? comoedias? gnomas* Rohde), *Xenophon historias, Xenophanes satiras: Apuleius vester haec omnia novemque Musas pari studio colit.* At the time of his accusation (see n. 3) Ap. had not only delivered and published speeches

(apol. 55, cf. 73. 24. 33 extr.), and published naturales quaestiones in Greek and in Latin (cf. n. 8), but had also written poems, specimens of which are given ib. 6 (*e ludicris meis epistolium de dentifricio*, trimeters on a tooth-powder, addressed to a certain Calpurnius; a trochaic septenarius from the *liber ludicrorum* is quoted by NONIUS 68, 22, FBÜCHELER, coniectanea [Bonn 1878], 9) and ib. 9 (*versus amatorii*, in the form of an elegy, a far-fetched eulogy of the sons of Scribonius Laetus under the names of Charinus and Kritias, cf. AUSON. opusc. 18, 4 p. 146 Sch. *esse Apuleium in vita philosophum, in epigrammatis amatorem*); in addition *Aesculapii hymnus graeco et latino carmine, cui dialogum similiter graecum et latinum praetexui* (flor. 18, 91). 24 senarii with the superscription *L. Apulei Ἀνεχόμενος ex Menandro*, wanton in tone (from a Bellovacensis which has now disappeared) AL. 712 PLM. 4, 104. Cf. on this EBÄHRENS, RhM. 31, 262.

8. His other writings (the fragments in Hildebrand's ed. 2, 636): an *ἐρωτικός* (LYD. mag. 3, 64), Hermagoras (in several books, according to the fragments quoted by Priscian possibly a novel like the Metamorph.); Epitomae historiarum (PRISC. GL. 3, 482, 2; cf. ib. 2, 250, 18 *Apuleius in epitoma*). Zoological works: apol. 36 *quae* (e.g. *de genitu animalium deque victu deque particulis omni deque differentia*) *tanta cura conquisita si honestum et gloriosum illis* (Aristotle, Theophrastos, Eudemos and others) *fuit scribere, cur turpe sit nobis experiri? praesertim cum ordinatius et cohibilius eadem Graece et Latine adnitar conscribere et in omnibus aut omissa adquirere aut defecta supplere . . . prome tu librum e graecis meis, quos forte hic amici habuere, sed utique naturalium quaestionum, atque eum maxime in quo plura de piscium genere tractata sunt . . .* (38) *memento de solis piscibus haec volumina a me conscripta . . . pauca etiam de latinis scriptis meis ad eandem peritiam pertinentibus legi iubebo, in quibus animadvertes cum res cognitu raras, tum nomina etiam Romanis inusitata et in hodiernum quod sciam infecta, ea tamen nomina labore meo et studio ita de Graecis provenire ut iam latina moneta percussa sint.* His efforts to learn by observation: apol. 33 *profiteor me quaerere et cetera* (other kinds of fish) *non piscatoribus modo, verum etiam amicis meis negotio dato, quicumque minus cogniti generis pisces inciderit, ut eius mihi aut formam commemorent aut ipsum vivum, si id nequierint, vel mortuum ostendant.* Also, works on arithmetic (after Nikomachos, CASSIOD. de arithm. ad fin. and ISID. orig. 3, 2), music (CASSIOD. de mus. ad fin.), on astronomy (LYD. mens. 4, 7. 73 and ost. 3. 4. 7. 10. 44. 54), medicinalia (PRISC. GL. 2, 203, 14), de arboribus (SERV. Verg. georg. 2, 126) and other works concerning husbandry (PHOT. bibl. cod. 163. PALLAD. r. r. 1, 35, 9 and frequently in the Geoponica, EMEYER, Gesch. d. Botanik 2, 196. WGEMOLL, Unterss. üb. d. Geopon. 98). Cf. OJAHN, Lpz. SBer. 1850, 286, who conjectures that the last named works formed part of an encyclopaedia in the style of that of Celsus (§ 280); see also § 367, 5 in fin. Lastly A. also wrote a translation of Plato's Phaidon (AP. SIDON. epp. 2, 9. PRISC. GL. 2, 520; cf. BÜCHELER l.l. [see n. 7] 511), and also a work de proverbiis (see n. 1). AP. SIDON. ep. 9, 13 *a platonico Madaurensi formulas mutuare convivalium quaestionum* etc. (cf. MACR. 7, 3, 24 and HLINKE, de Macr. fontt. 56). FULGENT. expos. serm. antiq. p. 396 Roth *Apuleius in libro de republ.* Is this credible? (see § 480, 7; Fulgentius in other passages shows himself acquainted with Apuleius).

9. GFHILDEBRAND, de vita et scriptis Ap., pref. to his ed. of Ap. OJAHN, Lpz. SBer. 1850, 283. CHCAVALLIN, de L. Ap. scriptore lat., Lund 1857. EGOUMY, de A. fabularum scriptore et rhetore, Par. 1859. TEUFFEL, PRE. $1^2$, 1348. MHERTZ, Renaissance 32. KDILTHEY, akad. Festrede, Gött. 1879. EROHDE, RhM. 40, 66. EBÜRGER, Herm. 23, 489.—Portraits: JJBERNOULLI, röm. Ikonogr. 1, 286.

367. Of the numerous works of Apuleius in Greek and Latin, verse and prose, the following are extant:

1) Metamorphoseon libri XI, an ethical novel of a fantastic and satirical character, probably the earliest and, at the same time, the most attractive work of the author, written under Antoninus Pius and in imitation of (Lucian's) *Λούκιος ἢ ὄνος*. A youth, who by magic is accidentally transformed into an ass for a long period, describes his wonderful experiences. Apuleius has dealt very freely with his model, and in particular has enlarged the subject by the insertion of a variety of stories, especially the myth of Cupid and Psyche. But he has deluged the whole with an inexhaustible torrent of verbiage, a bewildering medley of classical and popular Latin, the diction of all periods and of all varieties of literature, along with various foreign elements. The overheated atmosphere of this novel is ill adapted to subtleties of plot and characterisation, but the florid and suggestive phraseology does not harmonise badly with the supernatural subject-matter, and the novelty of the constantly varied narrative, enriched as it is with minute and effective touches, enlists our sympathy for the clever author. 2) Apologia, his defence against the charge of witchcraft, subsequently elaborated with garrulous complacency and a lively sense of his own superiority and importance. 3) Florida, an anthology from the speeches and declamations of Apuleius, of mixed contents, on history, philosophy, nature and practical life. 4) de deo Socratis, a wordy exposition of the Platonic doctrine of God and the daemons. 5) Two books de Platone et eius dogmate (the third book on the formal logic of Aristotle can hardly be attributed to Apuleius). 6) de mundo, modelled on the still extant work of an unknown Greek writer.

1. The Metamorphoses appear to be the earliest of Apuleius' extant works. They were composed at Rome (11, 26. 1, 1 *mox in urbe Latia advena*; cf. flor. 17, 77), when A. was staying there on his return from Greece (§ 366, 2) about a. 153. Accordingly he apologises for himself in the preface to this his first effort of any importance as an *exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor* (met. 1, 1). Rohde, RhM. 40, 76. If we accept this date, it is remarkable that Apuleius should not have defended or excused himself in the Apologia concerning this fantastic tale, which afforded his adversaries so many handles for attack. For this reason the Metamorphoses have been supposed to be written later than the Apologia: see however Rohde, RhM. 40, 88. Possibly the frivolous work may have been originally published without the name of the author. Rohde l.l. 88. KBürger, Herm. 23, 489. In support of this might be adduced the fact that in the Laur. 68, 2 (§ 367, 7) in the subscriptions (and headings) of the Apol. and Flor. the author is always called *Apuleius Platonicus* (*Madaurensis*), while for the eleven books of the Met. no

author's name is given. First mention of the Met.: CAPITOL. Clod. Alb. 12, 12 *cum ille naeniis anilibus occupatus inter milesias punicas Apulei sui* (Albinus also was a native of Africa) *et ludicra litteraria consenesceret* (Albinus † 197). The work begins: *at ego tibi sermone isto milesio varias fabulas conseram . . . : figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursum . . . refectas ut mireris exordior. . . . fabulam graecanicam incipimus.* On the transformation of human beings into animals, while retaining their human consciousness and only losing power of speech (as we have it as early as Odyss. κ 239) see AUGUSTIN. civ. d. 18, 17 sq. *et nos cum essemus in Italia audiebamus talia de quadam regione illarum partium, ubi stabularias mulieres . . . dare solere dicebantur . . . viatoribus unde in iumenta illico verterentur . . .; nec tamen in eis mentem fieri bestialem, sed rationalem humanamque servari, sicut Apuleius in libris quos Asini aurei titulo inscripsit sibi ipsi accidisse ut . . . asinus fieret aut indicavit aut finxit.* This error is caused by the work being a novel in the first person, in which the relation is put into the hero's mouth and Apuleius (particularly from 11, 15 onwards) weaves into the story experiences from his own life (even jocularly playing at hide and seek with himself 11, 25 *mitti sibi Madaurensen*, i.e. Apuleius!)—The subject of the Metamorphoses is quite the same as in the Λούκιος ἢ ὄνος, a work attributed to Lucian. Only the names are altered, but in both the hero is called Lucius, while in Lucian he is more exactly designated as Lucius of Patrae. On the relation of the Met. to the Λούκιος ἢ ὄνος and to Λουκίου Πατρέως μεταμορφώσεων λόγοι διάφοροι in PHOT. bibl. 129 cf. TEUFFEL, Studien u. Charakt.[2] 572. ERohde, über Lucians Schrift Λούκιος etc. (Lpz. 1869) 14; RhM. 40, 91. AGoldbacher, ZföG. 23, 323. 403. CBürger, de Lucio Patrensi sive de ratione inter asinum q. f. Lucianeum Apuleique metamorph. intercedente, Berl. 1887. Also CFEKnaut, de Luciano libelli qui inscribitur Lucius sive Asinus auctore, Lpz. 1869. In the place of Lucian's lively conclusion Ap. has inserted one of a serious though fantastic kind, which is however far from appropriate (see above). KDilthey (§ 366, 9) refers to the supposition (which it is difficult to accept without additional evidence) that Ap. wrote the Met. first in Greek and anonymously (n. 1 l. 11) and then published it in Latin, remodelled to a large extent, and that the Λούκιος ἢ ὄνος is an abridgment of the Greek version.

The Greek model has first been enlarged and inflated with the exaggerated and conceited phraseology dear to A.; then A. has interwoven from other (Greek) works of fiction (cf. OCrusius, Phil. 47, 448), and probably also from actual events of the time, a number of miraculous and obscene tales, also stories of banditti, and likewise (4, 28–6, 24) the *bella fabula* of Cupid and Psyche. The work is of great importance for the history of manners and is also amusing to read. The author is justified in saying 1, 1 *lector, intende: laetaberis!*—The nucleus of the story of Cupid and Psyche is an (Indo-European) popular tale, which however in its present form has lost its simple popular tone and is merged in an allegory relating to the soul. As we have it in Apul., it has certainly been written in imitation of a Greek model, with a strong Roman colouring in the details. TEUFFEL l.l. [2]578 and esp. LFriedländer, SGesch. Roms 1[6], 522. Above § 47, 3.—Special editions of the Metam.: Bonon. 1500 (cum Beroaldi commentariis). Venet. 1501. Ed. PRICAEUS, Goud. 1650. Rec. FEyssenhardt, Berl. 1869. Translated by JSieder (Frankf. 1605) and ARode (Berl. 1873 II).—Fabula de Psyche et Cupidine rec. ICOrelli, Zür. 1833; rec. et emend. OJahn (et AMichaelis), Lps.[3] 1883. In German by JBintz, Lpz. 1872. JMarquardt, Gotha 1881. AMosbach, Berl. 1886 and many others. OJahn, Novelletten aus Apuleius; in his populäre Aufsätze aus d. Alt. Wiss. (Bonn 1868) p. 75. HJenning, de Met. Ap., Rost. 1871.—Textual criticism: MHaupt, op. 3, 481. 556. 626. 643 and elsewhere. ChrLütjohann, acta phil.

Lips. 3, 443. HAKoch, RhM. 30, 637. ERohde, ib. 30, 269. 31, 148. 40, 95. 43, 467. CBursian, Münch. SBer. 1881 2, 119. MPetschenig, Wien. Studd. 4, 136. JJCornelissen, Versl. en Mededeel. d. Ak. Amsterd. 5 (1888), 49. FBeyte, quaestt. Ap., Gött. 1888, 40 (also in apol. et flor.). JvdVliet, rev. de phil. 9, 1. AFirenzuolo, l' asino d' oro di Apul., Parma 1889.

2. The work usually called Apologia is in the Laur. 68, 2 (see n. 7) divided into two books, of which the first concludes with cap. 65. The subscriptio reads: *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis pro se aput Claudium Maximum procons. de magia lib. I* (and *II* correspondingly) *explicit.* Augustin. civ. dei 8, 19 *huius philosophi platonici copiosissima et disertissima extat oratio, qua crimen artium magicarum a se alienum esse defendit.* Cf. § 336, 2 and 3. Apuleius defended himself before the proconsul Claudius Maximus (§ 358, 4), the successor of Lollianus Avitus in the proconsulate (apol. 94), therefore perhaps a. 158 (§ 364, 6) on a court-day at Sabrata (*hic Sabratae*, apol. 59); the extant speech is supposed to be delivered before a tribunal, which is however impossible. The frivolous and partially foolish arguments advanced by the accusers (e.g. the possession of a mirror, c. 13 sqq.) made the orator's task very easy, and he the more readily seizes this opportunity of displaying his own abilities. Separate editions by ICasaubonus (Heidelb. 1594), Pricaeus (Par. 1635); a commentary by Gentilis, Hanover 1607. Edidit GKrüger, Berl. 1864 (cf. HSauppe, Gött. gel. Anz. 1865, 1545). Textual criticism: MHaupt, op. 3, 327 and elsewhere. ERohde, RhM. 40, 108. JvdVliet, Mnem. 13, 222.

3. The Florida (four books as transmitted) consists of considerable extracts taken verbatim from public lectures of Ap. The commencements are frequently wanting, sometimes also the conclusions. The various pieces differ in contents, purpose and character. The pieces to which a date can be assigned belong to the reigns of M. Aurelius and L. Verus (a. 161-169). Cf. 9, 40 *Honorinum . . . favor Caesarum ad consulatum format.* No. 16 on Aemilianus Strabo, *vir consularis* (cos. 156), *brevi votis omnium futurus proconsul* (c. a. 169?). No. 17 on Scipio Orfitus procos. Africae (a. 163; cf. CIL. 8, 24; cos. 149). Rohde, RhM. 40, 70. No. 12 is taken from a chorographia of Pliny (§ 313, 6 init.); Mommsen, Solin. p. xxii. The title *florida* (=*ἀνθηρά*) probably merely indicates a selection and does not refer to the 'florid style' (floridum genus), in which however most of the pieces are written. Apuleius himself is responsible for the selection in four books (for this compare the MS. title *Apulei Platonici floridorum liber I–IV*). An excerpt from the work published by Apuleius is still extant. Apulei Floridorum quae supersunt ed. GKrüger, Berl. 1883. AGoldbacher, de Apulei Floridorum origine et locis quibusdam corruptis, Lps. 1867. ThJeltsch, de Ap. Floridis (on the identity of the diction with that employed in A.'s other works). Bresl. 1868. Textual criticism by MHaupt, opusc. 3, 326. HMüller, RhM. 22, 463. 645. 23, 445. JNOtt, JJ. 115, 67. ERohde, RhM. 40, 110.

4. Augustin. de civ. dei 8, 14 *Apuleius Platonicus Madaurensis de hac re sola unum scripsit librum cuius esse titulum voluit de deo Socratis, ubi disserit et exponit ex quo genere numinum Socrates habebat adiunctum* etc. *dicit enim apertissime et copiosissime asserit non illum deum fuisse, sed daemonem, diligenti disputatione pertractans istam Platonis de deorum sublimitate et hominum humilitate et daemonum medietate sententiam.* Prisc. GL. 2, 509, 9 *Apuleius in dialogo qui est de deo Socratis.* Recens. TWABuckley, Lond. 1844. Emendabat et adnotabat ChrLütjohann, Greifsw. 1878. Textual criticism: AGoldbacher, ZföG. 19, 803. ORibbeck, RhM. 33, 434. GKrüger, ZfGW. 32, 670. JvdVliet, Mnem. 16, 156.

5. The work de Platone et eius dogmate was intended to consist of 3 books, cf. 1, 4 *quae autem consulta, quae δόγματα graece licet dici, ad utilitatem hominum vivendique et intellegendi ac loquendi rationem extulerit* (Plato) *hinc ordiemur. nam quoniam tres partes philosophiae congruere inter se primus obtinuit, nos quoque separatim dicemus de singulis a naturali philosophia* (=b. 1) *facientes exordium.* This is followed in b. 2 (addressed to Faustinus filius) by the *philosophia moralis* (on this see HvKleist, de Ap. libro de philos. mor., Gött. 1874). Therefore the *ratio intellegendi ac loquendi* still remained for b. 3. A third book (*peri [h]ermeniae* [=*περὶ ἑρμηνείας*] *Apulei* is extant (also called *de syllogismis categoricis*), but this is missing in all the MSS. which are of the least value for the first two books; then there is the Logic, written in a most arid style, otherwise entirely foreign to Ap., after Aristotle and the Peripatetics (Stahr, Arist. bei d. Römern p. 157. Zeller, gr. Philos. 3, 2 [3], 209). The name *Apuleius* is in this book also repeatedly (p. 267 Oud.) used by way of example (cf. however e.g. above § 301, 7, l. 9). Hence the authorship of Apuleius is doubtful as regards b. 3, although in the MSS. it bears the name of Apuleius and is mentioned under his name as early as by Cassiodorus (70, 1173. 1203 Migne); cf. also HUsener, anecd. Holderi 66. Hildebrand, ed. 1, xliv. Goldbacher, pref. to his ed. p. xv; Wien. Studd. 7, 253. Becker, stud. Apul. 8. Hildebrand believes the work to have been written by a grammarian of the 3rd or 4th century to replace the third book which Ap. did not complete. —OJahn (Lpz. SBer. 1850, 282, who considers the treatise to have formed part of an encyclopaedic work, cf. § 366, 8 in fin.), CPrantl (Gesch. der Logik im Abendlande 1, 579) and PhMeiss (see below) maintain the authorship of Apuleius. AGoldbacher, z. Krit. u. Erkl. v. Ap. de dogm. Pl., Wien. SBer. 66, 159.

Apulei opuscula de philosophia (de deo Socr., Asclep. [see n. 8 a], de Plat. eiusque dogm. I. II, de mundo) rec. AGoldbacher, Vienna 1876 (cf. ERohde, JLZ. 1876, 779).—The book *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* recently reedited from the MSS. (Paris. 6638 s. IX, Carnutens. 54 s. XI, SGall. 64 s. IX and others) by AGoldbacher, Wien. Studd. 7, 259 and by PhMeiss, Lörrach 1886.—HKoziol, zur Krit. u. Erkl. d. klein. Schrr. d. Ap., Vienna 1870. 72 II.

6. De mundo, a free version of the alleged Aristotelian treatise *περὶ κόσμου* (Aristot. ed. Bekk. p. 392; cf. on this EZeller, Gesch. d. gr. Philos. 3, 1 [3], 631; according to Thbergk, RhM. 37, 50 it was composed by Nikolaos of Damascus; cf. FBücheler and JAsbach, RhM. 37, 294, JBernays, ges. Abhh. 2, 278, and on the other side HBecker, ZföG. 33, 583), but with a strong Roman colouring and numerous original additions: c. 35 (e.g. the *Minucia porticus* at Rome; Becker l.l. 78). 5 (*in nostro mari*). 17 (*ut Vesuvius etiam noster solet*), and in particular 17, 14–24 the addition *vidi et ipse apud Hieropolim Phrygiae* and others. While the Greek work is addressed to a certain Alexander (the son of Antony and Cleopatra?), the Latin is dedicated to a certain Faustinus, evidently the same to whom is inscribed book 2 of the treatise de Platone (n. 5 l. 6). A collation of the Greek and Latin texts in JHoffmann, de pseudo-apul. libro de mundo, Acta semin. phil. Erlang. 2, 213. In the prooemium: *quare nos Aristotelem, prudentissimum et doctissimum philosophorum, et Theophrastum* (?) *auctorem secuti.* Augustin. de civ. dei 4, 2 *quae . . . Apuleius breviter stringit in eo libello quem de mundo scripsit.* Cap. 13 and 14 are probably a later interpolation, an excerpt from Gell. NA. 2, 22.?—The view (of AStahr, Aristoteles b. d. Römern, Lpz. 1834, 164; JJ. 18, 3) that the treatise *περὶ κόσμου* is not the original but the translation of the Latin version, is refuted by LHölscher, üb. das Buch des Ap. de mundo, Herford 1846. Cf. AGoldbacher, ZföG. 24, 672. The opinion of FAdam, de auctore libri pseudoaristot. *περὶ κόσμου*, Berl. 1861, that both the Latin and the Greek version are due to

Apuleius, is also untenable, see e.g. GOLDBACHER l.l. 24, 670. Lastly HBECKER, studia Apuleiana, Berl. 1879, p. 54 disputes the authorship of Apuleius on superficial grounds, and believes the treatise to have been falsely assigned to him. Cf. besides HJORDAN, Deutsche Lit. Zeit. 1880, 367. AGOLDBACHER, ZföG. 31, 609.—On a good and accurate Syrian translation of the Greek text see VRYSSEL, d. textkrit. Wert d. syr. Übersetzungen griech. Klassiker, Leipz. 1880. 81.

7. Manuscripts. For Apol., Metam., Flor. the chief MS. is Laur. 68, 2 s. XI, from which are derived all the others now extant. The so-called cod. Victorianus (at Munich) is nothing more than PVETTORI's collation of the Laur. 68, 2; FBEYTE, quaestt. Apul. Gött. 1881, 1. LTRAUBE, WschrfklPhil. 1889, 491. For a knowledge of the original readings of the principal codex, which have been corrupted in many instances by later alterations (see on this BEYTE l.l.) and from other causes, the copy of the same, Laur. 29, 2 s. XII, which is only a little later, is of importance. HKEIL, observatt. in Cat. et Varr. de re rust. p. 77. LÜTJOHANN l.l. (n. 4 ad fin.) 445. OJAHN, pref. to his ed. of Ap. Ps. and Cup.[3] p. VII. In the Laur. 68, 2 under the Flor. (after c. 65 and at the close) and under several books (4–8. 10) of the Met. we find the subscription: *Ego Sallustius legi et emendavi Romae felix*, and at greater length under b. 9: *Ego Sallustius legi et emendavi Romae felix Olibrio et Probino u. c. coss.* (a. 395), *in foro Martis* (§ 322, 8. 325, 12) *controversiam declamans oratori Endelechio* (§ 448, 1). *rursus Constantinupoli recognovi Caesario et Attico coss.* (a. 397).—The MSS. of the remaining (philosophical) works fall into two classes, of which the second is very corrupt. The best MSS. are Bruxell. 10054 s. XI (see on this EROHDE, RhM. 37, 140) and Monac. 621 s. XII; also Vatic. 3385 s. XII, Florent. S. Marci 284 s. XII and others; see GOLDBACHER, pref. to his ed.

8. The following works are erroneously attributed to Apuleius: a) a Latin translation of an Hermetic discussion concerning God and the Universe, entitled Asclepius, because in it Hermes Trismegistus converses with Asklepios.—The Greek original is quoted in STOB. floril. 120, 27 as Ἑρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν, in LACTANTIUS inst. 4, 6. 7, 13. 18 (cf. ib. 6, 25) as λόγος τέλειος. The headings and subscriptions of the Lat. Asclepius introduce the title of the Greek work Ἑρμοῦ Τρισμεγίστου βίβλος ἱερὰ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιὸν προσφωνηθεῖσα (ROHDE, RhM. 37, 146).—The present Latin version was already known to Augustine (de civ. dei 8, 23. 24. 26. [orat. de haeres. 5, 2]) without its being connected with the name of Apuleius, nor do the good MSS. mention Apuleius as the author, although the work is transmitted among his philosophica. Cf. JBERNAYS, gesamm. Abhh. (Berl. 1885) 1, 327. KKÖBERLIN, die Frage nach dem Übersetzer des neuplaton. Dialogs Asclepius, Augsb. 1882.—See also HBECKER, stud. Apul. 9. EWÖLFFLIN, Comparation 5.

b) The herbal dating perhaps from the 5th century intended for the use of the unlearned, derived from Greek sources (reckoning by drachmae), the preface being taken from Pseudo-Plinius (Medicina Plinii), is entitled herbarium or de herbarum virtutibus (medicaminibus). The preface begins thus: *Apuleius Platonicus ad cives suos. Ex pluribus paucas vires herbarum et curationes corporis ad fidem veritatis monumentis publicis tradidi* etc. The treatise is extant in several versions; generally (but not in the Leidensis, see below) the little book de herba betonica (§ 263, 7) forms part of it; descriptions of plants are mostly wanting. Numerous MSS., e.g. in Breslau (s. XI) and London (s. XI). The work was not used by Marcellus Emp., though Isidorus probably availed himself of it. Published (frequently as 'Apuleius Barbarus') esp. in Parabilium medicam. scriptores antiqui, ed. ICGACKERMANN (Nürnb. 1788), p. 127; cf. p. 22. 295. Cf. CHOULANT, Bücherk. d. ält. Med. 213. EMEYER, Gesch. der Botanik 2, 316. LSPENGEL, Phil.

21, 120 and LMÜLLER, RhM. 23, 187 (on the cod. Leid. s. VI). VROSE, Herm. 8, 35. HHAESER, Gesch. d. Medizin 1 [3], 628. HKÖBERT, de Ps. Apulei herbarum medicaminibus, Bayreuth 1888. On a table of contents of the work in a codex Eporediensisiss. VII see Leipz. Studien 1, 367.

c) *Apulei Platonici de remediis salutaribus.* Under this title there was formerly in the Paris. 10318 (Salmasianus, see § 476) a treatise of which only the end on leaf 273—containing medical instructions—is extant: printed in SILLIG's Plinius 5, XLI, revised by MHAUPT, op. 3, 467. This title does not in any way refer to the excerpts from Pliny (see § 313, 6 middle) which precede it in the MSS.

d) *Liber physiognomoniae secundum tres auctores, Loxum* (=Eudoxum) *medicum, Aristotelem philosophum, Palemonem* (=Polemonem) *declamatorem.* Thus (or similarly) entitled in the manuscripts (e.g. Leodiens. 77 s. XII, Berol. Q. 198 s. XII, Cottonian. s. XIII, Harl. s. XIV and others; see ROSE and FÖRSTER l.l. l.l.) is the Latin work on physiognomy after Polemon with additions from Eudoxos and Aristotle, published by VROSE, anecd. graeca 1 (Berl. 1864), 103, which ROSE l.l. 61 has attributed to Apuleius, but not convincingly. The treatise was composed much later (perhaps in the 4th century?). See on the language etc. BECKER, stud. Apul. 10. FMAIER, de anonymi physiognomonia Apuleio falso adiudicata, Bruchs. 1880. Cf. also HSAUPPE, Gött. gel. Anz. 1866, 22. Textual criticism esp. RFÖRSTER, de Apulei quae fertur physiognomonia recens. et emendanda, JJ. Suppl. 15, 557. RhM. 43, 505 (against Loxus=Eudoxus). Quaestt. physiogn., Kiel 1890 (on an earlier edition of the lib. physiogn.).

9. Complete editions e.g. by PHIL. BEROALDUS, Bonon. 1500. PCOLVIUS, Leid. 1558 II. BVULCANIUS, Leid. 1594; ed. II (cura IISCALIGERI, see JBERNAYS, Scaliger 289. KRÜGER, pref. to his ed. of the Apol. p. XVII) ib. 1600. Cum nott. varr. 1614 II. GELMENHORST, Frankf. 1621. JFLORIDUS, Par. 1688 II. Principal edition by FOUDENDORP, Leid. 1786–1823 III. Variorum edition by GFHILDEBRAND, Lps. 1842 II; ed. minor, Lps. 1843.—LSPENGEL, die griech. Stellen im Ap., RhM. 17, 27.

10. The very poor writings of the so-called Apuleius minor, at the earliest s. X, de nota aspirationis and de diphthongis, were edited by FOSANN (l.l. p. 87–146) in conjunction with L. Caecilii Minutiani Apulei de orthographia fragmenta (p. 3–13), at Darmstadt 1826. But the latter fragmenta de orthographia (first edited by AMAI, Rome 1823), in which there is a great show of quotations from all kinds of lost works, are a modern forgery (MADVIG, op. 1, 1 and—against OSANN, JJ. 13, 306—op. 1, 26), namely by Caelius Rhodiginus, professor at Ferrara 1508–1512 (OCRUSIUS, Phil. 47, 434).

368. To about the period of M. Aurelius or of Commodus probably belongs the earliest extant work of Latin Christian literature, the Dialogue by M. Minucius Felix, entitled Octavius. The current prejudices and arguments against Christianity and its adherents are here set forth with much vivacity and acuteness, and refuted in an ingenious, sagacious and eloquent manner. The author himself is on a level with the higher philosophic and aesthetic culture of his period and writes for educated readers. In his diction he imitates ancient models and his style

is fluent and elegant.—Of about the same date is probably the so-called Muratorian fragment, a summary of the canonical books of the New Testament, in popular and illiterate language.

1. Lactant. inst. div. 5, 1 (p. 230 Fr.) *si qui forte litteratorum se ad eam* (i.e. *sapientia et veritas*=Christianity, cf. n. 4) *contulerunt defensioni eius non suffecerunt. ex iis qui mihi noti sunt* (*M.* cf. Oct. 3, 1. 5, 1) *Minucius Felix non ignobilis inter causidicos loci fuit* (cf. Octav. 1, 3 [Minucius is the speaker] *sane et ad vindemiam feriae iudiciariam curam relaxaverunt*). *huius liber, cui Octavio titulus est* (this title and the name of the author are not transmitted in the MSS., see however n. 5), *declarat quam idoneus veritatis assertor esse potuisset si se totum ad id studium contulisset. Septimius quoque Tertullianus* etc. (§ 373, 2). Cf. ib. 1, 11 (p. 29) *Minucius Felix in eo libro qui Octavius inscribitur.* Hieron. de vir. ill. 58 *Minucius Felix, Romae insignis causidicus, scripsit dialogum christiani et ethnici disputantium qui Octavius inscribitur. sed et alius sub nomine eius fertur 'de fato vel contra mathematicos,' qui cum sit et ipse diserti hominis non mihi videtur cum superioris libri stilo convenire.* Assuming this view to be correct, the mistaken ascription may have been due to Oct. 36, 5 (*ac de fato satis vel, si pauca pro tempore, disputaturi alias et uberius et plenius*). Minucius is named in Hieron. de vir. ill., who however is often wrong in his chronology, after Tertullian, and it is evident from the opening words concerning him (see § 373, 1) that Hieron. takes him to be older than Minucius. Cf. also Hieron. ep. 70, 5 *veniam ad Latinos. quid Tertulliano eruditius? . . . Minucius Felix, causidicus romani fori, in libro cui titulus Octavius est et in altero contra mathematicos* (*si tamen inscriptio non mentitur auctorem*) *quid gentilium scripturarum dimisit intactum? Septem libros adv. g. Arnobius edidit totidemque discipulus eius Lactantius . . . Victorinus* etc. *Cyprianus* etc.—In the dialogue (9, 6) Caecilius Natalis mentions a speech of Fronto (§ 355, 3 ad fin.) against the Christians as *Cirtensis nostri oratio* and Octavius alluding to it says (31, 2): *tuus Fronto.* This designation of Fronto is most simply explained if we suppose that Caecilius also was a native of Cirta. And as in inscriptions at Cirta (CIL. 8, 6996. 7094–98) of the time of Caracalla (211–217) there appears a certain M. Caecilius Q. f. Quir. Natalis, who rose to the highest offices in his native town, who gave theatrical performances for the people and built a triumphal arch in honour of Caracalla, one is tempted to connect him with his namesake, the champion of Paganism in Minucius' work. HDessau, bull. arch. 1880, 33; Herm. 15, 471. But the personal circumstances of the Caecilius in the inscriptions are not in keeping with the Caecilius of the dialogue. Hence it is a more likely supposition that the latter was a relation, perhaps the father of the Caecilius of the inscriptions (cf. KJNeumann, theol. Lit. Ztg. 1881, 422), particularly as the assumption of the identity of the two Caecilii raises other difficulties with regard to the relation of the Octavius to Tertullian. For if this identity is granted, the Oct. must be placed later than the reign of Caracalla. The Octavius was indeed formerly supposed to be connected with Tertullian and was assigned to a period between him and Cyprian, who in the treatise quod idola dii non sint (composed about a. 245?) transcribes the Octavius (§ 382, 2), and so again recently MLMassebiau, rev. de l'hist. des réligions 15, 3. 16, 1 (VSchultze, Jahrbb. f. protest. Theol. 7 (1881), 485 has even attempted to assign the Octavius to the time of Diocletian). But Tertullian already made use of the Oct. in his apologeticum (composed c. a. 200), as is shown by AEbert in particular after other writers, in the Abhh. der sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 12, 353. PSchwenke, Jahrbb. f. protest. Theol. 9 (1883), 263. FXReck, theol. Quartalschr. 68, 64. A strong argument against the dependence of Minucius

on Tertullian is found in the passage in Oct. 21, 4 cf. TERT. apol. 10 (cf. ad nat. 2, 12), where Tertullian mistakes the historian Cassius mentioned by Minucius (§ 132, 1; cf. also LACTANT. inst. 1, 13 borrowing from Minucius) for Cassius Severus (§ 267, 11 in fin.) and mentions him under that name. WHARTEL (ZföG. 20, 348) attempted without probability to account for the agreement between Tertull. and Minucius from their supposed common use of some earlier authority, subsequently lost, and this attempt has recently been renewed by FWILHELM, de Min. Fel. Oct. et Tertull. apolog., Bresl. 1887 (Bresl. phil. Abhh. 2, 1 and AHARNACK, theol. Lit. Ztg. 1887, 422. PSCHWENKE, BerlphWschr. 1888, 1022).

2. The form of a dialogue was chosen in imitation of the manner of Cicero and Tacitus (dial.). Both in its external form and in many special points the work follows Cicero de natura deorum (also de div.); see EBERT (n. 1) p. 328. 354. 367. EBEHR, der Oct. des M. F. in seinem Verhältn. zu Cic. de n. d., Jena 1870. WILHELM (n. 1 ad fin.) l.l. 3. Seneca de providentia and de superstitione have also been used. The author is also acquainted with the poets (Lucretius, Vergil, Horace). The speakers are Caecilius Natalis, Octavius Januarius and the author himself (Marcus). The latter and Caecilius live in Rome, Minucius' friend and fellow-student (contubernalis), the advocate (28, 3) Octavius, in one of the provinces, perhaps Africa. The scene is laid on the sea-coast at Ostia; the time when the dialogue is said to have taken place being remote, when the children of Octavius (now supposed to be deceased) were still quite young (2, 1). Amongst others are mentioned e.g. Thallos (FHG. 3, 517) and Diodoros (21, 4), Flavius Josephus (?33, 4) and Antonius Julianus (§ 314, 5). It is doubtful whether the Greek apologists (substantially, that is) or even the ἀληθὴς λόγος of Celsus were used. EBERT, Lit. des MA. 1, 25, 3. GLOESCHE, Jahrbb. f. protest. Theol. 8 (1882), 168. SCHWENKE (n. 1) l.l. WILHELM l.l. 58. From its outspokenness and the entire absence of any bitterness of tone we might infer that the work was written at a time when the Christian religion had not experienced any persecution.

3. Caecilius (n. 2) attacks Christianity as an apostasy from the ancestral belief and as repugnant to morality and reason. Octavius (n. 2) defends it first (c. 17–27) as denoting progress in comparison with polytheism, the faults and evil results of which are forcibly criticised, then (28–38) he pleads for the moral views and usages of the Christians. The adversary confesses to be convinced in all main points, though he retains certain doubts, and the author is thus dispensed from pronouncing his judgment as arbitrator. Cf. the survey of contents given by EBERT (n. 1) p. 332.

4. This short work gives us a faithful idea of the Christianity of the educated class of this period, which consisted chiefly in renouncing the absurdities and abominations of polytheism and in the vivid realisation of the thought of one God. In enlarging upon this idea our writer waxes warm (c. 18); here his tone becomes inspired and also where he speaks of the pride and gladness of the Christians in dying, c. 37, a passage which strongly reminds us of SEN. de provid. 2, 9: *quam pulchrum spectaculum deo cum christianus . . . libertatem suam adversus reges et principes erigit, soli deo, cuius est, cedit* etc. Christianity appears to him as a higher grade of intellectual culture, *lux sapientiae et veritatis* (1, 4) in opposition to *imperitiae volgaris caecitas* (3, 1). The Christian dogmas are handled with delicate tact, peculiar doctrines such as the Trinity and Christology (e.g. the doctrine of the Logos) are passed over, not even baptism being mentioned and no quotations of biblical passages being inserted. This method no doubt contributed to the popular effect of the work. The ethical and philosophical

point of view predominates throughout. The philosophers are recognised as those who *de divinis praedictionibus prophetarum umbram interpolatae veritatis imitati sint.* But 38, 5: *philosophorum supercilia contemnimus, quos corruptores et adulteros novimus et tyrannos et semper adversus sua vitia facundos.* This treatment of Christianity resembles Seneca's treatment of Stoicism, and in other respects, too, Min. might be described as a kind of Christian Seneca (Ebert [n. 1] p. 383, n. 67). The form of the dialogue is carefully and cleverly managed. The diction is sometimes (especially in the introduction) somewhat affected, but still much more natural and fresh than that of Fronto and Apuleius. With the latter Min. shares some peculiar phrases, e.g. *plurimum quantum, impiatus* etc. See also JNOtt, JJ. 111, 798. 800. The old view that Minucius was a native of Africa (in support of which e.g. KSittl, d. lok. Verschiedenheiten der lat. Sprache 82. 144) cannot be established.

5. The Octavius is extant only in the Paris. 1661 s. IX, and there appears as the eighth book of Arnobius' adv. gentes (cf. § 396, 4) and in a very corrupt form. The heading reads: *Arnobii liber VII explicit, incipit liber VIII* (cf. *octavus* and *Octavius!*) *feliciter* (there is no subscriptio). The cod. Bruxellensis (Burgundicus) s. XVI is merely a copy of the Parisinus.—Editions e.g. by FBalduinus (Heidelb. 1560), FUrsinus (Rome 1583), DHeraldus (Par. 1605. 1613), NRigaltius (Par. 1643. 1645), JOuzelius (cum nott. varr., Leid. 1672), JDavisius (Cambr. 1707), JGronovius (Leid. 1709. Rotterd. 1743), JGLindner (Langensalza 1760; ²1773), CdeMuralt (praef. est JCOrelli, Zür. 1836), Migne (patrolog. 3 [Par. 1844], 231, together with a variety of treatises p. 194. 371), FOehler (Lps. 1845), JAHolden (Camb. 1853), JDKayser (in us. schol., Paderborn 1863), FLéonard (Namur 1883), and esp. rec. et comm. critico instr. CHalm (Wiener corp. script. eccl. lat. b. 2, Vienna 1867). Then rec. JJCornelissen (Leid. 1882), EBährens (Lps. 1886).—In German by JGRusswurm (Hamb. 1824), JHBLübkert (Lpz. 1836), ABieringer (Kempten 1871) and BDombart (Erlang.² 1882, with Latin text).

6. JDvHoven, de aetate etc. Min. Fel., Campen. 1762 (also in Lindner's ed. of 1773). HMeier, de Min. Fel., Zür. 1824. CRoeren, Minuciana i. e. Annotatt. crit. ad etc. cum commentatione de scriptoris aetate: I Bedb. 1859, II Brilon 1877. JBKayser, östr. Vierteljahrschr. f. kath. Theol. 1 (1862), 519. AEbert (Tertullians Verhältnis zu Min. Fel.), Abhh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 12, 321 and Gesch. d. Lit. des MAlters 1, 24. AFaber, de M. F., Nordh. 1872. ThKeim, Celsus wahres Wort, Zür. 1873. 151. PdeFélice, étude sur l'Oct. de Min. Fel., Blois 1880. RKühn, d. Oct. d. Min. Fel., e. heidn.-philos. Auffassung des Christentums, Lpz. 1882. EKurz, üb. d. Oct. des M. F., Burgdorf 1888. Cf. also n. 1.—Criticism of the text in EBährens (lectt. latt. Bonn 1870, p. 22). HAKoch (RhM. 28, 615). MHaupt, op. 3, 389. BDombart, BlfbayrGW. 9, 285. HUsener, JJ. 99, 393. JMähly, ib. 422. HSauppe, Gött. gel. Anz. 1867, 1992. JNOtt, ZföG. 26, 900. EKlussmann, Phil. 34, 206; RhM. 20, 144. Synnerberg, obss. crit. in Min. Oct., Helsingf. 1888. AJKronenberg, Minuciana, Leid. 1889. JvdVliet, Mnem. 17, 143.

7. As the earliest Latin Christian author Hieron., viri ill. 34, 42 (cf. 53), mentions *Victor, tertius decimus Romanae urbis episcopus, super quaestione paschae et alia quaedam scribens opuscula* (under Septimius Severus) and *Apollonius, romanae urbis senator* (under Commodus), who *ut rationem fidei suae redderet insigne volumen composuit, quod in senatu legit.* To this Victor AHarnack, Texte u. Unterss. zur altchristl. Lat. 5, 1, Lpz. 1888, has erroneously attributed the treatise passing under the name of Cyprian adv. aleatores (§ 382, 2 in fin.). EWölfflin, Arch. f.

Lexikogr. 5, 487. FXFunk, histor. Jahrb. d. Görresgesellsch. 10 (1889), 1. A Miodonski, pref. to his ed. of the treatise adv. aleat. (Erl. 1889), p. 25.

8. The Muratorian fragment (85 lines) first published by LAMuratori, antiquitates italicae medii aevi 3, 851, from a Bobbio MS. s. VIII in Milan. The most exact reproduction of the MS. by SPTregelles, Canon muratorianus, with a facsimile of the MS., Oxf. 1867. Cf. AReifferscheid, bibl. patr. lat. ital. 2, 31.—The date is given l. 73 sqq.: *Pastorem nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma conscripsit, sedente (in) cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo* (c. a. 140–145) *fratre eius*. The contents of this work (a list of the writings in the New Testament) and the period in which it was composed make it doubtful whether the present debased form (degradation of the vowels, as *proficesci ad Spaniam, nomenatim, Corentios, desceplina, recepi, seconda; ad nobis* for *a nobis; intimans*) is that of the original. Was it translated from the Greek? There is an attempted re-translation into Greek in AHilgenfeld, Einleit. in d. NT. (Lpz. 1875) 97. For a condensed view see FHHesse, das mur. Fragm. neu untersucht u. erklärt, Giessen 1873 and others quoted by EReuss, Gesch. d. N. Test., Brunswick $^{5}$1887, 344.—On a similar list discovered in a MS. at Cheltenham see Mommsen, Herm. 21, 141. AHarnack, ZfKirchengesch. 3, 358. 595 (founded on a new collation of the MS.).

369. As jurists whose career extends into the reign of M. Aurelius we may mention Maecianus, Ulpius Marcellus and others. Of the new jurists who now arose the chief was Q. Cervidius Scaevola, the teacher of Papinian. His works, especially his forty books of Digesta, have been much used in the Pandects. In their exterior arrangement they followed Julian's system, but included some opinions of the author himself, the result of his extensive practice as a lawyer. In the same period Papirius Justus composed the earliest collection of Imperial decrees known to us and Paternus wrote a work on martial law (de re militari). Papirius Fronto was perhaps a junior contemporary of these men.

1. Capitol. M. philos. 11, 10 *usus est Scaevola praecipue iuris perito.* Spartian. Carac. 8, 3 *memoriae traditur . . . eum* (Papinian) *cum Severo* (subsequently the Emperor Septimius Severus) *professum sub Scaevola.* Dig. 36, 1, 22 pr. *Scaevola divum Marcum in auditorio . . . iudicasse refert.* But that he had already been active under Pius, does not follow from his quotation *Imp. Antoninus Pius libertis Sextiae Basiliae* (dig. 34, 1, 13, 1). Tryphoninus and Paulus always call him *Scaevola noster*, Paulus once (dig. 28, 6, 38, 3) even *Q. Cervidius Scaevola noster* (*dicebat*), whence we may infer that they were his pupils, but not that they wrote in his life-time; Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 9, 115.

2. The chief work of Scaevola: Digestorum libri XL, composed in the first half of M. Aurelius' reign (Fitting l.l. 26); under Commodus Quaestionum libri XX; lastly probably under Septimius Severus (OHirschfeld, Herm. 12, 143) the Responsorum libri VI. Also: liber singularis, quaestionum publice tractatarum; libri IV regularum (cf. n. 4). The excerpts from these works (in 344 places) in Hommel's Palingenesia 2, 413. Lenel 2, 215. Merely quoted are Scaevola's Notae

ad Iuliani Digesta and Notae ad Marcelli Digesta, and it is only in the Index Florentinus that his liber singularis de quaestione familiae is mentioned. In Claudius Tryphoninus and Paulus Scaevola found commentators.

3. Modestinus dig. 27, 1, 13, 2 *οὕτως καὶ Κερβίδιος Σκαιβόλας καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Δομίτιος Οὐλπιανός, οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῶν νομικῶν, γράφουσιν.* Tryphon. dig. 35, 1, 109 *magno ingenio de iure aperto respondit.* Cod. Theod. 4, 4, 3, 3 the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius call him *auctorem prudentissimum ictorum.* The views of others are scarcely mentioned in the fragments of the Digesta of Scaevola, but on the other hand he frequently starts with actual cases, probably in consequence of following Julian's work. But in his Quaestiones his predecessors are mentioned in not a few passages.

4. JOWestenberg, de iurisprudentia Q. C. Sc., Leid. 1734 (=Trias op. acad. ed. Puttmann, Lps. 1795). JLConradi, de vita et scriptis Q. C. Sc., Lps. 1754 sq. (=Opusc. I). Zimmern, Gesch. d. röm. Privatr. 1, 1, 359. Rudorff, röm. RGesch. 1, 186. Fitting, Alter d. Schrr. p. 25. PKrüger, Quellen u. Lit. d. röm. Rechts 194.

5. In the *Ἑρμηνεύματα* of the alleged Dositheus (§ 431, 8, e) we find under the heading *συγγραμμάτιον νομικὸν μάλιστα περὶ ἐλευθερώσεων = disputatio forensis maxime de manumissionibus*, a section of the work of a jurist, partly with a Greek translation, both text and translation being very corrupt. It is, therefore, called 'fragmentum Dositheanum' or from its contents fragm. de iuris speciebus et manumissionibus. The fragment seems to be taken from a work entitled 'Regulae' (3 *regulas igitur exequenti quae ad haec studia pertinent*). Proculus, Octavenus, Neratius Priscus and Julian are quoted. The author cannot be absolutely determined, Cujacius has conjectured Ulpian, Dirksen Gaius, Lachmann (kl. Schr. 2, 196) and Rudorff (röm. RGesch. 1, 194. 242) Paulus, MVoigt (Lehre vom ius natur. 1 [Lps. 1856], 617) and Karlowa (Rechtsgesch. 1, 765) Pomponius, EHuschke (iurispr. anteiust. [4] 442) lastly Scaevola, because the fragments of his work exhibit a special attention to Greek. The fragment in question is printed in Dosithei magistri interpretamentorum liber III, ed. EBöcking, Bonn 1832. Also in the Corpus iuris anteiust. Bonn. p. 193, in Ulpiani fragm., Lps. 1855, p. 159, in Huschke, Iurispr. anteiust.[4] 426 and in Krüger's Ulp. (see § 376, 3) p. 151. Cf. Dirksen, hinterlass. Schr. 2, 392. PKrüger, Quellen u. Lit. des röm. Rechts 251.

6. On Claudius Saturninus see § 360, 7 and 6.

7. Papirius Iustus de constitutionibus libri XX according to Index Flor. In the Digest passages are quoted from b. I, II and VIII (see Hommel paling. I p. 617. Lenel 1, 947). Those from the first two books commence without exception: *Imperatores Antoninus et Verus Augg. rescripserunt*, and must, therefore, belong to a. 161–169; the fragment of b. VIII (dig. 2, 14, 60) begins: *Imp. Antoninus Avidio Cassio rescripsit*, and must, therefore, be of a. 169–175. If the work was arranged in chronological order, the first book would appear to have been written under the Divi fratres, the following under M. Aurelius. The last third might then have been written under Commodus and have contained his Constitutions. ACStockmann, Pap. I. fragmenta illustrata, Lps. 1792. PEPiepers, de P. I. icto, Leid. 1824. Zimmern 1, 1, 155. 356. Rudorff, RGesch. 1, 185. 274. Fitting, Alter d. Schrr. 24. Huschke, ZfRGesch 6, 281. 320. 327.

8. Tarrutenius Paternus, under M. Aurelius his ab epistulis latinis

(Dio 71, 12 Ταρρουτήνιον δὲ Πάτερνον τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς λατίνας διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα; cf. 72, 5. Lampr. Commod. 4, 1 *Tarruteni Paterni*: in the Digest, in the Ind. and in the excerpts he is wrongly called *Tarruntenus*) and (a. 170) a victorious commander against the Marcomanni, under Commodus praef. praet., then executed a. 183; PRE. 5, 1223. His work de re militari contained four books, according to the ind. florent. Two passages from b. I and II dig. 49, 16, 7. 50, 6, 6; cf. 49, 16, 12, 1. Laur. Lyd. de mag. 1, 9 Πάτερνος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐν πρώτῃ τακτικῶν . . . φησίν, cf. 1, 47. Veget. de re mil. 1, 8 (above § 56, 2) *quae Paternus, diligentissimus iuris militaris adsertor, in libros redegit.* HEDirksen (on the jurist and tactician Paternus), hinterlass. Schrr. 2, 412. MSchanz, Herm. 16, 137. Also JWFörster, de Vegetii fide (Bonn 1879) 35.

9. Callistr. dig. 50, 16, 220, 1 *sed et Papirius Fronto libro tertio responsorum ait* and 14, 2, 4 fin. *haec ita Papirius Fronto respondit.* Marcian. dig. 15, 1, 40 pr. *eleganter P. Fr. dicebat,* and 30, 114, 7 *verius esse existimo quod et Scaevola notat et Papirius Fronto scribit.*

## 3. THE TIME OF COMMODUS AND SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS,— A.D. 180–211.

370. M. Aurelius' degenerate son Commodus (born a. 161, Emperor 180–192) took no interest in intellectual pursuits. But the excellent Septimius Severus (born a. 146, Emperor a. 193–211), who ascended the throne after the brief reigns of Pertinax (January–March a. 193; cf. § 364, 6) and Didius Julianus (April and May a. 193), wrote a description of his life. Papinian's labours as a jurist belong mainly to this period. The Christian religion now gained ground even among the educated, and found an eloquent advocate in Tertullian. In poetry this period produced nothing besides Vergilian centos. From this time, indeed, begins the general decline in art, knowledge and culture.

1. Lampr. Commodus 1, 6 *habuit litteratorem graecum Onesicratem, latinum Capellam Antistium; orator ei Ateius Sanctus fuit.* 3, 4 *appellatus est a mimis quasi obstupratus eosdemque . . . subito deportavit.* 13, 2 *versus in eo (eum) multi scripti sunt, de quibus . . . Marius Maximus gloriatur.*

2. L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug. (Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus etc.), in legal works briefly Severus, born 146 at Leptis in Africa. Cos. under Commodus (190?), Emperor 193, † 211. Cf. Spartian. Sev. 1, 4 *prius quam latinis graecisque litteris imbueretur, quibus eruditissimus fuit. . . . octavo decimo anno publice declamavit. postea studiorum causa Romam venit* (under M. Aurelius). 3, 7 *Athenas petit studiorum sacrorumque causa.* 18, 5 *philosophiae ac dicendi studiis satis deditus, doctrinae quoque nimis cupidus.* 18, 11 *cum eum ex humili per litterarum et militiae officia ad imperium . . . fortuna duxisset.* Victor Caes. 20, 28 *ortus medie humilis primo litteris, deinde imbutus foro; quo parum commodante . . . dum tentat varia . . . conscendit imperium.* Eutrop. 8, 18 *hic primum fisci advocatus, mox militaris tribunus* etc. Spartian. Sev. 19, 9 *canorus voce, sed afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans.* Cf. 15, 7 *cum soror sua*

*Leptitana ad eum venisset vix latine loquens.* Dio 76, 16 παιδείας ἐπεθύμει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπετύγχανε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολυγνώμων μᾶλλον ἢ πολύλογος ἦν. Tertull. apolog. 46.

3. Spartian. Sev. 18, 6 *vitam suam privatam publicamque ipse conposuit ad fidem, solum tamen vitium crudelitatis excusans.* 3, 2 *uxorem . . . de qua tacuit in historia vitae privatae.* Vict. Caes. 20, 22 *idem abs se gesta ornatu et fide paribus conposuit.* Capitol. Clod. Alb. 10, 1 *Severus quidem ipse haec de eodem loquitur.* Dio 75, 7 λέγω γὰρ (on Albinus' death) οὐχ ὅσα ὁ Σεουῆρος ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀληθῶς ἐγένετο. Cf. Herodian. 2, 15, 6, extr. A letter addressed by Sev. to the Senate Capit. Clod. Alb. 12, 6. HPeter, hist. fr. 329.

4. Capitol. Alb. 11, 7 *agri colendi peritissimus, ita ut etiam georgica scripserit* (Clodius Albinus, disputed the throne with Severus, † 197). *milesias nonnulli eiusdem esse dicunt, quarum fama non ignobilis habetur, quamvis mediocriter scriptae sint.* ib. 12, 12 *cum ille* (Albinus) *naeniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui* (§ 367, 1 l. 16) *et ludicra literaria consenesceret.*

5. Tertull. de praescript. haeret. 39 *vides hodie ex Vergilio fabulam in totum aliam componi, materia secundum versus, versibus secundum materiam concinnatis. denique Hosidius Geta Medeam tragoediam ex Vergilio plenissime exsuxit. meus quidam propinquus ex eodem poeta inter cetera stili sui otia Pinacem Cebetis explicuit.* A cento of this kind on the subject of Medea, in the form of a tragedy, the metre of which is very careless, is preserved (without the name of Hos. G.) in the cod. Salmas., AL. 15 PLM. 4, 219.

6. The appearance of *f* in Greek words (instead of ph) and of other barbarisms is noticeable in the inscriptions from the time of Severus downwards. In the better literary circles, however, this use of $f=\phi$ is not admitted until the middle of the 4th century. Mommsen, Herm. 14, 73. Also CIL. 3, p. 919.

371. A friend of Severus and of almost the same age with him was the great jurist Aemilius Papinianus. Under Severus he was praefectus praetorio, but was executed soon after Caracalla's accession to the throne, on account of his loyalty to the other son, Geta. Papinian was remarkable not only for his juridical genius, for the independence of judgment, the lucidity and firmness manifested in the judicial decisions on individual cases, which he gave with the aid of his large experience, but also for his quick sense of right and morality, by which he frequently rose above the barriers of national prejudices and merited the highest veneration of succeeding centuries. The most important of his works are the 37 books of Quaestiones and the 19 books of Responsa, both of which have been much used in Justinian's collections. His diction is conspicuous for conciseness and exactness, but for that very reason is frequently difficult to follow.

1. Spartian. Carac. 8, 2 *Papinianum amicissimum fuisse imperatori Severo et, ut aliqui loquuntur, adfinem etiam per secundam uxorem* (Julia, of Emesa in Syria; therefore Papinian was probably a native of the same place, cf. also his Greek

work, n. 4), *memoriae traditur, et huic praecipue utrumque filium* (Geta and Caracalla) *a Severo commendatum, eumque cum Severo professum sub Scaevola* (§ 369, 1-4), *et Severo in advocatione fisci* (§ 370, 2 in fin.) *successisse.* TRYPHONIN. dig. 20, 5, 12 pr. *rescriptum est ab imperatore* (Severus?), *libellos agente Papiniano* (i.e. as magister libellorum, head of the office for petitions and complaints); cf. VICT. Caes. 20, 33 *quem ferunt illo tempore Bassiani scrinia curavisse, . . . cum constet satis praefecturam praetorio gessisse.* PAUL. dig. 12, 1, 40 *lecta est in auditorio Aemilii Papiniani, praefecti praetorio, icti cautio huius modi.* DIO 76, 10 (a. 204) *αὐτὸν* (a highwayman) *ὁ Παπινιανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος ἀνήρετο* etc. Cf. ib. 14 (a. 208) *παρέστηκέ σοι Παπινιανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος.* He succeeded Plautianus in the praefectura (HERODIAN. 3, 10, 5 sqq.), who was executed a. 203. Cf. n. 2 sq. ORHENZEN 5603 (of 28 May 205: *sub Maecio Laeto et Aemilio Papiniano pp. pp. vv. em(inentissimis).* The gentile name is given besides only dig. 12, 1, 40 (above l. 10). cod. Iust. 1, 17, 1, 6.

2. DIO 71, 1 (a. 211) *τοὺς οἰκείους τοὺς μὲν ἀπήλλαξεν* (Caracalla after his accession to the throne), *ὧν καὶ Παπινιανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος ἦν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.* ib. 4 *ἐς δύο μυριάδας παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν, . . . ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Παπινιανόν. καὶ τῷ γε τὸν Παπινιανὸν φονεύσαντι ἐπετίμησεν ὅτι ἀξίνῃ αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ ξίφει διεχρήσατο.* SPARTIAN. Carac. 3, 2 (after the assassination of Geta, a. 212) *innitens Papiniano et Ciloni ad palatium redit.* 4, 1 *dein in conspectu eius Papinianus securi percussus a militibus et occisus est. . . . filium etiam Papiniani, qui ante triduum quaestor opulentum munus ediderat, interemit.* 8, 7 *constat eum quasi fautorem Getae occisum* (cf. SPART. Geta 6, 3). *et fertur quidem Papinianus, cum raptus a militibus ad palatium traheretur occidendus, praedivinasse, dicens stultissimum fore qui in suum subrogaretur locum nisi adpetitam crudeliter praefecturam vindicaret.* Other accounts ib. 8, 4–6. VICTOR Caes. 20, 33. ZOSIM. 1, 9.

3. SPARTIAN. Sev. 21, 8 *Papinianum, iuris asylum et doctrinae legalis thesaurum, quod parricidium excusare noluisset, occidit, et praefectum quidem, ne homini per se et per scientiam suam magno deesset et dignitas.* Inst. 2, 23, 7 and Cod. 6, 25, 6, 1 *homo excelsi ingenii Papinianus.* Cod. 5, 71, 14 and 6, 42, 16 *vir prudentissimus Papinianus.* 6, 42, 30 *acutissimi ingenii vir et merito ante alios excellens Pap.* 7, 32, 3 *consultissimi viri Pap.* 7, 45, 14 *Pap. summi ingenii vir.* Cod. Theod. 1, 4, 3. HIERON. ep. 77, 3 and others. Cf. n. 4. The frequently depreciatory criticisms added by Marcian, Ulpian and Paulus to the works of Pap. (cf. Cod. Theod. 9, 43. dig. 18, 1, 72. 22, 1, 1, 2) were rejected by Constantine a. 321 (Cod. Theod. 1, 4, 1 *qui dum ingenii laudem sectantur non tam corrigere eum quam depravare maluerunt*), but not altogether set aside by Justinian, who used them with much caution; Cod. 1, 17, 1, 6 *ea quae antea in Notis Aemilii Papiniani ex Ulpiano et Paulo nec non Marciano adscripta sunt, quae antea nullam vim obtinebant propter honorem splendidissimi Papiniani, non statim respuere, sed si quid ex his ad repletionem summi ingenii Papiniani laborum vel interpretationem necessarium esse perspexeritis et hoc ponere legis vicem obtinens non moremini.*

4. Works of Papinian. Constit. Omnem (dig. prooem.) 6 *vobis . . . pulcherrimus Papinianus non solum ex Responsis quae in XIX libros composita fuerunt, sed etiam ex libris XXXVII Quaestionum et gemino volumine Definitionum, nec non De adulteriis* (libri II and one liber singularis) *. . . sui recitationem praebebit. ne autem tertii anni auditores, quos Papinianistas vocant, nomen et festivitatem eius amittere videantur* etc. Besides those works he also wrote an *ἀστυνομικός* (concerning the official powers of the municipal aediles? or of the municipal IVviri viis in urbe purgandis? MOMMSEN, Staatsr. $2^3$, 603) *μονόβιβλος τοῦ Παπινιανοῦ*, a considerable (Greek) fragment from this in dig. 43, 10.

Cf. FPBremer, Rechtslehrer und Rechtsschulen 88. A fragment *ex libr. I Respons. sub titulo de pactis* in the lex rom. Visigothorum (Huschke, iurispr. anteiust.[4] 411). Some scanty fragments, recently discovered, from b. 5 and 9 of the Responsa on a few leaves of an uncial manuscript s. IV/V found in Egypt, are now in Berlin and Paris. On the Berlin fragments see PKrüger, Berl. SBer. 1879, 509. 1880, 363. Cf. EHuschke, die jüngst aufgefundenen Bruchstücke röm. Juristen, Lpz. 1880. PKrüger, ZfRGesch. 14, 93. 15, 83. Alibrandi, studi e docum. di stor. e diritto 1, 509. 2, 63. ABrinz, d. Berliner Fragm. vorjustinianischer Rechtsquellen, Münch. SBer. 1884, 542. On the Paris leaves see PKrüger, ZfRGesch. 18, 166. EHuschke, ib. 181. Alibrandi, studi e docum. 4, 125.—In Lenel, palingen. 1, 803 (cf. Hommel, paling. 2, 515) 749 fragments of Papinian from the Digest, the fragm. Vatic and other sources (see above) are noted. His literary remains found a worthy commentator in Cujacius, operum tom. IV.

5. In the fragments of the Quaestiones (which follow the order of the Edict) Pap. repeatedly mentions *optimus Imp. noster Severus* (dig. 31, 67, 9. 50, 5, 7 cf. 22, 1, 6). They date from the time of Severus' sole sovereignty (a. 193–198), while the Responsa were written under the joint rule of Severus and Caracalla. Hence the designation of Severus and Caracalla as *optimi maximique principes nostri* (dig. 34, 9, 16, 1; cf. fragm. Vat. 294); but book IV was composed after a. 206 and b. XV sqq. in the course of 211; see dig. 34, 9, 18 pr. from b. XV: *divus Severus*. Fitting, das Alter d. Schriften 28. Mommsen, ZfRG. 100.

6. Pap. never insists on his opinion to the exclusion of others, see e.g. dig. 18, 7, 6, 1 *nobis aliquando placebat. . . . sed in contrarium me vocat Sabini sententia.* Significantly also he says dig. 28, 7, 15 *quae facta laedunt pietatem, existimationem, verecundiam nostram et, ut generaliter dicam, contra bonos mores fiunt, nec facere nos posse credendum est.* The diction frequently exhibits an apt and felicitous conciseness, e.g.: *non videntur rem amittere quibus propria non fuit; donari videtur quod nullo iure cogente conceditur; ius publicum privatorum pactis mutari non potest.*

7. EOtto, Papinianus, s. de vita, studiis, scriptis . . . Aem. Pap., Leid. 1718. Brem. 1743. BVoorda, Papinianus, s. optimi icti et viri forma, Leid. 1770. Zimmern, Gesch. d. röm. Privatr. 1, 1, 361. GBruns, PRE. 5, 1141. Rudorff, Rechtsgesch. 1, 188. HEDirksen (d. schriftstellerische Bedeutsamkeit des Pap.), hinterlass. Schrr. 2, 449. PKrüger, Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. R. 197. 246.

372. Contemporaries of Papinian were the jurists Messius, Callistratus and Claudius Tryphoninus, the last two known as authors also through the Digest. Arrius Menander, a man of half-Greek origin, was an adviser of the Emperor, and wrote de re militari. A certain Tertullianus also wrote on law at this period. Many believe that these works were composed by his namesake, the patristic writer, previous to his conversion to Christianity.

1. Dig. 49, 14, 50 *Valerius Patruinus procurator imperatoris . . . praedia . . . addixerat. . . . Papinianus et Messius novam sententiam induxerunt; . . . pronuntiavit tamen secundum illorum opinionem . . . Tryphonino* (n. 3) *suggerente* etc. The jurist Messius mentioned here is not known from other sources; a certain T. Messius Extricatus was cos. II a.d. 217.

2. Callistratus' four books de iure fisci and two books of Quaestiones were written under Severus; dig. 49, 14, 2, 6 (from de iure fisci II): *imperator noster Severus Aug. constituit*, and dig. 1, 3, 38 (from Quaestionum I): *imperator noster Severus rescripsit.* But the work de cognitionibus (libri VI) dates from the beginning of Caracalla's joint reign (a. 198–211); dig. 1, 19, 3, 2 (*imperatores nostri Severus et Antoninus*) from b. VI, and 50, 2, 11 (*principes nostri*) from b. I, together with *imp. noster Severus Aug.* ib. 50, 4, 14, 4 (also from b. I). He paid special attention to the requirements of the fiscal agents even by such practical observations as dig. 1, 18, 19. He wrote also Edicti monitorii libri or Ad edictum monitorium and Institutionum libri III. The 108 passages from these writings inserted in the Pandects and elsewhere are collected by Hommel, palingen. 1, 129. Lenel 1, 81. Very frequently Callistratus' diction and style show him to be a Greek by birth. GAJenichen, de Call. icto, Lps. 1742. Pinto, de Call. icti scriptis quae supersunt, Leid. 1835. FPBremer, Rechtslehrer u. Rechtsschulen 99.

3. A. Claudius Tryphoninus (Cod. 1, 9, 1), with Papinian in the consilium principis (see n. 1), wrote Notae on Scaevola's Digest in which M. Aurelius is styled divus (dig. 18, 7, 10 *Claudius*), but which were already quoted by Papinian in b. XIV of his Responsa (dig. 34, 9, 25, 1 *apud Scaevolam libro XXX digestorum Claudius notat*). To a later time we should assign his 21 books Disputationum; dig. 27, 1, 44 (from b. II) and 49, 15, 12, 17 (from b. IV) *imp. noster* (Caracalla) *cum divo Severo patre suo;* 48, 19, 39 (from b. X) *optimi imperatoris nostri.* Inaccurately 20, 5, 12 pr. (from b. VIII) *rescriptum est ab imperatore* (Severus?), *libellos agente Papiniano.* The fragments collected by Hommel, palingenesia 2, 509. Lenel 2, 351. Fitting, d. Alter d. Schrr. 32. A rescript of Caracalla addressed to him a. 213 in the Cod. 1, 9, 1. ChrRau, de Cl. Tr. icto, Lps. 1768.

4. Ulp. dig. 4, 4, 11, 2 in a legal case of the time of imperator Severus (i.e. probably a. 193–198); *cum susceptam tutelam non alii soleant deponere quam . . . hi qui circa principem sunt occupati, ut in consiliarii Menandri Arrii persona est indultum* (not until Ulpian's time?). His four books on military law were composed under Severus between 198 and 211; dig. 49, 16, 13, 6 *divus Severus et Antoninus . . . iusserunt, quod . . . Menander scribit,* while Menander in all other passages omits Caracalla's joint reign; dig. 49, 16, 4, 9 (cf. ib. 5, 4) *imperator noster rescripsit.* The passages and quotations concerning this work are collected by Hommel, paling. 1, 447. Lenel 1, 695. CMirabelli, comm. ad fragm. A. M., Biturig. 1667 and cum notis ed. JGHarnisch, Lps. 1752. PJSuringar, de A. M. icto eiusque fragmentis, Leid. 1840. Fitting, d. Alter d. Schrr. 34.

5. We do not know the exact time of Rutilius Maximus, from whose liber singularis ad legem Falcidiam a passage is quoted dig. 30, 125 (between passages of Neratius and Paulus). Cf. Fragm. Vat. 113 *frustra Maximus . . . iudicavit* etc. and: *Maximi sententia . . . placuit.*

6. Two passages from *Tertulliani quaestionum libri VIII* and three from his *liber singularis de castrensi peculio* are quoted in the Digest; Hommel, paling. 2, 505. Lenel 2, 341. Cf. Iustin. cod. 5, 70, 7 pr. *Tertullianus, iuris antiqui interpres, libro . . . de castrensi peculio.* Just as he himself quoted Sex. Pomponius (dig. 29, 2, 30, 6), he is repeatedly mentioned by Ulpian in the libri ad Sabinum, which were written under Caracalla. Hence it appears that Tertullian the jurist was at all events a contemporary of the ecclesiastical writer (below § 373). A further argument for identifying the two is that the latter had certainly been a jurist (Euseb. h. eccl. 2, 2 calls him τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἠκριβωκότα ἄνδρα) and his

mode of thought and expression often betrays the legal expert in his theological works (e.g. apolog. 1–6. 28–44. de anima 6). The great difference of diction in the juridical fragments as compared with the theological works must then be attributed to the discrepancy between the two subjects and to the time at which they were composed. The non-identity of the jurist and theologian would be proved, if, as Fitting, Castr. Pecul. 36 renders probable, the treatise de castr. pecul. was not written before the reign of Septimius Severus. The name Tertullianus is of frequent occurrence in inscriptions. (CIL. 2, 4381. 3, 2555. 6372. 3, 2381. 7, 850. 899. 12, 4395).—JHBlumenbach, de scto Q. Septimio Florente presbytero et icto Tertulliano, Lps. 1735. JAPagenstecher, de iurispr. Tertulliani, Harderov. 1768. Zimmern, Privatr. 1, 1, 365. Rudorff, RGesch. 1, 196. Fitting, d. Alter d. Schrr. 33. FPBremer, Rechtslehrer 95. PKrüger, Quell. d. röm. R. 203.

373. An important figure in this age is Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus of Carthage (c. 150–230), an altogether unique writer, of rare genius, endowed with lively imagination and truculent wit; his passionate fervour lends him a fascinating eloquence, which, however, frequently overshoots its mark and consumes itself in its own lurid fire without radiating light and warmth. Fighting is his natural element, and his numerous writings are chiefly of a controversial character, either aggressive or apologetic. At first he defended Christianity against its oppressors and opponents, especially in his Apologeticum; but within the pale of Christianity his enthusiasm was not fully satisfied until he became an adherent of Montanus' doctrine with its ecstatic dreams of a millennium and the approaching end of the world, and its severe probation for the same by means of bodily and spiritual mortification. Tertullian was the defender of this doctrine in the West, though his acute understanding softened the harshest parts of it. The tone and character of these works are the same throughout: thoughtful though rude in form, passionate yet subtle. Tertullian intentionally discards the effete prose of the period and welds together a style of his own from the popular, the literary, and the juristic phraseology, and the abstract language of dogmatic theology, a style formed under Greek and Semitic influence, but permeated with an African glow, and which, though uneven and ungraceful, affected and forced, is yet powerful, nervous and condensed, often to the point of obscurity, and faithfully reflects the character of this fiery, masterful zealot.

1. Hieron. de vir. illustr. 53 *Tertullianus presbyter nunc demum primus post Victorem et Apollonium* (§ 368, 7) *Latinorum ponitur, provinciae Africae, civitatis Carthaginiensis, patre centurione proconsulari* (? cf. HDessau, Herm. 15, 473). *hic*

*acris et vehementis ingenii sub Severo principe et Antonino Caracalla maxime floruit multaque scripsit volumina, quae quia nota sunt pluribus praetermittimus. . . . hic cum usque ad mediam aetatem presbyter ecclesiae permansisset, invidia postea et contumeliis clericorum romanae ecclesiae* (cf. TERT. de cultu fem. 1, 7. EUSEB. hist. eccl. 2, 2) *ad Montani dogma delapsus in multis libris novae prophetiae* (i.e. Montanism, see n. 2) *meminit, specialiter autem adversum ecclesiam texuit volumina de pudicitia. de persecutione, de ieiuniis, de monogamia, de ecstasi libros VI* (now lost), *et septimum quem adversum Apollonium composuit. ferturque vixisse usque ad decrepitam aetatem et multa quae non extant opuscula condidisse.* Such lost works of Tert. were de vestibus Aronis (HIERON. ep. 64, 23); de animae submissione; de superstitione saeculi; de carne et anima; de spe fidelium; de trinitate; de animalibus mundis et immundis; de circumcisione; de virginitate; contra Apellicianos; de paradiso (TERT. de an. 55); in Greek de spectaculis; de baptismo; de velandis virginibus; de corona militis (§ 360, 7), the Latin version of which by Tert. is extant. On Tert. as a jurist see § 372, 6.

2. HIERON. ep. 70, 5 *quid Tertulliano eruditius, quid acutius? Apologeticus eius et Contra gentes libri cunctam saeculi obtinent disciplinam.* LACTANT. inst. div. 5, 1 (p. 230 Fr.) *Septimius Tertullianus fuit omni genere litterarum peritus, sed in eloquendo parum facilis et minus comptus et multum obscurus fuit. ergo ne hic quidem satis celebritatis invenit.* Besides his obscurity, his Montanism was also much in his way. There was for Tertullian a certain attraction in the thought that he stood on a more exalted pinnacle of piety than the rest of the community and that he was the direct instrument of the Divine Spirit, and his hatred of half measures naturally found satisfaction in Montanistic severity. Cf. e.g. FCASCHWEGLER, der Montanismus usw., Tüb. 1841. FCHBAUR, Kirchengesch. der drei ersten Jahrh. (Tüb. 1863) 235. GNBONWETSCH, Gesch. d. Montanismus, Erl. 1881. GCAUCANAS, Tert. et le montanisme, Geneva 1876, and others.

3. His theological works may be divided into two periods, one of a general Christian and one of a more or less Montanistic character. The works which admit of chronological determination fall between a. 197 and 212. The most positive indication of date is adv. Marcion. 1, 15 *ad XV iam Severi imperatoris* = a. 207. The year 202 demarcates the two periods.—To the first belong among the writings we possess his Ad martyres, Apologeticum, Ad nationes libri II, De testimonio animae, Adversus Iudaeos, De spectaculis, De idolatria, De cultu feminarum (in a double version), Ad uxorem II, De baptismo, De paenitentia, De oratione, De patientia, De praescriptionibus haereticorum. The bent to Montanism is indicated in different degrees by De virginibus velandis, De corona militis (§ 360, 5), De fuga in persecutione, Scorpiace (ENÖLDECHEN, Zfkirchl Wissensch. 7, 87), De exhortatione castitatis, Adv. Hermogenem, Adv. Valentinianos (on this LLEHANNEUR, Caen 1886), Adv. Marcionem libri V, De anima, De carne Christi, De resurrectione carnis; Adv. Praxean, De pallio, De pudicitia, De monogamia, De ieiunio adversus psychicos (= catholicos, as opposed to pneumatici or Montanists), Ad Scapulam.—JANÖSSELT, de vera aetate ac doctrina scriptorum Tert., in his Opusc. ad hist. eccl. 3, 1 (also in OEHLER's ed. of Tert. 3, 540). GUHLHORN, fundamenta chronologiae Tert., Gött. 1852. HKELLNER, zur Chronologie Tert.s I, Tüb. theol. Quartalschr. 52, 547. 53, 585. GNBONWETSCH, d. Schriften Tert.s nach der Zeit ihrer Abfassung, Dorpat 1878. ENÖLDECHEN, d. Abfassungszeit der Schriften Tert.s, in Texte u. Unterss. zur Gesch. d. christl. Lit. 5, 2, Lpz. 1889. Cf. n. 7.

4. Among the works of Tert. much interest attaches to the Apologeticum, an

apology addressed (about a. 200) to *rom. imperii antistites (praesides)*, containing in particular explanations concerning the political and legal charges (not treated by Minucius Felix) brought against the Christians on account of not reverencing the gods and the Emperor and being indifferent or even hostile to the State. Cf. AEbert (above § 368, 6) p. 342. Besides the Octavius (§ 368, 1) Tert. seems to have also employed Justinus' *ἀπολογία*. The treatment is cutting and bitter, the diction rhetorical and bold. Editions by SHavercamp (Leiden 1718), FOehler (with ad nat., Halle 1849), JKayser (Paderb. 1865).—Cf. JLMosheim in Oehler's ed. of Tert. 3, 490.

5. Of especial importance for the history of civilisation and the study of antiquities are the works Ad nationes (as concerns its contents very closely related to the Apologeticum and in part little more than a revised edition of the latter), De idolatria, De spectaculis (ad cod. Agobardinum [see n. 6] denuo rec., adnott. crit. novas add. EKlussmann, Rudolst. 1876; the same author, adnott. crit. ad T. de spect., Rudolst. 1876. See also on the text PdeLagarde, Gött. Nachr. 1878, 15), De pallio (ed. ClSalmasius, Par. 1622. Leid. 1656). The work Adversus Iudaeos agrees almost literally with adv. Marc. III (see Semler p. 640 in Oehler); adv. Valent. is an improved version of Irenaeus c. haer. I (Semler ib. p. 658). In earlier editions a spurious work adversus haereses is appended to the treatise de praescr. haeret. On the treatise contra Praxean see RALipsius, Jahrbb. f. deutsche Theol. 13, 701. ENöldechen, Jahrbb. f. protest. Theol. 14, 4.

6. Manuscripts (comparatively rare, as the difficult style repelled the reader n. 2 l. 5): Parisini 1622 (Agobardinus) s. IX, 1623 s. X, 1656 s. XII, Ambros. 58 (Bobiensis) s. IX, Montepess. s. XI and others.—Editions (an enumeration in Schönemann, Bibl. historico-litteraria patrum 1, 9), e.g. by BRhenanus (ed. princ.), Bas. 1521. JPamelius, Antv. 1579; Franeker 1597 and subsequently. NRigaltius, Par. 1634. 1641 and subsequently. JSSemler, Halle 1770 VI. FOberthür, Würzb. 1780 II. EFLeopold, Lps. 1839 sqq. (in Gersdorf's Bibl. patr.). Migne, Patrolog. curs. Vol. I-III. FOehler, Lps. 1852–54 III (in Vol. III earlier treatises on Tert.). Ed. minor, Lps. 1854.—Tert.s sämtl. Schriften (with notes) translated by KAH Kellner, Cologne 1881 III.—MKlussmann, curarum Tertullianarum particulae III, Gotha 1887. Opp. ed. AReifferscheid et GWissowa I, Vienna 1889 (=Wiener Corpus Bd. 20, 1).—Tert. apolog. ed. FLéonard, Namur 1881. THBindley, Oxf. 1889.—WHartel (de spectt., idol., ad natt.), Wien. SBer. 120. 121.—(MSS.) JvdVliet, Mnemos. 18, 52.

7. Dupin, auteurs ecclés. 1 (ed. 1688), 274 (p. 320 a good characterisation of Tert.). RCeillier, hist. des auteurs s. et eccl. 2 (1730), 374. Coenen, de Tert., Utr. 1825. ANeander, Antignostikus, Geist des Tert. u. Einl. in s. Schrr., Berl.[2] 1849. KHesselberg, Tert.s Leben u. Schriften, Dorpat 1848. Grotemeyer, Tert. Leben u. Schrr., Kempen 1863 sq. II. FBöhringer, Tertullianus, Stuttg.[2] 1873. FCh Baur, Gesch. d. christl. Kirche 1[3], 255. 496. AHauck, Tert.s Leben u. Schrr., Erlang. 1877. AEbert, Lit. des MAlters 1, 32.—ENöldechen, Tert. als Mensch und Bürger in v. Sybel's hist. Zeitschr. 54 (1855), 225; Tert. in Griechenland, ZfwissTheol. 30, 385; Tert.s Geburtsjahr, ib. 29, 207; Tert.s Erdkunde, Zfkirchl Wiss. 7, 310. Cf. n. 3 ad fin.

8. PLangen, de usu praepositionum tertullianeo, Münster 1868–70 III. (Cf. § 348, 4.) JSchmidt, de latinitate Tert., Erlangen 1870. 72. II; de nominum verbal. in tor et trix ap. Tert. copia et vi, Erl. 1878. Kellner, (die sprachl. Eigentümlichkeiten T.s), Tüb. theol. Quartalschr. 58, 229. GRHauschild, die

Wortbildung bei Tert., Lpz. 1876. 81 II. JPCondamin, de Tert. . . . christianae linguae artifice, Lyons 1877.

9. Tertullian gives the biblical quotations in Latin: he knows and uses, as distinct from the original text (authenticus), a current Latin translation (de monogr. 11). HRönsch, d. neue Testam. Tert.s aus dessen Schriften, Lpz. 1871.—In general OFFritzsche in the REnc. f. protest. Theol. 8², 433.—This so-called 'Itala' is only once mentioned under this title, i.e. by Augustin. doctr. christ. 2, 15 *in ipsis autem interpretationibus itala ceteris praeferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae* (*italus=latinus* e.g. Arnob. 4, 13, 29; Non. 143, 23 *ut nunc Itali dicunt;* cf. HRönsch, ZföG. 36, 87). This translation, which follows the Greek text to the letter (in the Old Testament the LXX), has had great influence in forming ecclesiastical Latin and (apart from its importance for the restoration of the Greek wording) deserves special attention on account of its linguistic form, in which, on the one hand, Graecisms and Hebraisms (emerging through the LXX) employed by the translator with daring innovations on the linguistic rules of Latin, and popular Latin elements on the other hand combine to form an original whole. The Itala was composed in the latter half of the second century (in Africa?). It subsequently underwent several revisions, and in several instances more or less independent translation of frequently used biblical books was attempted. Augustine indeed greatly exaggerates when he says doctr. christ. 2, 11 *qui scripturas ex hebraea lingua in graecam verterunt numerari possunt, latini autem interpretes nullo modo; ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex graecus et aliquantum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur ausus est interpretari.* Rather to the 'Itala' may in all probability be traced, either indirectly or directly, very much of the Latin text of the Bible preserved in a translation prior to Hieronymus by the quotations in the Patristic writers and by numerous very ancient MSS. of single books and fragments (Cantabrig., Claromont., Vercell., Veron., Brix., and many others; see below). On the share of the 'Itala' in the existing Vulgate, see § 434, 6.—Works (esp. recent ones) on the early Latin translations of the Bible (on this see OFFritzsche, above l. 4): Bibliorum sacr. latinae versiones antiquae, seu vetus italica etc. ed. PSabatier, Rheims 1743 (Paris 1751) III.—ERanke, fragmenta versionis sacr. script. lat. antehieronym. e cod. Fuldensi (s. V; specimen of the writing in Zangem.-Wattenb. pl. 21), Marb. 1860; suppl. 1868; Stutgardiana vers. sacr. script. lat. antehieron. fragm., Vienna 1888.—Par palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium (s. V); antiquiss. vet. test. versionis lat. fragm. ed. ERanke, Vienna 1871. Leviticus et Numeri e cod. perantiquo Ashburnhamiensi, Lond. 1868; this cod. Ashburn. (now given back to France) is part of a Lyons MS. of the Pentateuch; Pentateuchi versio lat. antiquiss. e cod. Lugdun., publiée par URobert, Par. 1881. Veteris antehieronymianae versionis libri II Regum fragm. Vindobon. (s. VII–VIII) ed. JHaupt, Vienna 1877 (cf. ERanke, Lit. Centr.-Bl. 1878, 759). FGustafsson, fragm. vet. test. in lat. conversi e palimps. Vatic. eruta, act. soc. scient. Fenn. 12, 243. LZiegler, Bruchstücke einer vorhieron. Übers. des Pentateuchs aus e. Münch. Palimps., Munich 1883. JBelsheim, palimpsestus Vindobon., antiquiss. ueter. testam. translat. lat. fragm. e cod. rescripto, Christiania 1885.—JBlanchinus, evangeliarium quadruplex (from codd. Vercell. Veron. Brix. Corbei.) lat. vers. ant., Rom. 1749 II. CTischendorf, evangel. palatin. ined. s. rell. text. evang. lat. ante Hieron. versi, (s. IV/V), Lps. 1847; codex Claromontanus s. epistulae Pauli graece et lat. ex cod. Paris. (107 s. VI), Lps. 1852. ERanke, fragm. antiquiss. evang. Lucae vers. lat. e membranis Curiensibus, Vienna 1874. JBelsheim, codex aureus sive IV evangelia ante Hieron. lat. transl. ex cod. Holm. (from Bobbio? s. VII), Christian. 1878; the

Acts of the Apostles and the Revelation of St. John, from the so-called gigas librorum in Stockholm, Christiania 1879 (on the diction see HRönsch, Roman. Forsch. 2, 280); the Gospel of St. Matthew after lat. Cod. ff[1] Corbeiensis in St. Petersburg (21 s. IX; on this see JWordsworth, stud. bibl., Oxf. 1885, 113), Christ. 1881 the epistles of St. James from the same MS., Copenh. 1883; epistulae Paulinae ante Hier. lat. translat. ex cod. Sangerm., Christ. 1886; cod. f[2] Corb., Christ. 1887 cod. Colbert. Paris. quattuor evangelia ante Hieron. lat. transl. cum ipso cod. coll. denuo ed., Christ. 1888 sq. TKAbbott, evangeliorum versio antehieron. ex cod Usseriano (s. VI in Dublin): acc. versio vulgata ad cod. Amiatinum (§ 434, 6), Dublin 1884 II; Hermath. 14, 346. JWordsworth-HJWhite, old Latin biblical texts; I Gospel . . . Matthew (after Paris. 11553), Oxf. 1883; II Gospels . . Mark and Matthew from the Bobbio MS. (k) etc.; III the four Gospels from the Munich MS. 6224 (q) etc., Oxf. 1883–88. HHagen, Italafragmente (ev. Marci 1–3) from cod. Bern. s. VI, ZfwissTh. 27, 470. GSchepss, die ältesten Evangelienhss. der Würzb. Univ.-Bibl., Würzb. 1887. PBattifol, fragmenta Sangallensia, Rev. d'archéol. 1884 2, 305. WWeissbrodt, de cod. Cremifunensi millenario et de fragmm. evangel. Vindob. 383, Salisb. 400, Norimb. 27932, I Braunsb. 1887. LZiegler, Italafragm. der paulin. Briefe aus Freisinger Perg.-Bl., Marb. 1874; Italafragmente der paulin. Briefe nebst Bruchst. einer vorhieron. Übers. d. 1. Joh. Briefes, Marb. 1876; Bruchstücke einer vorhieron. Übersetzung der Petrusbriefe, Münch. SBer. 1876 1, 607; die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus und die Itala des Augustin, Munich 1879; JJ. 119, 713. WSchum, das Quedlinburger Fragment einer illustrierten Itala, Gotha 1876. ADüning, ein neues Fragment des Quedlinburger Itala Codex, Quedlinb. 1888. FJHort, old Lat. palimps. of the Acts and Apocal., Class. review 3, 11.—HRönsch, Itala und Vulgata, das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata, Marb. 1869 ([2] 1875) die alttestam. Itala bei Cyprian, Z. f. histor. Theol. 1875 1, 97; Z. f. wissensch. Theol. 18, 425. 19, 287. 397. 22, 224; RhM. 34, 501. 632. JNOtt, JJ. 109, 764. 115, 185. 119, 425. 553. WWeissbrodt, de versionibus script. sacrae lat. obss. misc., Braunsb. 1887. PCorssen, die vermeintliche Itala und die Bibelübersetzung des Hieron., Jahrbb. f. protest. Theol. 7 (1881), 507; epp. Pauli codd. gr. et lat. scriptos, Augiensem, Boernerianum, Claromontanum examinavit etc. I, Jever 1887. HEhrensberger, Psalter. vetus und die Psalterien des Hieron., Tauberbischofsheim 1887.—Mommsen, röm. Gesch. 5, 657. KSittl, lok. Verschiedenh. d. lat. Spr. 146; JB. 1885 2, 72. Cf. also § 434, 6.—AHilgenfeld, hist. krit. Einl. in das N. Test., Lpz. 1875, p. 797. EReuss, Gesch. d. Schrr. N. T., Brunswick[6] 1887, 509. FKehr, die Quedlinburger Italafragmente, Mitteil. d. Inst. f. östr. Geschichtsforsch. 10, 2 (1889). HLinke, Studd. z. Itala, Bresl. 1889. FZimmer, d. Galaterbrief im altlat. Text als Grundlage f. einen textkrit. Apparat der Vetus Itala, Königsb. 1887 (Theol. Studd. aus Ostpreussen, Hft. 1). CWunderer, Bruchstücke einer afrik. Bibelübers. in der pseudocypr. Schrift exhortatio de paenitentia, Erl. 1889. SBerger, le palimpseste de Fleury: fragments du nouv. test. en Latin, Par. 1889.

10. Only a little later than the Itala is the Latin translation of the work by Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons from a. 177, *ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀποτροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*. The translation is printed e.g. in the edd. by AStieren, Lps. 1853, and WHarvey, Cambr. 1857. Collations from unused MSS. in Pitra, anall. sacra 2 (1884), 211. FLooss, d. Hss. des Lat. Irenaeus, Lpz. 1890.—Nearly contemporaneous with the Lat. Irenaeus are in all probability the two Latin translations of the Pastor of Hermas (§ 368, 8), printed e.g. in the ed. by Hilgenfeld, Lps.[2] 1882. The best is the so-called versio Palatina (preserved in Vatic. Palat. 150, a recent collation of this in FXFunk, ZföG. 36, 245). JHaussleiter, de versionibus pastoris Hermae lat.,

acta sem. phil. Erlang. 3, 309; textkrit. Bem. z. palat. Übers. d. Hirten d. Herm. ZfwissTheol. 26 (1883), 345.—Here must also be mentioned the Latin translation of the fourth book of Ezra, see AHILGENFELD, Messias Iudaeorum, Lps. 1869 p. XXII, GVOLKMAR, Handb. der Apokryphen, vol. 2 (Tüb. 1863). The gap caused by a leaf being cut out (from the SGerm. s. IX, the source of all the later MSS.) has been filled up by means of a MS. at Amiens s. IX: RLBENSLY, the missing fragment of the Latin translation of the fourth book of Ezra, Cambr. 1875. Also fragments of a Latin translation of two other apocryphal books of the Old Testament (likewise from the Greek), the Parva Genesis and the Prophetia et assumptio Mosis, edited from a Bobbio palimpsest in the Ambrosiana by CERIANI, monum. sacra et profana 1861. HRÖNSCH, das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, Lpz. 1874. GVOLKMAR, Handb. d. Apokryphen vol. 3 (Tüb. 1867).—Lastly as early as the close of the second century are translations of the acta martyrum Scillitanorum (at Scilla in Africa *ἐπὶ Πραίσεντος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Κονδιανοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων* =a. 180, in Greek from Paris. 1470 s. IX in HUSENER, Bonner ind. schol. 1881; cf. BAUBÉ, sur un nouv. texte des actes des mart. Scill., Par. 1881; les Chrétiens dans l'empire Rom., Par. 1881, 499. Anall. Bolland. 8 [1889], 1), and the Latin acta Perpetuae et Felicitatis (under Septimius Severus at Carthage, THRUINART, acta mart.² 92) are not much later.

373a. The writer on prosody Terentianus, a native of Mauretania, appears to have lived about the close of the second century. In his later years he wrote in metrical form a short manual de litteris, syllabis, metris, addressed to his son Bassinus and his son-in-law Novatus. It consists of three parts, the last of which we do not possess complete. Though the book is not original as regards the subject-matter, it is highly creditable to the author's skill in handling the most varied metres. While Terentianus reproduces the metrical system (§ 42, 2) adhered to by Varro, Caesius Bassus and others, which derives all metres from the hexameter and the iambic trimeter, Juba (who was probably a fellow-countryman of Terentianus) represents the opposite doctrine, brought into vogue chiefly by Heliodoros, which traced them to a variety of rhythmical metra prototypa or physica. Juba wrote a voluminous metrical manual, from which later writers borrowed assiduously.

1. Since Lachmann (on Terent. p. XI) Terentianus has been assigned to the close of the third century.—Lachmann however only fixed on so late a date because he shared with Niebuhr the view now long since abandoned (§ 305, 4), that Petronius, whom Terentianus several times quotes (§ 305, 6 init.), belonged to the middle of the third century. See against this GSRUDER, RhM. 2, 63. More probably Terentianus was a contemporary of, or but little posterior to, the poetae novelli of Hadrian's and the succeeding period (§ 353. 362), particularly Septimius Serenus (§ 353, 5); cf. TERENT. GL. 6, 382, 1891 *dulcia Septimius qui scripsit opuscula nuper.* TERENTIAN. 1969 sqq. (after quoting an example from Pomponius Secundus, § 284, 7): *non equidem possum tot priscos nosse poetas ut veterum exemplis valeam quae tracto probare; Maurus item quantos potui cognoscere Graios? . . . nemo tamen culpet si sumo exempla novella,* whereupon he again quotes Septimius

Serenus, as he does in another place Annianus (§ 353, 4) and Alfius Avitus (§ 353, 6). On the other hand the earliest references to him are in Diomedes, Marius Victorinus (Aphthonius, GL. 6, 83, 27 *Terentianus, non paenitendus inter ceteros artis metricae auctor*) and Augustine (Keil on GL. 6, 322; see also above § 164, 2). GSchultz, Herm. 22, 275 gives the date correctly.

2. Terent. preface (stichic glyconeans) 51 *sic nostrum senium quoque . . angustam studii viam et callem tenuem terit.* (59) *quid sit littera, quid duae, iunctae quid sibi syllabae.* This is carried out in the first part (in sotadeans), v. 85–278 (*sat duco meas hactenus occupasse nugas*). Then (v. 342-1281) de syllabis (versus heroici) in trochaic tetrameters and dactylic hexameters, after a preface (279–341), the position of which seems to indicate that the original order has been disturbed. It commences: *syllabas . . . disputatas attuli versibus, sane modorum quo sonora levitas addita stili levaret siccioris taedium. haec prius, Bassine fili et tu gener Novate mi, perpolite qua potestis crebriore limula.* 319 *morosa intentio tam legentis debet esse quam fuit nobis quoque, qui . . . forsitan nec lecta multis e latebris scalpsimus, ardui laudem expetentes, non favorem ex obviis.* 348 *hoc opus, de syllabis quod recepi nunc loquendum.* The first half repeats in an enlarged form the contents of the opusculum de litteris, which was written in sotadeans. The discussion of syllabic prosody does not begin till 997. Epilogue 1282–1299: *forsitan hunc aliquis verbosum dicere librum non dubitat* etc. (1291) *haec ego cum scripsi bis quinis mensibus aeger pendebam* etc. (1296) *sic varios tam longa dies renovando dolores duxit ad hoc tempus semper sine fine minando. cum potui tamen obrepens incepta peregi, quo vitae dubius vel sic vixisse viderer.* The third part treats de metris (v. 1300–2981), special attention being paid to (Catullus and) Horace (from v. 2914 the metres of the Epodes exclusively are discussed). The introduction treats (again) briefly de syllabis, litteris, then (1335) de pedibus. The metrical system properly so called begins v. 1580, is well arranged and gives imitations of each of the metres treated of. This part is without preface and conclusion and there are also repetitions of preceding lines (1306–1312 = 357 sq. 360–364) and other traces of incompleteness (Lachmann p. ix) or of incomplete preservation (see Keil GL. 6, 321).

3. Of the three parts (or books; cf. ThBirt, Buchwesen 381) the most important is the third, on metre, in spite of many mistaken or inadequate statements (e.g. 1797). It is based on an earlier manual of prosody, in which Greek specimens were also given (cf. 2128). This original was undoubtedly the work of Caesius Bassus (§ 304, 1). RWestphal, griech. Metr. $1^2$, 138. HKeil on GL. 6, 251. 323. FLeo, Herm. 24, 283.

4. The text of Ter. is based, the Bobbio MS. in which it was discovered in 1493 having since been lost, solely on the editio princeps (Milan 1497), which bears the title: Terentianus de litteris, syllabis et metris Horatii. On the later edd. see Keil l.l. 317. With an elaborate commentary by LSanten (ed. DJvLennep), Utr. 1825. Recensuit CLachmannus, Berl. 1836. In Gaisford's Hephaestion (Oxon. 1855) 1, 215; annotationes 2, 349. In Keil's GL. 6, 313.

5. Mar. Victorin. (Aphthon.) GL. 6, 88, 4 *Iuba noster atque alii Graecorum opinionem secuti referunt* etc.; ib. 94, 6 *Iuba noster qui inter metricos auctoritatem primae eruditionis obtinuit, insistens Heliodori* (§ 352) *vestigiis, qui inter Graecos huiusce artis antistes aut primus aut solus est.* Serv. Aen. 5, 522 *secundum Iubam artigraphum.* His period is determined by the fact that in a passage in Prisc. GL. 3, 421, 5 which, as expressly stated, is derived from Juba, there occur three lines modelled on Septimius Serenus (§ 353, 5). It must remain uncertain whether

Juba was acquainted with these lines in the works of Serenus himself, or knew them only from their being quoted in TERENTIANUS 1998.—Juba wrote an Ars metrica for which Heliodoros was his principal source (see above). The quotations from this work extend down to b. 8 (see however below): e.g. RUFIN. GL. 6, 561, 11 *Iuba in libro quarto* (on the iambic trimeter). PRISC. GL. 3, 420, 24 *idem* (Juba or Juba in Asmonius? see HERTZ ad loc.) *in octavo*. There are only 15 fragments expressly designated with the name of the author. Conjectures as to the extent, arrangement and sources of the work, and a collection of the fragments in HENSE l.l. (very much remains uncertain from the nature of the case). Juba's diction shows, besides Africanisms (*minus ab*, see JNOTT, JJ. 111, 795), chiefly Graecisms and words and expressions (e.g. *intellegi datur*) peculiar to a later time. For the various metres Juba gave numerous examples, both Greek and Latin, among the latter many of his own construction, particularly with reminiscences of Vergil (cf. HWENTZEL, de Iuba metr. 1, 10). In each instance the writer ascended from the shortest to the longest form of the metre (cf. e.g. GL. 6, 630, 2). Juba was used already by Sacerdos (§ 394, 1), then by most of the later metrical writers, to the greatest extent by Aphthonius (§ 395, 1), next to him by Rufinus and in the fragm. Bobiense (see n. 6).—On Juba see HKEIL, quaestt. grammatt., Lps. 1860; ind. schol. Hal. 1873/74; GL. 6, 617. RWESTPHAL, griech. Metr. $1^2$, 223. HWENTZEL, symbolae critt. ad scriptt. metr. lat., Bresl. 1858; in the Oppeln Progr. 1864; de Iuba metrico I, Oppeln 1881, and especially OHENSE, de Iuba artigrapho in the act. soc. phil. Lips. 4 (1875), 1. Also BTENBRINK, Iubae Maurusii de re metrica scriptoris latini reliquiae, Utr. 1854.

6. From Juba is derived the so-called fragm. Bobiense after cod. Vindob. 16 (see § 394, 1), printed in EICHENFELD and ENDLICHER, anall. gramm. 516 and in HKEIL, GL. 6, 620 (see also ind. schol. Hal. 1873/74). It is an abridgment from a larger work and treats de iambico, trochaico, dactylico, anapaestico. Likewise from Juba is derived the fragment de iambico metro, after Paris. 7530 s. VIII in GL. 6, 630. In this Vindob. there are also a few short grammatical treatises de finalibus syllabis (GL. 6, 625), de structuris (ib. 627), de metris (melicis, ib. 629). To these KEIL l.l. 532 adds some matter relating to prosody from Berol. 66 (Santenianus) s. VIII and SGall. 876 s. IX.

374. Helenius Acro, the commentator of Terence and Horace and probably also of Persius, may belong at earliest to the close of the second century. A date only slightly later used to be assigned to the grammarian and commentator of Horace, Pomponius Porphyrio, whose scholia are still extant. But the diction and style of these Horatian commentaries indicate a much later period. Of the writings of the learned Sammonicus Serenus the Elder, a great bibliophile, nothing has come down to us. In the same way those of Statilius Maximus on the elder Cato and on Cicero are known to us only from quotations. Festus, the author of the abridgment of Verrius Flaccus, would also appear to belong to the close of the second (or to the third?) century.

1. Helenius Acro's commentaries on Terence's Eunuchus and Adelphi are quoted 13 times by Charisius (from Julius Romanus). Thus GL. 1, 210 *Terentius in eunucho* (v. 5) '*nil prius*' etc., *ubi Helenium Acronem errasse dicendum est, qui*

'*prius*' *sic intellexit* etc. Cf. ib. 201, 3. 216, 9. *Helenius Acron commentariis quos adelphis Terenti non indiligentes attulit*, ib. 192, cf. 200, 16. 219, 5. 126, 17. 130, 12. 197, 25. 210, 11, also 119, 12 *id Helenius Acron sic oportere dici in eadem Terentii fabula* (adelph.) *disputavit Verriumque dicit errare* etc. . . . *qui autem cum Helenio faciunt hanc afferunt causam* etc.; cf. also RUFINUS GL. 6, 565, 4. He would therefore appear to have lived (after Gellius, who does not mention him, and) before Romanus.—For his commentary on Horace see § 240, 3. PORPHYR. on Hor. s. 1, 8, 25 *memini me legere apud Helenium Acronem, Saganam nomine fuisse Horatii temporibus* etc. No doubt Porphryio borrowed much besides, e.g. his notices de personis horatianis (§ 240, 3 middle) mainly from Acro, see n. 3. Acro also seems to have written a commentary on Persius. SCHOL. PERS. 2, 56 *Acron tradit quod* etc., and PARRHASIUS (in Gruteri Lampas 1, 735) says: *incidi in Probi grammatici commentarios in primam Persii satiram.* . . . *in iis ita scriptum legimus; curas* (v. 1) *Acroni proprie dicere videtur* etc. Hence OJAHN (Pers. p. CLIX) assigns to (Helenius) Acro those portions of the scholia of Cornutus which exhibit more information than can be credited to Cornutus and still cannot be traced back to Valerius Probus.—There are no certain traces of a commentary on Vergil by Acro; RIBBECK, Prolegg. p. 175. Cf. GRÄFENHAN, Gesch. d. class. Philol. 4, 308.

2. Pseudo-Acron. Acro's name is used to designate a group of scholia on Horace, formed of heterogeneous elements (on s. VI–VIII) and which in the earlier MSS. (e.g. Paris. 7900[a] s. X, Dessaviensis s. X, Paris. 7975 s. XI; cf. § 240, 6) are transmitted without a name. The name of Acro was probably first given to this collection in the 15th century owing to a false conjecture: see HUSENER, Berner Progr. v. 1863, p. VII. The so-called Isidorian gloss (§ 42, 6 in fin.) adduced by USENER, RhM. 23, 490 is not of a quality (§ 42, 6 in fin.) to prove a very early connection between Acro and these scholia. GLOEWE, prodr. gloss. 50, 48. Theoctistus (§ 472, 8) is named on sat. 1, 5, 97. Most of the work, where not based on Porphyrio, is insignificant and insipid; there are however some notices of importance and not found elsewhere, perhaps from a more complete Porphyrio, or from Suetonius? Cf. e.g. on HOR. s. 1, 7, 19. AP. 354. 417; FMARK, studd. Lucil. 59. 89. Cf. OKELLER, symb. philol. Bonn. 499. RKUKULA, de tribus pseudoacronianorum scholiorum recensionibus, Vienna 1883. JSCHLENGER in the Mayence Gymn.-Progr. 1868, p. 1 sq. WMEYER, ed. Porph. p. v. AKIESSLING, de personis Horatianis (Greifsw. 1880), p. 5. WCHRIST, JJ. 113, 159 and the literature above § 240, 3. 4.

3. Pomponius Porphyrio (so he is called in the Monac.) of unknown origin (from Africa? OKELLER, symb. phil. Bonn. 494. JNOTT, JJ. 111, 795. VRBA l.l. 2). He is very rarely quoted: CHARIS. GL. 1, 220, 28 *ut Porphyrio ex Verrio et Festo* etc. SCHOL. LUCAN. 1, 214 *Porfirion puniceum interpretatus est quasi phoeniceum* . . . *Cornutus vero* etc. (should it be inferred from this that he also wrote a commentary on Lucan?). As Porphyrio frequently designates Horace, Vergil, Ovid and their contemporaries as *veteres* or *antiqui* (see MEYER's index s. vv.), he cannot have lived before the third, and more probably belongs to the fourth, century. The diction of the commentary expressly confirms this. KSITTL, lok. Verschiedenh. d. lat. Spr. 89. VRBA l.l. 26. His extant commentary on Horace (§ 240, 3) is chiefly concerned with logical, rhetorical and grammatical explanation. P. frequently indicates his authorities merely in a general manner, thus e.g. *quidam* and *qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt* (on sat. 1, 3, 21. 90); Acro (n. 1), Scaurus (§ 352, 1), Claranus (§ 328, 4) and Suetonius (§ 347) are each referred to by name in only one instance, but P. no doubt very largely used the first of these writers (AKIESSLING, de person. Horat. p. 9).—During the

Middle Ages this commentary was less used than that of Pseudo-Acron and has therefore suffered much less from interpolation. It is however scarcely probable that we possess the original version; at all events it is here and there intentionally or unintentionally abbreviated and mutilated. Thus there is no explanation of s. 2, 3, 103–141. 2, 6, 72–117; cf. KIESSLING l.l. 5.—PORPH. sat. 1, 6, 41 (§ 234, 1) refers to the composition of a detailed biography of Horace, but hardly to the short vita which precedes the commentary on Horace.—The earliest and best MS. is the Monac. 181 s. X (VRBA l.l. 9), and there are later ones s. XIV/XV in Berne, Paris and Wolfenbüttel. First critical edition by WMEYER, Lps. 1874. See the rest cited § 240, 4.—Criticism: FGUSTAFSSON, Nord. tidskr. f. filol. 6, 62. JWBECK, de Val. Probo (Gron. 1886) 43.—MGITLBAUR, Porph.'s Horaztext, in his Philol. Streifzügen, Freib. 1886, 123.—In general CFVRBA, meletemata Porphyrionea, Vienna 1885. JSTOWASSER, Wien. Studd. 12, 121.

4. MACR. 3, 16, 6 *temporibus Severi principis, qui ostentabat duritiam morum* (i.e. Septimius Sev.) *Sammonicus Serenus, vir saeculo suo doctus, cum ad principem suum scriberet, verba Plinii . . . praemisit* etc. SPARTIAN. Geta 5, 5 *Sereni Sammonici libros familiarissimos habuit quos ille ad Antoninum* (Geta himself?) *scripsit.* Erroneous (if it refers to Samm. at all), LYD. de magistr. 3, 32 extr.: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν (Rhine and Danube) κατὰ Σαμωκὸν (?) τὸν ῥωμαῖον ἱστορικόν, ὃς πρὸς Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ Γαλέριον τὸν γέροντα περὶ ποικίλων ζητημάτων διελέχθη. SPARTIAN. Carac. 4, 4, *occisi* (a. 212) *nonnulli etiam cenantes, inter quos etiam Sammonicus Serenus, cuius libri plurimi ad doctrinam extant.* MACR. 3, 9, 6 *repperi in libro quinto rerum reconditarum Sammonici Sereni utrumque carmen.* On Sammonicus' use of Plin. NH. and Macrobius' use of Sammonicus, see conjectures in GWISSOWA, Herm. 16, 502. SIDON. APOLL. carm. 14 praef. *sine M. Varrone, sine Sereno, non Septimio* (§ 353, 5) *sed Sammonico, sine Censorino* etc. carm. 22 praef. *videtur mihi Iulium Firmicum* (§ 406), *Sammonicum, Iulianum Vertacum, Fullonium Saturninum, in libris matheseos peritissimos conditores, didicisse.* Cf. ARNOB. adv. g. 6, 7. SERV. georg. 1, 30. 102. CAPITOL. Gordian. 18, 2 *Sereno Sammonico, qui patris eius amicissimus, sibi autem praeceptor fuit, nimis acceptus et carus, usque adeo ut omnes libros Sereni Sammonici patris sui, qui censebantur ad sexaginta et duo milia, Gordiano minori moriens ille relinqueret.*

5. Statilius Maximus is never mentioned by Gellius, and thus appears to be of later date. On the other hand Julius Romanus (§ 379, 1) in Charisius often quotes him in the section concerning adverbs. Cf. CHARIS. GL. 1, 194, 11 *licet St. M. de singularibus apud Ciceronem quoque positis notet.* 218, 6 *ut St. M. de sing. apud eum* (Cic.) *quoque positis notat.* Cf. ib. 196, 4. 209, 4 (*quod St. M. notat nesciens* etc.). 212, 16. 213, 13. 214, 17. 215, 22. 217, 3 and 8. 218, 28. 219, 24. A similar work by St. M. on Cato senex is indicated by the citations ib. p. 202, 11. (206, 9.) 217, 14. 220, 16. 240, 1. The arrangement of these works of St. was perhaps lexical. GRÄFENHAN, Gesch. d. class. Philol. 4, 234. St. M. also emended the the speeches of Cicero from some good old copies; see the subscription: *Statilius Maximus rursus emendavi ad Tyronem et Laetanianum et dom. et alios veteres. III oratio exima.* OJAHN, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 329. AKIESSLING, coniectan. 1 (Greifsw. 1883) 6.—T. Statilius Maximus Se[ve]r., who in the year 136 immortalised himself in two trochaic and two iambic senarii on the statue of Memnon, each time as *vates Maximus* (CIL. 3, 47), can hardly be identical with the grammarian, FBÜCHELER, anthol. lat. epigr. 3 (Bonn 1876), 11; RhM. 38, 132.

6. On Festus see § 261, 5. On the ἑρμηνεύματα of a. 207 see § 431, 8.

## C. The Third Century, A.D. 211–305.

### The first half, A.D. 211–253.

375. This period embraces the reign of M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus (Caracalla a. 211–217, down to 212 with his brother Geta), Macrinus (a. 217), Elagabalus (a. 217–222), Alexander Severus (222–235), Maximinus (235–238), Gordianus I and II (238), Gordianus III (238–244), Philippus Arabs (244–249), Decius Traianus (249–251), Gallus (251–253). Only the reigns of Caracalla, Alexander and Gordianus III were of any length. During these years the general retrogression was continued, nay it now began to extend even to the sphere of jurisprudence. In comparison with Papinian, the works of Ulpian and Paulus bear rather the character of compilations and revisions of extant materials. Censorinus and Julius Romanus were respectable scholars; likewise Gargilius Martialis. Historical composition was represented by the predecessor of the scriptores historiae augustae, Marius Maximus. On the other hand Cassius Dio and Herodianus wrote in Greek. Christianity produced Cyprian, and its first poet, Commodianus, who, however, wrote in a barbarous prosody. Serenus Sammonicus the Younger exhibits the influence of the age of the Antonines in his predilection for archaic forms. The provinces, to which Caracalla's Constitutio Antoniniana of a. 212 had granted equal rights with Italy, contributed largely to literature, just as they furnished many Emperors to the throne.

1. Of the above-named Emperors but few had any taste for literature (Maximinus is said by Aurel. Vict. Caess. 25 to be *litterarum fere rudis*). Capit. Macrin. 14, 4 *quod cum Macrinus audisset fecit iambos, qui non extant. iucundissimi autem fuisse dicuntur.* Cf. ib. 11, 5 *hos versus nescio qui latinos . . . in foro posuit. quibus acceptis Macrinus his versibus respondisse fertur* (two distichs).—Of Alexander Severus (born about a. 205) Lamprid. Alex. 27, 5 says: *facundiae graecae magis quam latinae nec versu invenustus. . . . vitas principum bonorum versibus scripsit.* ib. 44 *rhetoribus, grammaticis, medicis, haruspicibus, mathematicis, mechanicis, architectis salaria instituit et auditoria decrevit et discipulos cum annonis pauperum filios, modo ingenuos, dari iussit* (at Rome). *etiam in provinciis oratoribus forensibus multum detulit.* 68, 1 *ut scias qui viri in eius consilio fuerint: Fabius Sabinus, Sabini insignis viri filius, Cato temporis sui; Domitius Ulpianus, iuris peritissimus; Aelius Gordianus, Gordiani imp. filius, scientia iuris insignis; Iulius Paulus, iuris peritissimus; Claudius Venacus, orator amplissimus; Catilius Severus, cognatus eius, vir omnium doctissimus; Aelius Serenianus, omnium vir sanctissimus; Quintilius Marcellus, quo meliorem ne historiae quidem continent; C. Sallius Aristaenetus, orator maximus* (HDessau, Herm. 25, 158).

2. Of M. Antonius Gordianus (born a. 158), the father (Gordianus I),

CAPITOL. Gord. 7, 1 says *vita venerabilis, cum Platone semper, cum Aristotele, cum Tullio, cum Vergilio ceterisque veteribus agens.* ib. 3, 2 *adulescens cum esset . . . poemata scripsit, quae omnia extant, et quidem cuncta illa quae Cicero* (§ 189, 2). . . . *scripsit praeterea quemadmodum Vergilius Aeneidos . . . ita etiam ille Antoniniados* (libros), *h. e. Antoninum Pium et Antonium Marcum versibus disertissimis libris XXX vitam illorum et bella et publice privatimque gesta perscribens. et haec quidem puerulus. . . . ubi adolevit in Athenaeo controversias declamavit* etc. 4, 7 *scripsit et laudes soluta oratione omnium Antoniorum qui ante eum fuerunt.* His grandson (by a daughter, CIL. 8, 848. 10079, cf. CAPITOL. Gord. 4, 2), Gordianus III, *duxit uxorem filiam Misithei* (rather *Timesithei*, Τιμησιθέου, that is, of C. Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus, OHIRSCHFELD, röm. Verwaltungsgesch. 1, 236) *doctissimi viri, quem causa eloquentiae . . . praefectum statim fecit*, CAPIT. Gord. 23, 6. *Extat et soceri eius saeculum emendatius ac diligentius socero adiuvante perfectum*, ib. 24, 1 and the letters ib. 24, 2–25, 4. Oratio Gordiani ad senatum in praise of Timesitheus ib. 27, 4.

376. To the reign of Caracalla (chiefly) belong the literary works of the jurist Domitius Ulpianus of Tyre, praefectus praetorio under Alexander Severus; in this position he was for some time all-powerful until assassinated by the Praetorian guard a. 228. The most important of his numerous writings were the 81 books Ad edictum (praetoris), which gave a minute and detailed explanation of all edicts and formulas, and the 51 books Ad Sabinum. His Regularum liber singularis is extant in an abridgment, and we possess scanty fragments of his Institutionum libri II. Although Ulpian's chief merit lies rather in the collation of very voluminous materials than in the well-balanced arrangement of the same, his works enjoyed for a long time high authority on account of their rich contents, and likewise in virtue of their pertinent criticism and clear style. In Justinian's Digest the extracts from his works form a full third of the whole work.

1. ULP. dig. 50, 15, 1 pr. *est in Syria Phoenice splendidissima Tyriorum colonia, unde mihi origo est.* SPARTIAN. Pescenn. Nig. 7, 4 *Paulus* (§ 377) *et Ulpianus . . . Papiniano in consilio fuerunt ac postea, cum unus ad memoriam, alter ad libellos paruisset, statim* (?) *praefecti facti sunt.* LAMPRID. Heliogab. 16, 4 *removit et Ulpianum ictum, ut bonum virum, et Silvinum rhetorem, quem magistrum Caesaris fecerat. et Silvinus quidem occisus est, Ulpianus vero reservatus.* Alexand. Sev. 26, 5 *Paulum et Ulpianum in magno honore habuit, quos praefectos ab Heliogabalo alii dicunt factos, alii ab ipso. nam et consiliarius Alexandri et magister scrinii Ulpianus fuisse perhibetur, qui tamen ambo assessores Papiniani fuisse dicuntur.* VICT. Caes. 24, 6 *Domitium Ulpianum, quem Heliogabalus praetorianis praefecerat, eodem honore retinens Pauloque inter exordia patriae reddito iuris auctoribus quantus erga optimos atque aequi studio esset edocuit.* LAMPRID. Alex. Sev. 51, 4 *Ulpianum pro tutore habuit, primum repugnante matre, deinde gratias agente. . . atque ideo summus imperator fuit quod eius consiliis praecipue remp. rexit.* 15, 6 *negotia et causas prius a scriniorum principibus et doctissimis iurisperitis et sibi fidelibus, quorum primus tunc Ulpianus fuit, tractari . . . praecepit.* 31, 2 *neque*

*umquam solum quemquam nisi praefectum suum vidit, et quidem Ulpianum, ex assessore semper suo, causa iustitiae singulis.* See also ib. 27, 2. 34, 6. 67, 2. Cod. 8, 38, 4 (of 31st March 222) *secundum responsum Domitii Ulpiani, praefecti annonae, icti, amici mei.* 4, 65, 5 (of 1st December 222) *ad Domitium Ulpianum, praefectum praet. et parentem meum.* Dio 80, 1 Ἀλέξανδρος . . . Οὐλπιανῷ τήν τε τῶν δορυφόρων προστασίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέτρεψε πράγματα. 80, 2 ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου πραχθέντων ἐπηνώρθωσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Φλαουιανὸν τόν τε Χρῆστον ἀποκτείνας ἵν' αὐτοὺς διαδέξηται, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπιθεμένων οἱ νυκτὸς κατεσφάγη, καίπερ καὶ πρὸς τὸ παλάτιον ἀναδραμὼν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τήν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ καταφυγών. The principal author of this deed Dio states to have been a certain Epagathos. See more details in Zosim. 1, 11. Hieronym. ad a. 2242=224 a.d. (Amand. a. 2241) *Ulpianus ictus assessor Alexandri insignissimus habetur.*

2. Before the death of Severus (a. 211) Ulpian published only his liber singularis de excusationibus, of which the later work de officio praetoris tutelaris, published under Caracalla, is so to speak the second edition (Mommsen). The commentary on the Edict, or at least the first half of it, was also written under Severus (in b. 10 and 26 a decree of Caracalla of 19th Dec. 212 is mentioned as having been recently issued), though not published until later under Caracalla or, if indeed it was published before, it was subsequently revised. Beginning with and after b. 11 we frequently find *divus Severus* and *divus Severus et imp. noster*, *imp. noster cum patre* and throughout the entire work *imp. noster* used to designate Caracalla. The books ad Sabinum were also written under Caracalla at least down to b. 43. The majority of his publications belong to the time of the sole power of Caracalla (a. 211–217) or were at least finally revised by him at this time. Caracalla is in them always mentioned as living (imperator). Only the five books de adulteriis would seem to have been written under Macrinus (or Elagabalus). Fitting, d. Alter d. Schriften 34 (cf. his castr. pecul. p. xxxvi) with Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 9, 101. 110. Lamprid. Heliog. 16, 2 is erroneous: *Sabinum consularem, ad quem libros Ulpianus scripsit, . . . iussit occidi.* See below n. 5 and § 281, 1.

3. The so-called Fragmenta Ulpiani, preserved only in a Vatican MS. (Regin. 1128 s. X) as an appendix to the Lex rom. Visigothorum (§ 488, 2) under the title *tituli ex corpore Ulpiani*, form an abridgment (mutilated at the beginning and particularly at the close) of Ulpian's liber singularis regularum. This abridgment (which according to Mommsen in Böcking's ed.[4] 113, was composed shortly after a. 320) was intended specially for practical purposes. In the plan and execution of this lib. regul. Ulpian in the main followed Gaius. Ed. princ. by JTilius, Par. 1549. Editions (chiefly with the Instit., n. 4) by EBöcking, Lps.[4] 1855 (after HBrunn's transcript of the Vatic. and with a treatise by Mommsen, de Ulp. regul. libro sing.) and JVahlen, Bonn 1856. Ulpiani liber sing. regularum, Pauli libri V sententiarum, fragmenta minora saeculorum p. Chr. n. II et III ed. PKrüger, Berl. 1878. Also in Huschke's iurispr. anteiust.[5] 568 and in Muirhead (§ 361, 5).—Cf. Heimbach, üb. Ulp.s Fragmente, Lpz. 1834. CLachmann, kl. Schr. 2, 216.

4. Of b. 1 of Ulpian's Institutions there are in Vienna the remains of two leaves from an early MS. (perhaps s. V–VI). StEndlicher, de inst. Ulp. fragmento Vindob. nuper reperto, Vienna 1835.—Cf. Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 15, 372. EHuschke, iurispr. anteiust.[5] 617. Printed (see n. 3) e.g. in Huschke, l.l.[5] 620. FPBremer, de Ulp. instit. scripsit, inst. reliquias adiceit, Bonn 1863. In addition a few fragments in the Pandects and elsewhere. All the fragments are collected in

PKrüger's krit. Versuchen auf d. Gebiete d. röm. Rechts (Berl. 1870) 163; cf. ib. 140. Also in the same author's Ulp., Berl. 1878 (see n. 3), 157. Lenel, paling. 2, 926.

5. The principal work of Ulp.: Ad edictum libri LXXXIII, i.e. 81 on the Praetorian edict, excerpted in the Pandects and forming their groundwork, and 2 books Ad edictum aedilium curulium. From the ed. praet. is perhaps derived the so-called fragmentum de iudiciis in Berlin, which was discovered in Egypt in 1877, on a sheet of parchment s. VI. Mommsen, Berl. SBer. 1879, 501. Huschke, d. jüngst aufgefundenen Bruchstücke röm. Jur., Lpz. 1880: iurispr. anteiust.[5] 623. PKrüger, ZfRGesch. 16, 93; Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. R. 249. Lenel 2, 421.—Ad Sabinum (cf. n. 2) libri LI in two editions, see Cod. Iust. constit. Cordi nobis § 3 fin. Fragments of Greek scholia (s. V) from Sinai on Ulp. ad Sab. CFZachariae, Berl. SBer. 1881, 620. PKrüger, ZfRGesch. 17, 1; Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. R. 320. Also in Huschke, iurispr. anteiust.[5] 815.—In addition Ad legem Iuliam et Papiam libri XX; Ad legem Aeliam Sentiam libri IV; De omnibus tribunalibus libri X; De appellationibus libri IV; De censibus libri VI; Fideicommissorum libri VI; (Ad legem Iuliam) de adulteriis libri V (cf. n. 2); De sponsalibus; De officio proconsulis libri X (b. VII contained the decrees against the Christians and the mathematici, Lactant. inst. 5, 11. Collat. leg. 15, 2; cf. AFRudorff, on the liber de off. procos., Berl. 1866. Abh. d. Berl. Ak.); De officio consulis libri III; De officio quaestoris libri II (or I); libri singulares de officio consularium, de off. curatoris reip., praefecti vigilum, praefecti urbi, praetoris tutelaris, de excusationibus (n. 2). Also Disputationum (publicarum) libri X (n. 6), Opinionum libri VI, Responsorum libri II. As an introduction to jurisprudence he wrote Institutionum libri II (n. 4), Regularum liber singularis (n. 3), Regularum libri VII.—Altogether upwards of 2,700 passages from these works are preserved in the Pandects and elsewhere; they form vol. 3 of Hommel's Palingenesia, in Lenel 2, 379. Merely cited are Ulpian's Pandectarum libri X, and his notes on Aristo (dig. 29, 7, 9), Marcellus (20, 1, 27. 26, 7, 28, 1) and Papinian's Responsa (3, 5, 31, 2. 50, 8, 3 pr.).

6. Cod. 9, 41, 11 (Diocletian, a. 290) *vir prudentissimus Domitius Ulpianus in publicarum disputationum libris ad perennem scientiae memoriam refert.* Justinian. Cod. 6, 25, 9 (a. 531) *tam Ulpiano quam Papiniano, viris disertissimis.* 6, 51, 9 *non ineleganter summi ingenii vir Ulpianus.* Novell. 97, 6, 1 *Οὐλπιανὸν τὸν σοφώτατον.* His pupil Modestinus calls him *ὁ κράτιστος* (dig. 26, 6, 2, 5. 27, 1, 2 fin. 27, 4, 1). On the whole Ulpian's literary work was reproductive and lacked the scientific independence of Papinian; but he knew how to deal with and arrange his subject. A certain rivalry and distant personal relations are indicated by the fact that Paulus and Ulpian, although contemporaries and fellows in office, never mention each other (in dig. 19, 1, 43 a decision of Ulpian is mentioned only in a question addressed to Paulus, not by Paulus himself).

7. JLectius, de vita et scriptis Ulp., Geneva 1601=Otto Thesaur. I. HSteger (FCConradi), de Ulp., Lps. 1725. Zimmern, röm. Privatr. 1, 1, 367. FASchilling, de U., Bresl. 1824. GBruns, PRE. 7, 2697. Rudorff, RGesch. 1, 189. FPBremer, Rechtslehrer etc. 82; Ulp.s Verhältnis zu Gallien, ZfRGesch. 15, 134. 17, 84. APernice, Ulpian als Schriftsteller, Berl. SBer. 1885, 443. OKarlowa, röm. RGesch. 1, 743. PKrüger, Quellen u. Lit. des röm. Rechts 214.

8. In the MSS. of the Notitia dignitatum (§ 453, 6) we find also a brief survey of the various degrees of relationship (de gradibus, cf. § 377, 4 in fin.) in agree-

ment with the terms used by Gaius and remarkable for its lucidity. Huschke l.l. believes it to have been derived from a work by Ulpian, either the Regulae or Instit. It is printed e.g. in Hüschke l.l. 627, in Krüger's Ulp. (1878) 166; cf. the same writer's Quellen u. Lit. des röm. R. 250.

9. The fragmentum de iure fisci (preserved in two leaves s. V–VI at Verona) is by Huschke l.l. attributed to Ulpian, whereas e.g. Rudorff (RGesch. 1, 193. 241) with Lachmann, kl. Schr. 2, 244, assigns it to Paulus. It certainly belongs to the end of the second or the commencement of the third cent. Printed e.g. in Huschke, iurispr. anteiust.[5] 635. Edidit PKrüger, Lps. 1868 and in his Ulpian (see n. 3) 1878 p. 162; cf. his Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. R. 250.

377. Ulpian was surpassed in fertility by his (older?) contemporary Julius Paulus, who was likewise praefectus praetorio under Alexander Severus and possessed much influence. He enjoyed no less authority than Ulpian as a jurist. As an acute and independent critic he probably surpassed him, but was decidedly inferior in literary facility, accuracy and skill in exposition. The titles and subjects of their writings were frequently identical. Paulus wrote monographs on numerous subjects. The most comprehensive of his works was his Ad edictum in 80 books, the one most largely used his brief text-book Sententiae ad filium. We possess an abridgment of the latter. The extracts from his works constitute one sixth of the Pandects of Justinian.

1. Paulus was, like Papinian, a pupil of Scaevola (§ 369, 1) and a member of the Imperial consilium (under Septimius Severus). Paul. dig. 29, 2, 97 *Papinianus putabat, . . . dicebam, . . . pronuntiavit (imperator).* 4, 4, 38 *victa tam apud praetorem quam apud praefectum urbi provocaverat. putabam bene iudicatum, . . . imperator autem motus est quod* etc. *dicebam* etc. *movit etiam illud imperatorem* etc. Cf. ib. 49, 14, 50. Originally an advocate (dig. 32, 78, 6 *cum vir ita legasset . . . ego apud praetorem fideicommissarium petebam . . . nec obtinui*), subsequently assessor to the praef. praet., under Papinian; see Paul. dig. 12, 1, 40 *lecta est . . .* (§ 371, 1) *cautio huius modi. dicebam* etc. Magister memoriae, exiled under Elagabalus, recalled by Alexander (Severus) and appointed praef. praet.; § 376, 1.

2. The three books Decretorum and the treatises de iurisdictione tutelari (ed. II) and de excusationibus tutelarum had already been published before the death of Septimius Severus (a. 211); the sententiarum libri V, as it seems, a short time after Severus' death. Under Caracalla he wrote the treatises de publicis iudiciis, de libertatibus dandis, ad orationem divi Severi, de cognitionibus, perhaps also the two books ad legem Iuliam and the three fideicommissorum. Under Elagabalus (a. 218–222) the books de censibus. The Responsa were at all events not finished until the reign of Alexander (222–235). After Caracalla's death (217) in any case were written the treatises de adulteriis and de iure liberorum, and the commentary on the Edict was concluded under Elagabalus or Alexander. In general Paulus offers few hints for the chronological determination of his works. Cf. Fitting, über d. Alter d. Schrr. 44 and Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 9, 106. 111. 114.

3. The Sententiarum ad filium libri V were a sort of juridical vademecum,

containing the uncontested principles of the most usual cases, without statement of reasons or sources, according to the order of the Edict. Their simplicity and brevity recommended them to ordinary readers and gained for them public authority in an age which was averse to legal subtleties. See an edict of Constantine a. 327 (cod. Theod. 1, 4, 2): *sententiarum libros, plenissima luce et perfectissima elocutione et iustissima iuris ratione succinctos, in iudiciis prolatos valere non dubitatur.* Theodosius II and Valentinian III (a. 426) enlarged this (cod. Theod. 1, 4, 3): *Pauli sententias semper valere praecipimus;* cf. Consult. 7, 3. In the leges barbarorum these Sent. formed the principal source of the prevailing legal usage (hence *receptae sententiae*). Being admitted, in a still more abridged form, into the lex rom. Visigothorum (§ 488, 2) they have come down to us. There are however in some of the MSS. of this lex Visigoth. several unabridged sententiae of Paulus (KRÜGER, ed. Pauli p. 44. HDEGENKOLB, comment. Mommsen. 646). The excerpts given in the lex Visigoth. are supplemented by quotations in the fragmenta Vaticana, the Collatio legum, Consultatio, in the Appendices of the lex Visigoth., and especially the Digest. Cf. HUSCHKE, l.l.[5] 450. Editions e.g. by LARNDTS (in the Bonn Corpus iuris anteiust. and Bonn 1823, see n. 6), HUSCHKE (iurisp. anteiust.[5] 457) and PKRÜGER, Berl. 1878 (see § 376, 3) and others. The extracts in the Pandects are given by HOMMEL, paling. 2, 227; cf. LENEL 1, 1197.

4. Through the index Florentinus and the Pandects and the Fragm. Vaticana we know the great extent of Paulus' literary labours: Ad edictum libri LXXX, inclusive of libri (II) Ad edictum aedilium curulium, also an abridgment (with additions) Brevium libri XXIII (or ad edictum de brevibus). Quaestionum libri XXVI; Manualium libri III; Sententiarum V (n. 3); Institutorum II (cf. HUSCHKE, iurispr. anteiust.[5] 524; two new fragments from an unpublished commentary on Cic. de inv. in PTHOMAS, rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belg. 21, 30. KRÜGER, Quellen etc. 247); Regularum VII. Responsorum libri XXIII; Decretorum III; Imperialium sententiarum in cognitionibus prolatarum (or Factorum) libri VI. Ad Sabinum libri XVI; ad Vitellium libri IV (cf. MOMMSEN ad dig. 32, 78 pr.; ZfRGesch. 9, 116. KRÜGER l.l. 146. 205); Epitomarum Alfeni (§ 208, 3) libri VIII, Labeonis *πιθανῶν* libri VIII; ad Plautium libri XVIII; ad Neratium libri IV; Notae ad Iulianum, Scaevolam, Papinianum. Ad legem Iuliam et Papiam libri X; ad legem Aeliam Sentiam libri III; ad legem Iuliam libri II. De adulteriis libri III; Fideicommissorum libri III; de officio consulis II; de off. proconsulis II; de censibus II; de iure fisci II. Besides these works there were 59 libri singulares on all departments of Law, e.g. de legibus, ad legem Cinciam, municipalem, Falcidiam, Velleiam, Fusiam Caniniam; de senatus consultis; ad S. C. Orfitianum, Tertullianum, Silanianum, Turpilianum, Velleianum, Claudianum, Libonianum; ad orationem divi Marci, divi Severi; de iure libellorum; ad regulam Catonianam; de iure singulari; de iuris et facti ignorantia: de variis lectionibus. De officio praefecti urbi, praefecti vigilium, praetoris tutelaris, assessorum; de iurisdictione tutelari (in two editions), de excusationibus tutelarum; de gradibus et affinibus (cf. § 376, 8); de dotis repetitione; de donationibus inter virum et uxorem; de intercessionibus feminarum; de usuris. De testamentis in several monographs. De libertatibus dandis; de assignatione libertorum; de iure patronatus. De actionibus, concurrentibus actionibus, conceptione formularum, hypothecaria formula, cognitionibus, liberali causa, septemviralibus iudiciis, appellationibus. De poenis omnium legum, poenis paganorum, militum; de portionibus quae liberis damnatorum conceduntur; de publicis iudiciis, extraordinariis criminibus, adulteriis. Altogether there are in the Digest over 2000 extracts from his works; HOMMEL, palingenesia 2, 3. LENEL 1, 951.

5. Modestin. dig. 27, 1, 13, 2 (above § 369, 3). Gordianus in the Cod. 5, 4, 6 (a. 239), Diocletian ib. 9, 22, 11 (a. 287) and Justinian. const. Omnem (dig. prooem.) 5: *responsum viri prudentissimi Pauli.* On account of the authority of his sententiae (n. 3) P. is simply styled *iuridicus* Consult. 7, 3 and in Isid. orig. 5, 24, 30.

6. AAPagenstecher, Iul. Paulus, in the Sylloge diss., Brem. 1713. EAO CPagenstecher, Paulus iniuria vapulans, in the Tractat. iur. I, Würzb. 1734. FCConradi, J. P. ab iniuria criticorum vindicatus, Helmst. 1733 (=Parerg. 4, 507). Zimmern, Privatr. 1, 1, 368. 374. GBruns, PRE. 5, 1251. KWitte in Ersch and Gruber's Encykl. 3, 14, 221. Rudorff, RGesch. 1, 192. LArndts, civil. Schrr. 3 (Stuttg. 1874), 101. KTzschirner, ZfRGesch. 12, 149. OKarlowa, RGesch. 1, 749. PKrüger, Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. R. 204.

378. Besides these great authorities a number of jurists of the second and third rank lived and wrote in this period, the most important being Aelius Marcianus, Aemilius Macer, and especially Ulpian's pupil Herennius Modestinus, who wrote his work on excusationes in Greek, but the rest of his works in Latin.

1. Paul. (Quaest. XII) dig. 40, 13, 4 *Licinius Rufinus Iulio Paulo: . . . quaero . . . peto itaque plenissime instruas.* 24, 1, 41 *Licinius Rufinus libro VI Regularum: . . . nam et Imp. Antoninus* (Caracalla, Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 9, 102) *constituit* etc. 42, 1, 34 *Lic. Ruf. libro XIII Regularum* (ind. Flor. mentions only XII books). The scanty excerpts from this work in the Digest collected by Hommel, palingen. 2, 399. Lenel 1, 559. On him see HJOKönig (Halle 1772) and CAHClodius (Lps. 1791).

2. Inst. 4, 3, 1 *sic et Homerus in Odyssea ait, sicut Aelius Marcianus in suis Institutionibus refert.* Cf. dig. 32, 65, 4. Altogether 16 books, chiefly after Gaius, but in family law and inheritance following Sabinus, and with the addition of the ius extraord. (concerning punishments, fiscus and war); written after the death of Caracalla (*divi Severus et Antoninus*). All the other works of Marc. were likewise written after Caracalla's death (217), as he is always called either *divus Antoninus* or *Ant. Magnus* (*Magnus Ant.*) or *divus Magnus Ant.*; viz. Publicorum iudiciorum libri II (in which also Papinianus Respons. XVI is quoted), Regularum libri V, and the libri singulares de delatoribus and ad formulam hypothecariam. Of the two books de appellationibus it is at least certain that they were written after Severus' death. Fitting, Alter d. Schrr. 50 with Mommsen, ZfRGesch. 9, 106. 109. 112. We do not find any chronological hint in the fragments of the liber sing. ad SC. Turpilianum and of the Notae ad Papinianum. In the Digest these works are employed in over 280 places; Hommel, paling. 1, 399. Lenel 1, 639. Rescripts to (this?) Marcianus by Alexander (Cod. 2, 13, 6 and 10, 58 of a. 223. 7, 21, 4 of a. 228) and by Gordianus (Cod. 4, 21, 4) of a. 239. GOelrichs, de vita et scriptis Ael. M. icti, Utr. 1754. Zimmern, röm. Privatr. 1, 1, 380. PKrüger, Q. u. Lit. d. r. Rechts 225.

3. Aemilius Macer, the author of two books Publicorum iudiciorum, Ad legem vicesimae hereditatum, De officio praesidis, De appellationibus, De re militari, each likewise in two books, which are employed in 62 places of the Pandects;

Hommel, palingen. 1, 341. Lenel 1, 561. The work de app. was certainly written under Alexander (dig. 49, 13, 1), but the others after the death of Severus. Ulpian, Paulus, and Menander are repeatedly mentioned in them. Fitting, Alter d. Schrr. 52. A submissive inscr. in honour of Caracalla by a certain A. Aem. Macer, 15 Aug. 216 in Orelli 930.

4. Florentinus, the author of Institutionum libri XII after the system of Gaius, also used in the Digest; Hommel. paling. 1, 175. Lenel 1, 171. In it are mentioned divus Pius, Aquilius Gallus and Trebatius. We should not hesitate to assign him to the time of Alexander, if it were certain that he is identical with the person mentioned in the Cod. 3, 28, 8 a. 223 (*Imp. Alexander Aug. Florentino*).

5. Julius Aquila (no doubt wrongly called Gallus Aq. in the ind. Flor.), the author of two books of Responsa, two passages from which occur in the Digest (26, 7, 34. 26, 10, 12). Zimmern, röm. Privatr. 1, 1, 386.

6. Furius Anthianus wrote a commentary on the Edict, of which the ind. Flor. mentions 5 books (*μέρος ἐδίκτου βιβλία πέντε*). The three excerpts from the first book in the Digest (2, 14, 62. 4, 3, 40. 6, 1, 80) furnish no evidence to fix his time. PFBesier, de F. A. icto, Leid. 1803.

7. Ulp. dig. 47, 2, 52, 20 *quod et Herennio Modestino, studioso meo, de Delmatia consulenti rescripsi.* Capitol. Maximin. iun. (born 217, † 238) 1, 5 *grammatico latino usus est Philemone, iurisperito Modestino.* Imp. Gordianus (a. 239, cod. 3, 42, 5): *merito tibi a non contemnendae auctoritatis icto Modestino responsum est.* In the inscription of the Fullones a. 244 (CIL. 6, 266 Wilm. 100 Bruns font.[5] 328) he is alluded to as praef. vigilum. Cf. Arcad. Charis. dig. 50, 4, 18, 26 *mixta munera . . . Herennius Mod. et notando et disputando et optima ratione decrevit.* The works of Modestinus: Excusationum libri VI (in Greek); Differentiarum IX and Regularum X (Huschke, iurispr. anteiust.[5] 644); Pandectarum XII; Responsorum XIX; Ad Q. Mucium at least XXXI books; de poenis VI; libri singulares de enucleatis casibus, heurematicis, differentia dotis, inofficioso testamento, manumissionibus, praescriptionibus, ritu nuptiarum, legatis et fideicommissis, testamentis. The numerous excerpts from this in the Digest are collected by Hommel paling. 1, 453. Lenel 1, 701. As far as the evidence goes, his works were written after Caracalla (*divi Severus et Antoninus, divus Antoninus* often appear therein), but not much later (a decree of Alexander is mentioned once only dig. 48, 10, 29 from the work de enucleatis casibus). In b. I of the Excusationes (dig. 26, 6, 2, 5) he had quoted Paulus libro IX responsorum (§ 377, 2), so that the earliest date for their composition would be under Alexander. This work is dedicated (*παραίτησις ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ κουρατορίας*) to Egnatius Dexter, dig. 27, 1, 1. Fitting, d. Alter d. Schrr. 53. In general see Zimmern, röm. Privatr. 1, 1, 383. PKrüger, Q. u. Lit. d. röm. R. 226.

379. In the first ten or twenty years of the third century wrote the learned grammarian C. Julius Romanus, whom Charisius largely employed. Censorinus, who lived about the same time, was the author of several grammatical works. We still possess his treatise de die natali, which is dedicated to his wealthy patron Q. Caerellius and was composed a. 238. It is chiefly derived from Suetonius and contains some valuable informa-

tion on historical and chronological details. The treatment is rhetorical.

1. C. Julius Romanus (Charis. GL. 1, 117, 6. 229, 3. 230, 1 and elsewhere) is the most learned among the grammarians employed by Charisius (*disertissimus artis scriptor*, 1, 232, 7). Charisius takes from him large sections, e.g. on analogy (p. 116–147) and on adverbs (p. 190–224), copying him so literally as to transcribe even the references by Romanus to other parts of his work or his other writings, e.g. *de consortio casuum* (p. 132, 31), *de consortio praepositionum* (p. 209, 20), *περὶ ὀρθογραφίας quaestiones* (p. 135, 15), *de distinctionibus* etc. The work of Romanus used by Char. was perhaps a single one entitled *ἀφορμαί*, and all the separate titles, such as *liber de analogia* (Charis. p. 56, 4. 114, 1. 116, 29), *liber de adverbiis* (ib. p. 114, 28), were only parts of it. Cf. Charis. p. 230, 1: *G. Iul. R. libro ἀφορμῶν sub titulo de coniunctione;* 238, 16 *I. R, libro ἀφορμῶν sub titulo de praepositione.* 236, 16 *G. I. R. de praepositionibus libro ἀφορμῶν.* 190, 8 *G. I. R. ita refert de adverbio sub titulo ἀφορμῶν.* 209, 20 (*librum*) *de consortio praepositionum quem adaeque sub titulo ἀφορμῶν dedimus legere non gravetur.* We can always recognise J. R. by his use of the name *Maro* instead of Vergilius. As J. R. quotes Fronto's correspondence with M. Aurelius (Charis. p. 223, 26) and Apuleius (ib. p. 240, 28. 248, 5) and also Helenius Acro (§ 374, 1), he probably belongs to the third century. The quotation from Porphyrio (§ 374, 3) in Charis. GL. 1, 220, 28 was probably added by Charisius himself. The principal sources of Rom. were Pliny and Flavius Caper, also Asper and Terentius Scaurus. Cf. FOsann, Beiträge 2, 327. HKeil, GL. 1, xlv. ASchottmüller, de Plini libr. gramm. 1, 32. WChrist, Phil. 18, 121. CvMorawski, Herm. 11, 339. HNeumann, de Plin. dub. serm. libr., Kiel 1881, 5.—To about the same time as Romanus perhaps belongs Fl. Pomponianus, whom he quotes (GL. 1, 145, 29 *torces, ut etiam Fl. P. notat, . . . pro torques*). Cf. CIL. 8, 2391 (Thamugadis in Numidia) *P. Fl. Pudenti Pomponiano c. v. . . . multifariam loquentes litteras amplianti, atticam facundiam adaequanti romano nitori, ordo incola fontis patrono oris uberis et fluentis, nostro alteri fonti.* Bücheler, RhM. 42, 473. See above § 345, 10.—Umbrius Primus, quoted by Romanus (GL. 1, 190, 20. 192, 16), is otherwise unknown.

2. Prisc. GL. 2, 13, 19 *Censorino, doctissimo artis grammaticae.* Cf. ib. p. 13, 9. Cassiod. GL. 7, 214, 25 mentions him together with Polemon, Phocas and Probus. Prisc. GL. 3, 27, 23 *Censorinus plenissime de his docet in libro quem de accentibus scribit.* An extensive passage from it ib. 3, 45–47. Cf. Cassiod. de mus. p. 576.

3. Sidon. Apollin. carm. 14 praef. *Censorinus qui de die natali volumen illustre confecit.* Cassiod. de mus. p. 573 (cf. ib. p. 577) *Censorinus, qui ad Q. Caerellium scripsit de natali eius die.* Written a. 238; 18, 12. 21, 6 (*hic annus, cuius velut index et titulus est v. c. Pii et Pontiani consulatus, . . . est a Roma condita DCCCCXCI*$^{us}$). From the dedication (c. 1): . . . *Q. Caerelli . . . cum dona pretiosa neque tibi . . . desint nec mihi per rei tenuitatem supersint, quodcumque hoc libri est meis opibus comparatum natalicii titulo tibi misi. in quo non, ut plerisque mos est, aut ex ethica parte philosophiae praecepta ad beate vivendum quae tibi scriberem mutuatus sum, aut ex artibus rhetorum locos laudibus tuis celebrandis persecutus, . . . sed ex philologis commentariis quasdam quaestiunculas delegi, quae congestae possint aliquantum volumen efficere. iam vero cum tuo collatu* (contribution) *scirem me plura didicisse, . . . ego a quo plura in litteris percepi tibi haec exigua reddo libamina.* c. 15 *quare, sanctissime Caerelli, cum istum annum* (the

49th) . . . *sine ullo incommodo transieris*, (you will live to the age of 81). . . . *tu officiis municipalibus functus, honore sacerdotii in principibus tuae civitatis conspicuus . . . de eloquentia quoque sileo quam omnia provinciarum nostrarum* (Spain or Gaul)? *tribunalia, omnes praesides noverunt, quam denique urbs Roma et auditoria sacra mirata sunt.*

4. Censorinus shows off his erudition and mentions a number of writers (chiefly Greek), many of whom he had doubtless never seen. Among Latin writers he mentions Fulvius (§ 126, 1), Junius Gracchanus, Licinius Macer, Fenestella, whom he certainly had not read, and the same may perhaps be said regarding Varro, though he quotes him very frequently. His chief source was probably Suetonius' Pratum (REIFFERSCHEID, Suet. p. 434). OGRUPPE, Herm. 10, 54 takes a different view (see also HDIELS, doxogr. 186, GWISSOWA, de Macrob. fontt. 18). Cf. JAHN p. IX. Cens. alludes repeatedly to Horace (1, 1=c. 4, 8.—3, 6 =c. 1, 1, 2). His treatment of the subject is rhetorical and characterised by affected elegance (JAHN p. X). Perhaps a simple treatment in keeping with the subject may have appeared to him unworthy of the destination of the work as a birthday gift. The birthday is the centre of the whole exposition. He treats first of that which precedes a birthday (generation etc.), brings in music with rather a bold turn (12, 1 *nec vero incredibile est ad nostros natales musicam pertinere*), deals with the different ages and the different ways of dividing time (c. 17 sqq.), and while he is speaking of the parts of day and night and their names (24, 6) the MSS. suddenly break off.—Principal manuscript: the Coloniensis (at Darmstadt until 1867) s. VII, which has been revised throughout at an early date; from it was copied—but at a date subsequent to the revision—Vatic. 4929 s. X. Collations of these MSS. in OJAHN and HULTSCH; additions from the Colon. LURLICHS, RhM. 22, 465. WCRECELIUS, spicilegium ex cod. Censorini Coloniensi, Elberf. 1872.

5. On account of the similarity of the subject a very corrupt fragment (the so-called fragmentum Censorini) is appended in the MSS., author, time and purpose being unknown. It treats first de naturali institutione, then de caeli positione, de stellis fixis et errantibus, de terra, then suddenly passes on to statements de geometrica, formis, figuris, postulatis, which are translated from Euclid, and then just as unexpectedly de musica (history), de rythmo, de musica (theory), de modulatione, de metris i.e. numeris, de legitimis numeris, de numeris simplicibus. It seems therefore to contain parts of an encyclopaedia. The fragment contains numerous notices based on trustworthy authorities, especially in the sections on music and metres. The sections on metre in particular are derived from the earliest and best sources. OJAHN, pref. to his ed. p. XI. OHENSE, acta Lips. 4, 73. GSCHULTZ, Herm. 22, 265. FLEO, ib. 24, 282.—Printed in most of the editions of Censorinus, e.g. in OJAHN p. 75 (cf. p. X), in HULTSCH p. 55. The musical and metrical sections are also given in KEIL's GL. 6, 605.

6. Editions of Censorinus e.g. by LCARRION, Par. 1583. HLINDENBROG, Hamb. 1614. Leid. 1642. Cantabr. 1695. EPUTEANUS, Löwen 1628. SHAVERCAMPIUS, Leid. 1743. 1767. First critical edition: rec. OJAHN, Berlin 1845. rec. FHULTSCH, Lps. 1867.—Criticism and explanation: LURLICHS, Eos 2, 458; RhM. 22, 474. FHULTSCH, Eos 2, 623. FLÜDECKE, Gött. gel. Anz. 1868, 482. MSCHANZ, spec. crit. ad Plat. et Censorinum, Gött. 1867. HUSENER, RhM. 28, 392. HMEUSER, Phil. 39, 180 (on the 'fragmentum'). De die nat. ad codd. denuo collatt. rec. ICHOLODNIAK, St. Petersb. 1889.

7. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 3, 2 *in prima pueritia litteratores habuit Valerium Cordum et T. Veturium et Aurelium Philippum libertum patris, qui vitam eius postea in litteras misit: grammaticum in patria Graecum Nehonem, rhetorem Serapionem, philosophum Stilionem, Romae grammaticos Scaurinum Scaurini filium, doctorem celeberrimum, rhetores Iulium Frontinum et Baebium Macrianum et Iulium Granianum, cuius hodieque declamatae feruntur.* Capitol. Maximin. 27, 3–5 *usus est magistro Graeco litteratore Fabillo, cuius epigrammata graeca multa et extant. . . . grammatico latino usus est Philemone, iuris perito Modestino* (above § 378, 7), *oratore Titiano, filio Titiani senioris* (above § 364, 4).

8. This younger Titianus (n. 7 ad fin.) is no doubt also alluded to in Auson. grat. act. 7, 31 p. 23 Sch., where he is mentioned among the tutors of princes of earlier date (*nolo Constantini temporum taxare collegas . . . superiora contingam*): *dives Seneca, nec tamen consul . . . Quintilianus consularia ornamenta sortitus . . . quo modo et Titianus magister. sed gloriosus ille municipalem scholam apud Visontionem Lugdunumque variando non aetate quidem sed vilitate consenuit.* It is probable that after the fall of his pupil, the younger Maximinus (a. 238), T. forfeited his high position. The fables are no doubt rather to be attributed to this younger Titianus than to his father. In all probability he translated them from Babrius (§ 383, 4) into Latin prose: Auson. epist. 16, praef.: *apologos Titiani* (cf. § 198, 4, 2) and ib. 16, 78 *Aesopiam trimetriam, quam vertit exili stilo pedestri concinnans opus fandi Titianus artifex.* He also was called *Iulius Titianus* (Auson. epist. 16, 102). OCrusius, Leipz. Stud. 2, 242.

9. CIL. 8, 8201 (from Sitifis in Africa of the year 229, Or.-Henzen 5607 Wilm. 2476) *M. Damatius Urbanus, summarum artium liberalium litterarum studiis utriusque linguae perfecte eruditus, optima facundia praeditus* etc.

380. The extensive work by Q. Gargilius Martialis of Mauretania treated of husbandry, including also an account of the medicinal employment of rural products and of veterinary art, after Greek and Roman sources, especially Pliny the Elder, showing a great amount of reading and intelligent physiological views. Considerable parts of it are extant, chiefly in the so-called fourth book of the Medicina Plinii. The same Martialis wrote also a biographical sketch of Alexander Severus.

1. Cassiod. inst. div. litt. 28 *quodsi huius studii requirantur auctores, de hortis scripsit pulcerrime Gargilius Martialis, qui et nutrimenta olerum et virtutes eorum diligenter exposuit.* Serv. georg. 4, 148 (*aliis*): *Gargilium Martialem significat.* The earliest mention of this G. M. occurs in Palladius (Mart. 9, 9 *haec omnia G. M. asseruit*, cf. *Martialis* ib. Ian. 15, 10. 19. Mart. 10, 5. 16. 34. Apr. 3, 4. Mai. 6. Iun. 5, 3. Oct. 12, 5. 7. Dec. 4, 1.). M. (see n. 4) also quotes several times the fratres Quintilii (§ 354, 2) and Galen († c. a. 201).—He is in all probability identical with the *Gargilius eius temporis* (that of Alex. Sev.) *scriptor*, who *singillatim persecutus est* the mode of life of this Emperor (Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 37, 9) and who is also quoted by Vopiscus (Prob. 2, 7) as 'Gargilius Martialis' among the biographers of the Emperors (§ 381, 3 init.). HPeter, hist. fr. 341. According to this he must have written about a. 240.—Lastly, considering the coincidence of the name (an unusual one) and the date of the writer, we may identify him with the person mentioned CIL. 8, 9047 (cf. eph. epigr. 5, 1300):

*Q. Gargilio Q. f. Quir. Martiali, eq. R., praefecto coh. I Astyrum prov. Brittaniae, tribuno coh. Hisp. prov. Mauretaniae Caes., praeposito cohorti singularium et vexillationi equitum Maurorum in territorio Auziensi* (Auzia, the modern Aumale, in Mauretania Caesariensis) *praetendentium, decurioni duarum coloniarum Auziensis et Rusguniensis et patrono provinciae ob . . . singularem erga patriam adfectionem . . . ordo col. Auziensis insidiis Bavarum decepto* (and who fell in the ambuscade) *pec. publ. fecit. dedicatum VIII. Kal. Apr. anno provinciae CCXXI* (=26 March a. 260, soon after the death of the person eulogised in the inscription). KCichorius, Lpz. Studd. 10, 319.

2. In the MS. of Cato and Varro de r. r. (§ 122, 1) now long since lost, which was in the S. Marco library in Florence, there originally stood, immediately after the table of contents, in addition to Columella, *unus* (liber) *Claudi* (this word was according to Victorius illegible ; no doubt it was originally *Gargili*) *Martialis* (HKeil, obss. in Cat., Halle 1849, p. 2).—Of the work of Gargilius there are extant much diluted excerpts from the sections de oleribus and de pomis in various versions, which group together, from a medicinal point of view, the curative effects of the various plants (medicinae ex oleribus et pomis). The best version is, without mention of the author's name, connected in old MSS. (esp. S Gall. 752 s. X, Leid. Voss. 92 s. X) with the three books of the Medicina Plinii (breviarium Plinii, Plinius iunior, cf. § 411) and is in the later manuscripts of Med. Plinii counted as b. 4 of that work. It gives the medicinal uses of more than 60 plants. Plini Secundi quae fertur una cum Gargilii Martialis medicina nunc primum edita a VRose, Lps. 1875. This so-called b. 4 of the Med. Plin. is shown to be really derived from Martialis by the fragment from it bearing the heading *de pomis Martialis*, which AMai, class. auctt. 3, 418 (cf. ib. 7, x) published after two Vaticani s. X and XII from a medical compilation ; likewise by the version with the headings of the two sections *de oleribus Martialis* (Rose, anecd. gr. 2, 136, 15) and *de pomis Martialis* (ib. 2, 143, 32) contained in the similar medicinal work of SGall. 762 s. IX (in the section de virtutibus herbarum, printed in Rose, anecd. graeco-lat. 2, 131) compiled from various sources. AMai, class. auct. 1, 387 published from the same work after a Naples palimpsest (Bobiensis) four sections (de cydoneis, persicis, amygdalis, castaneis), the first of which is the same as Med. Plin. 4, 43 p. 185 Rose. Palladius' quotations (see n. 1) also partly coincide with these sections. The Vatican and Neapolitan fragments [according to AMai] were printed together at Lüneb. 1832. Isolated excerpts are also extant, e.g. from SGall. 762 in Rose, anecd. 2, 129 and incorporated in his ed. p. 134, 6. 139, 11 (=Med. plin. 4, 5). 155, 12 ; from Berol. 198 s. XII in Rose, anecd. 2, 157 ; see also the same author Herm. 8, 224.

3. From a Leiden copy (s. XVI) of an early Corbiensis of Vegetii mulomedicina JMGesner and JGSchneider (Scriptores r. r. 4, 1, 168 ; cf. 4, 2, 73) edited Curae boum ex corpore Gargilii Martialis. Published as a contribution to agricultural veterinary science by CTSchuch, Donaueschingen, 1857.

4. Principal sources of Martialis : Pliny (called *Plinius noster* in Rose, ed. p. 156, 2 ; also p. 165, 15. 181, 5), Dioskorides and Galen : see the references in Rose's ed.—Many of the authorities mentioned, especially the Greek ones, but also Sextius Niger (§ 266, 7. § 54, 6), were known to M. only through Pliny. The Neapolitan fragments (n. 3) quote Celsus, Columella, Curtius Justus (§ 54, 6), Julius Atticus (§ 283, 3), Julius Frontinus, Pliny and the Quintilii (§ 354, 2). — Testing of the recipes p. 136, 4 R. *quantum haec potio* (against stomachic ailments) *valeat utinam nulla calamitas coegisset ut experimento nossem ;*

p. 200, 19 *vehemens hoc* (against liver disease) *esse etiam in uxore servata experimentis probavi.*—Cf. in general EMeyer, Gesch. d. Botanik 2, 228. VRose, anecd. gr. et graeco-lat. 2 (Berl. 1870), 103; Herm. 8, 63.

381. In the historical sphere Marius Maximus (about a. 165–230) produced a continuation of Suetonius' biographies of the Emperors from Nerva down to Elagabalus, a work of considerable extent, which, though without pretension to criticism of the higher order, yet exhibited some discernment and exercised a decisive influence on later historical writing. The first half of the extant Historia augusta consists of meagre extracts from his work. Besides him, the authors of this collection frequently mention as their predecessor and source Aelius Junius Cordus, who wrote separate accounts of the less known Emperors (perhaps down to Maximus and Balbinus), into which even the pettiest details were admitted; also Parthenianus, Aelius Maurus, Marcellinus and others. Herodianus of Syria wrote in Greek a history of his own time from the death of Marcus (Aurelius) to the accession of Gordianus III (a. 238), in eight books; Cassius Dio of Bithynia composed a Roman History in eighty books, from the foundation of the City until the year of his second consulate A.D. 229 (982 U.C.), and Asinius Quadratus a history of the Roman Empire during the 1000 years of its existence in fifteen books (χιλιετηρίς or χιλιαρχία). On the same universal scale were the works of Sex. Julius Africanus, the founder of comparative Pagan and Christian chronology, who also wrote in Greek.

1. On Cassius Dio, Herodianus, Quadratus and Sex. Julius Africanus see ASchäfer, Quellenkunde d. gr.-röm. Gesch., Lpz.[2] 1885, § 84–86. 88.

2. CIL. 6, 1450 Or.-Henzen 5502 Wilm. 1203[b] (from Rome) *L. Mario L. f. Quir. Maximo perpetuo Aureliano cos.* (when?), *sacerdoti fetiali, leg(ato) Aug(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae Syriae Coelae, leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Germaniae inferioris, item provinc. belgicae, duci exerciti mysiaci aput Byzantium et aput Lugudunum, leg. leg. I Italic., cur. viae latinae, item reip. Faventinorum, allecto inter praetorios, trib. pleb. candidato, quaestori urbano, trib. laticl. leg. XXII primig., item III Italicae, IIII (viro) viarum curandarum.* In other inscriptions he also appears as praef. urbi (CIL. 6, 1452. 1453. Wilm. 1203[cde], he is referred to as such under Macrinus 217–218 by Dio 78, 14. 36) and as cos. II (a. 223, Klein, fast. cons. p. 96). BBorghesi, oeuvr. 5, 455. Unjustifiable doubts as to the identity of the historian with this exalted military and civic officer are advanced by JJMüller, l.l. 32. 170, CRübel (n. 6) 62, JPlew, Mar. Max. 10. In the latter years of Commodus (about 190) he was already grown-up and at Rome (Lamprid. Commod. 13, 2 *versus in eo*—the downfall of Comm.—*multi scripti sunt, de quibus etiam in opere suo Marius Maximus gloriatur*), perhaps even then as Senator (cf. ib. 18, 1 *adclamationes senatus post mortem Commodi . . . de Mario Maximo indidi*),

according to which he might be born c. 165. As he did not carry his work beyond Elagabalus († 222, JJMüller l.l. 26), he appears not to have lived until the death of Alexander († 235), but to have written in his reign.

3. Capitol. Clod. Alb. 12, 14 *quae qui diligentius scire velit legat Marium Maximum de latinis scriptoribus, de graecis scriptoribus Herodianum, qui ad fidem pleraque dixerunt.* Vopisc. Probus 2, 7 *ut imitarer . . . Marium Maximum, Suetonium Tranquillum, Fabium Marcellinum, Gargilium Martialem* (§ 380) *ceterosque qui haec et talia non tam diserte quam vere memoriae tradiderunt;* the same writer, Firm. 1, 2 *Marius Maximus, homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit.* Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 48, 6 *neque in vita eius* (Traiani) *id Marius Max. ita exposuit* etc. 30, 6 *de quo in libris suis Marius Max. loquitur, cum Hadriani disserit vitam.* Volcac. Avid. Cass. 6, 7 *Marius Max. refert in eo libro quem secundum de vita Marci Antonini edidit.* Cf. ib. 9, 5. Capitol. Pert. 15, 8 *epistula quae vitae illius* (i.e. Pertinax) *a M. M. apposita est* (cf. Czwalina l.l. 1, 15). Lamprid. Alex. 5, 4 *Marius Max. dixit in vita* (Septimii) *Severi.* Spartian. Geta 2, 1 *in vita Severi Marius Max. primo septenario* (Müller l.l. 180) *satis copiose rettulit.* Lamprid. Heliog. 11, 6 *Marius Max. dicit in vita ipsius Heliogabali.* M. M. wound up with the last-named Emperor, having commenced with Nerva (Müller l.l. 23). He appears therefore to have written twelve vitae (just like Suetonius), i.e. Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, L. Verus, M. Aurelius, Commodus, Pertinax, Julian, Severus, Caracalla and Elagabalus. The *minusculi tyranni* were mentioned incidentally in speaking of the generally recognised Augusti. Vopisc. Firm. 1, 1 *et Suetonius Tranquillus Vindicem tacuit . . . et Marius Maximus Avidium Marci temporibus, Albinum et Nigrum Severi non suis propriis libris sed alienis innexuit* (cf. Müller l.l. 28).—Ammian. 28, 4, 14 (*quidam . . . Iuvenalem et Marium Maximum curatiore studio legunt*).—The fragments in HPeter, hist. rom. fragm. 331. JJMüller, der Geschichtschreiber Mar. Max., in MBüdinger's Untersuchungen z. röm. Kaisergesch. 3 (1870), 17. 194. The restoration of the work of M. which is there attempted takes too much for granted on several points. CRübel, de fontibus IV priorum hist. aug. scriptorum I (Bonn 1872) p. 8. 12 and elsewhere. MJHöfner, Untersuch. zur Gesch. d. Sept. Sev. 1, 1 (Giessen 1872), 4. JPlew, Mar. Max. als direkte und indirekte Quelle der Scriptt. hist. aug., Strassb. 1878.

4. Capitol. Macrin. 1, 3–5 *Iunio Cordo studium fuit eorum imperatorum vitas edere quos obscuriores videbat; qui non multum profecit. nam et pauca repperit et indigna memoratu, adserens se minima quaeque persecuturum, quasi vel de Traiano aut Pio aut Marco* (it does not follow from this that he treated of these Emperors) *sciendum sit quotiens processerit, quando cibos variaverit et quando vestem mutaverit et quos quando promoverit. quae ille omnia exequendo libros mythistoriis replevit* Clod. 5, 10 *quae qui volet nosse Helium Cordum legat qui frivola super huius modi ominibus cuncta persequitur* (cf. Maximin. 12, 7 *Aelius Cordus dicit*). Maximin. 31, 4 *Cordus qui haec omnia usque ad fabellam scripsit.* Max. et Balb. 4, 5 *placet aliqua dici de moribus atque genere, non eo modo quo Iunius Cordus est persecutus omnia* (in which Cordus was not particular as to facts) *sed illo quo Suetonius Tranquillus et Valerius Marcellinus* (=Fabius Marc.? see n. 3. 6), *quamvis Curius Fortunatianus, qui omnem hanc historiam perscripsit, pauca contigerit, Cordus vero tam multa ut etiam pleraque et minus honesta perscripserit.* ib. 4, 2 *libris quos Iunius Cordus affatim scripsit.* Gordian. 21, 3 *non nobis talia dicenda sunt quae Iunius Cordus ridicule ac stulte composuit de voluptatibus domesticis ceterisque infimis rebus. quae qui velit scire ipsum legat Cordum, qui dicit et quos servos habuerit unusquisque principum et quos amicos et quot paenulas quotve chlamydes.* Maximin. 27, 7

*Iunius Cordus, harum rerum persecutor.* Cf. ib. 28, 10. 29, 10 and elsewhere. Cordus lived to the year 249 (see Capitolin. Gord. 33, 4. Plew l.l. 10). The fragments in HPeter, hist. rom. fr. 343. Cf. JJMüller (n. 3) 92. KDändliker, in Büdinger's Untersuch. 3, 306. BNiehues, de Aelio Cordo rerum Augustarum scriptore, Münst. 1885. On the very large employment of Cordus also in the Hist. Aug. see CRübel p. 9 and elsewhere. JPlew, Mar. Max. 10.

5. Capitol. Maximin. 32, 1 *scribit Aelius Sabinus.*—Volcac. Avid. Cass. 5, 1 *de hoc* (Av. Cass.) *multa . . . inveniuntur apud Aemilium Parthenianum, qui adfectatores tyrannidis iam inde a veteribus historiae tradidit.* Was he the principal source of Volcacius in his life of Avidius Cassius? CCzwalina l.l. 1, 19. CRübel l.l. 34.—Spartian. Sever. 20, 1 *legisse me apud Aelium Maurum, Phlegontis Hadriani libertum, memini Septimium Severum* etc. CRübel 55.

6. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 48, 6 *scio volgum hanc rem . . . Traiani putare; sed neque in vita eius id Marius Maximus ita exposuit neque Fabius Marcellinus* (cf. n. 3 l. 4; n. 4 middle; it is uncertain whether he is alluded to CIL. 2, 4121) *neque Aurelius Verus neque Statius Valens* (also referred to in Laur. Lyd. de mens. 4, 63 Οὐάλης δς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ Καίσαρος ἔγραψε κτλ.?) *qui omnem eius vitam in litteras miserunt. contra autem et Septimius* (*qui vitam eius non mediocriter executus est*, ib. 17, 2) *et Acholius* (§ 387, 1) *et Encolpius* (ib. 17, 1) *vitae* (of Alexander Sev.) *scriptores ceterique de hoc* (Alex.) *talia praedicaverunt.* To which we should add ib. 37, 9 *ne longum sit omnia inserere quae Gargilius* (cf. n. 3 l. 4 and § 380, 1) *eius temporis* (of Alex.) *scriptor singillatim persecutus est.* Cf. also § 379, 7.

7. Lamprid. Diadum. 9, 2 *Lollius Urbicus in historia temporis sui dicit* etc.—Capitol. Gordian. 21, 5 *lectum apud Vulcacium Terentianum* (he used formerly without reason to be identified with the commentator on Cicero mentioned § 41, 4), *qui et ipse historiam sui temporis scripsit, . . . Gordianum seniorem Augusti voltum repraesentasse* etc.—Lactant. inst. div. 1, 21 (pr. 52 Fr.) *Pescennius Festus in libris historiarum per saturam refert Carthaginienses Saturno humanas hostias solitos immolare* etc.

382. Like Minucius Felix and Tertullian, Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus (c. 200–255), the noble bishop of Carthage, had received a rhetorical education. As a writer he is substantially dependent in a large measure on his predecessors, especially his fellow-countryman Tertullian, whom he greatly admired; his peculiar talent and his chief merit lie particularly in the attractive form of his writings. He is much clearer than Tertullian, and his diction is more even and pleasing. His frequent citations from Scripture impart to his works a specifically Christian character, and owing to the absence of all heretical elements, as well as to their readableness, they continued long in use and high esteem. Their contents are partly apologetic in purpose and partly designed to animate and support the Christian in his faith. His letters are of much importance in illustrating the history of the administration of the Churches. Novatianus, who wrote at Rome about the same time, likewise employed Tertullian.

1. HIERON. vir. ill. 67: *Cyprianus Afer primum gloriose rhetoricam docuit, exinde suadente presbytero Caecilio, a quo et cognomentum sortitus est, christianus factus omnem substantiam suam pauperibus erogavit ac post non multum temporis adlectus in presbyterium etiam episcopus Carthaginiensis constitutus est* (a. 248). *huius ingenii superfluum est indicem texere, cum sole clariora sint eius opera. passus est* (by being beheaded) *sub Valeriano et Gallieno principibus* (a. Abr. 2272=254 A.D. according to Amand., 2273=255 according to the other MSS. of HIERON. chron.), *persecutione octava, eodem die quo Romae Cornelius* (XVIII Kal. Oct.), *sed non eodem anno.* 68 *Pontius, diaconus Cypriani, usque ad diem passionis eius cum ipso exilium sustinens, egregium volumen vitae et passionis Cypriani reliquit.* He had been his companion (a. 250) in his flight in the persecution under Decius (the seventh). The vita Cypriani which bears the name of Pontius is at least very much interpolated (given e.g. in HARTEL, ed. 3, XC). *Κυπριανὸν ἅγιον ἄνδρα μάλιστα πάντων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σέβονται* and celebrate an annual festival in remembrance of him, *Κυπριανά*, PROKOP. Vand. 1, 21.

2. Cyprian's works (an important list of Cyprian's writings, stating their length in lines, dating from the year 359 and probably of African origin, was edited from cod. Phillipp. 12266 s. X. by MOMMSEN, Herm. 21, 147. Cf. AHARNACK, theol. Lit.-Z. 1886, 172): Ad Donatum (de gratia dei); Quod idola dii non sint (HIERON. epist. 70, 5. p. 429 Vall. *Cyprianus quod idola dii non sunt qua brevitate, qua historiarum omnium scientia, quo cum verborum et sensuum splendore perstrinxit!* Yet the author has made much use of the Octavius and the Apologeticum); Ad Quirinum (testim. adv. Iud.) libri III; Ad virgines (or de habitu virginum, after Tertullian's work); De catholicae ecclesiae unitate; De lapsis; De dominica oratione; De mortalitate; Ad Fortunatum (de exhortatione martyrii; also modelled on Tertullian, cf. besides BDOMBART, ZfwissenschTheol. 22, 374); Ad Demetrianum (cf. LACTANT. inst. 5, 4); De opere et eleemosynis; De patientia (or de bono patientiae, an imitation of Tertull. de pat.); De zelo et livore; lastly letters preserved in varying number and form (see MOMMSEN l.l.). ORITSCHL, de epistulis Cyprianicis, Halle 1885.

Many spurious works have been attributed to Cyprian, last printed in HARTEL's ed. vol. 3: e.g. de laude martyrii, adv. Iudaeos (these two are of all the spurious or doubtful works of Cyprian the only ones quoted in the list of the cod. Phillipp. (see above); on the former cf. HARTEL on Lucifer Calarit. p. 287 and in Wölfflin's Arch. 3, 3), de spectaculis, de disciplina et bono pudicitiae, exhortatio ad paenitentiam, (CWUNDERER, Bruchst. e. afrik. Bibelübers. in d. Schr. exhort. ad paenit., Erl. 1889), adv. aleatores and other treatises, also poems, cf. § 21, 2. 403, 5.—The treatise adv. aleatores was composed later than Cyprian, as is sufficiently evident from the noticeable employment of his Testimonia. The popular diction also precludes the supposition of Cyprian as the author; still less is Victor to be thought of; see the references § 368, 7. On this WSANDAY, Class. review 3, 126. JHAUSSLEITER, theol. Lit.-Bl. 1889, No. 5. 6.—New editions of the treatise adv. aleat. by AMIODONSKI (emended, expl. and transl.), Erl. 1889 and by AHILGENFELD, Lpz. 1889.

3. LACTANT. inst. div. 5, 1 (p. 230 Fr.) *unus igitur* (cf. § 373, 2) *praecipuus et clarus extitit Cyprianus, quoniam et magnam sibi gloriam ex artis oratoriae professione quaesierat et admodum multa conscripsit in suo genere miranda. erat enim ingenio facili, copioso, suavi et, quae sermonis maxima est virtus, aperto, ut discernere non queas utrumne ornatior in eloquendo an facilior in explicando an potentior in persuadendo fuerit. hic tamen placere ultra verba sacramentum ignorantibus non potest, quoniam mystica sunt quae locutus est et ad id praeparata ut a solis fidelibus*

*audiantur ; denique a doctis huius saeculi quibus forte scripta eius innotuerunt derideri solet. audivi ego quendam hominem sane disertum qui eum immutata una littera Copreanum vocaret, quasi qui elegans ingenium et melioribus rebus aptum ad aniles fabulas contulisset.* Hieron. ep. 58, 10 (p. 326 Vall.). *Tertullianus creber est in sententiis, sed difficilis in loquendo ; beatus Cyprianus instar fontis purissimi dulcis incedit et placidus.* 84, 2 (p. 523 Vall.) *beatus Cyprianus Tertulliano magistro utitur, ut eius scripta probant.* Cf. de vir. ill. 53 *vidi ego quendam Paulum Concordiae, quod oppidum Italiae est, senem qui se beati Cypriani iam grandis aetatis notarium, cum ipse admodum esset adolescens, Romae vidisse diceret referreque sibi solitum numquam Cyprianum absque Tertulliani lectione unum diem praeterisse ac sibi crebro dicere 'da magistrum,' Tertullianum videlicet significans.*

4. Editions (see Hartel 3, lxx) by DErasmus (Bas. 1520 and elsewhere), WMorel (Par. 1564), JPamelius (cum adnot., Antv. 1568 and elsewhere), NRigaltius (ill., Par. 1648 and elsewhere), JFell and Pearson (Oxon. 1682), StBaluzius (finished by the Maurine monk Prudentius Maranus, Par. 1726. Ven. 1728. 1758), FOberthür (Würzb. 1782 II), Migne (Patrolog. curs. IV, Par. 1844), JGKrabinger (Tüb. 1853. 1859 II; only the principal treatises), and esp. WHartel (rec. et comm. crit. instruxit, Vienna 1868–71 III).—The treatise de unitate eccl. ad opt. libr. fid. expr. . . . MFHyde, Buckington 1853.—Selected treatises, translated by Krabinger, Augsb. 1848.

5. HDodwell, dissertt. Cyprianicae, 1684. RCeillier, hist. génér. des auteurs s. et eccl. 3 (Par. 1732), 1. PGLumper, hist. theol. crit. 11 (August. 1790), 58. FWRettberg, Cyprian nach Leben u. Wirken, Gött. 1831. FBöhringer, Cyprianus, Stuttg.[2] 1873. JPeters, Cyprian (Leben), Regensb. 1877. BFechtrup, C.s Leben u. Lehre I, Münst. 1878. AEbert (see § 373, 7) 1, 54. ORitschl, Cyprian u. d. Verfassung der Kirche, Gött. 1885.—GMorgenstern, Cyprian als Philosoph, Jena 1889. LeProvost, étude sur Cyprien, Paris 1889. On the (very doubtful) participation of Cypr. in the collection of the notae tironianae cf. WSchmitz, in the symb. phil. Bonn. 540. Also § 403, 5.

6. Hieron. vir. ill. 70 *Novatianus Romanae urbis presbyter adversus Cornelium* (a. 250) *cathedram sacerdotalem conatus invadere Novatianorum quod graece dicitur καθαρῶν dogma constituit, nolens apostatas recipere paenitentes. huius auctor Novatus Cypriani presbyter fuit* (cf. Hieron. on Euseb. chron. 2269 = 251 A.D. *Novatus presbyter Cypriani Romam veniens Novatianum et ceteros confessores sibi sociat, eo quod Cornelius paenitentes apostatas recepisset*). *scripsit autem De pascha, De sabbato, De circumcisione, De sacerdote, De oratione, De cibis iudaicis, De instantia, De Attalo, multaque alia, et De trinitate grande volumen, quasi ἐπιτομήν operis Tertulliani faciens, quod plerique nescientes Cypriani existimant.* Cf. ad Rufin. 2, 19. Hagemann (die röm. Kirche 371) would attribute the work to a follower of Callistus. Hieron. ep. 10, 3 (p. 24 Vall.) asks for *epistolas Novatiani, ut dum schismatici hominis venena cognoscimus libentius sancti martyris Cypriani bibamus antidotum.* Cf. also Cyprian. ep. 60. Euseb. hist. eccl. 6, 43. RCeillier (cf. n. 5) 3, 290. The treatises De trinitate and De cibis iud. epistola are extant and appended to many editions of Tertullian and Cyprian (e.g. by Oberthür). They have been separately edited by EWelchmann (Oxon. 1724) and Jackson (Lond. 1728). In Migne, Patrologiae cursus 3 (1844), 885. Cf. ib. 861.

383. There was at this period no want of men who could handle metrical composition with skill. The extant didactic (medical) poem of Q. Serenus (Sammonicus), which consists of

1115 hexameters, deals in a rhetorical manner with a subject not well suited to poetry, but the technical construction and prosody agree with the best models. In his earlier years Gordianus the Elder was a fertile versifier (Antoninias and other works).

1. LAMPRID. Alex. 30, 2 *latina cum legeret non alia magis legebat quam de officiis Ciceronis et de rep., nonnumquam et oratores* (or *orationes*) *et poetas, in quis Serenum Sammonicum, quem ipse noverat et dilexerat, et Horatium.* Cf. CAPITOL. Gord. (iun.) 18, 2 (above § 374, 4). As the father (§ 374, 4) is never mentioned as the author of any poetical composition, and as Alexander was only seven years old and not yet at Rome when his father was killed, the passage of Lampridius, and consequently the didactic poem (which moreover in the MSS. bears simply the title *Quinti Sereni liber* (*de medicina, medicinalis*), should be referred to the son. He would then appear to have died before Alexander, i.e. before 235. His father would in all probability have made the poem more learned. The question is raised by WFRÖHNER, Phil. Suppl. 5, 60, whether the author's name was not Q. Serenius, in which case he must be distinguished from Ser. Sammon. Almost all the statements contained in the poem can be traced in Pliny, besides whom the author employed only Dioskorides *περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς* and *περὶ εὐπορίστων φαρμάκων*. He does not show any individual knowledge of the subject-matter, but is very superstitious, as in recommending such remedies as a paper inscribed with Abracadabra (944), urina canis (1104) etc. He mentions Ennius (above § 100, 6), Titinius, the writer of togatae (§ 112, 2), Horace (533 *quod vatis* [PEERLKAMP: *quodque satis* in the MSS.] *melius verbis dicemus Horati*), Livy (728 *tertia namque Titi simul et centesima Livi charta docet* etc.). The phraseology is derived from Vergil, Horace and in parts also from Lucretius, cf. n. 2 ad fin.—At the commencement there is the inevitable invocation to Phoebus for *salutiferum quod pangimus . . . carmen* (4); cf. v. 397 *dis ista requirat, at nos pauperibus praecepta feramus amica;* see 523–526. He begins with remedies for affections of the head (*celsa de corporis arce*, 3), and concludes (if indeed the poem be complete) with remedies for warts. In the MSS. the poem is divided into 63 chapters. The poet follows very strict laws with regard to synaloepha and caesura, which he violates but rarely in favour of technical expressions; but 941 *mortiferum magis est quod Graecis ἡμιτριταῖον volgatur verbis; hoc nostra dicere lingua non potuere ulli, puto, nec voluere parentes.* The whole is rather the trifling production of a young man well versed in metrical composition than a serious work.

2. Manuscripts: they divide into two classes. To the first belongs the best MS. Turicensis s. IX (FAREUSS, lect. Sammon. I, Würzb. 1836), to the second (which is equally to be kept in view) the rest, such as Leid. Voss. Q. 33 s. X, Par. 9247 s. X, Senensis s. XI (JSCHMIDT, Herm. 17, 239, ABAUR l.l.), Mutinensis s. XI/XII (GGOETZ, obss. crit., Jena 1883 p. 1) and others. A valuable MS. s. XIII formerly at Paderborn has disappeared (ABAUR l.l. 6). Editions e.g. by RKEUCHEN (Amst. 1662. [1706]), JCHGACKERMANN (Lps. 1786), in BURMAN, PLM. 2, 185 and in BÄHRENS PLM. 3, 102.—JBMORGAGNI epistolae duae in Serenum Sam., e.g. in his Opusc. miscell. (Neap. 1763) 1, 191. THIERFELDER, des Q. S. S. Lehrgedicht, in Kuchenmeister's Ztschr. f. Medizin 5 (1866), 116. EMEYER, Gesch. d. Botan. 2, 209.—On the diction and phraseology as well as the prosody (which here and there deviates from strict rule) see ABAUR, quaestt. Sammoniceae, Giessen 1886.

3. D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus, cos. II a. 213, Emperor for a short time, †238; PRE. 1², 2243, 4. CAPITOL. Max. et Balb. 7, 5 *eloquentia clarus, poeta inter sui*

*temporis poetas praecipuus.* Cf. ib. 2, 7 *vitae, quam a prima aetate in studiis semper ac litteris tenuit.* See n. 5.

4. Capitol. Maximin. 27, 6: *Toxotius . . . senator, qui perit post praeturam, cuius etiam poemata extant.*—On the metrical compositions of Macrinus, Albinus, and Gordianus see § 370, 4. 375, 1, 2.—The Greek fabulist Babrius, who was a Roman by birth, probably also lived at the commencement of the third century. OCrusius, Lpz. Stud. 2, 125.

5. Albinus, from whose *rerum romanarum primo* Prisc. GL. 2, 304 quotes three hexameters, belongs to this time at the earliest. Cf. LMüller, metr. 270 with § 252, 6 after the middle. Bährens FPR. 406 identifies him with the Albinus mentioned in § 405, 3, OHennig, de Ovidii sodalibus, Berl. 1883, 13 with the Balbinus of n. 3 above.

384. A peculiar figure is Commodianus, by whom we possess two poems, filled with a Christian zeal which, though dogmatic, is not quite orthodox, and in rudely framed verses, partly based on quantity, partly on accent, preserving merely a certain superficial resemblance to hexameters. The earlier of the two nearly contemporaneous poems, the Instructiones, in addition to this roughness, is thrown into the acrostichic form. The carmen apologeticum, composed a. 249, not being hampered by this eccentricity, exhibits a richer vocabulary.

1. Gelasius (patrol. 59, 163 Migne) in the decree de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis (§ 469, 5) enumerates the *opuscula Commodiani* among the libri apocryphi qui non recipiuntur. Gennadius de scriptor. eccl. 15 *Commodianus dum inter saeculares litteras etiam nostras legit occasionem accepit fidei. factus itaque christianus et . . . scripsit mediocri sermone quasi versu librum adversus paganos. et quia parum nostrarum attigerat litterarum magis illorum destruere potuit dogmata quam nostra firmare. unde et de divinis repromissionibus adversus illos agens vili satis et crasso . . . sensu disseruit. . . . Tertullianum et Lactantium* (rather *Cyprianum:* Gennadius is mistaken, Lactantius lived after Commodianus) *et Papiam auctores secutus moralem sane auctoritatem et maxime voluntariae paupertatis amorem optime prosecutus studentibus inculcavit.* The last acrostic of Instr. 2, 39 bears the heading *Nomen Gasei=Gazaei* (?) and reading the initials backwards forms the words *Commodianus mendicus Christi.* This *Gazaeus* may designate Comm. as a native of Gaza, probably the one in Palestine Syria. It might however be a play on the word 'Commodianus.' The diction and subject-matter incline one to regard C. as an African.—Instr. 1 (praef.), 4 *ego similiter erravi tempore multo, fana prosequendo, parentibus insciis ipsis; abstuli me tandem inde, legendo de lege. . . . ob ea perdoctus ignaros instruo verum.* Apolog. 3 *errabam ignarus spatians, spe captus inani, dum furor aetatis primae me portabat in auras.* (11 sqq.) *aggressusque fui traditor in codice legis, quid ibi rescirem. statim mihi lampada fulsit . . . et ideo tales hortor ab errore recedant.* In both poems we have the same Patripassianism (JLJacobi in JMüller's Zeitschr. f. christl. Wiss. 4 [1853] no. 26) and Chiliasm. Instr. 1, 40, 10 *ipse deus vita est, pependit ipse pro nobis;* cf. apolog. 771 *unus est in coelo deus coeli, terrae marisque, quem Moyses docuit ligno pendere pro nobis.* Instr. 2, 39, 6 *hoc placuit Christo, resurgere mortuos imo . . . sex milibus annis completis mundo finito;* cf. apol. 791 *sex milibus annis*

*provenient ista repletis; tunc homo resurget* etc. The Instr. (1, 41) mention only one Antichrist (Belial), while the Apol. recognises two (Nero and the man from the East, allotting to each 3½ years). The Bible is of course largely employed, but the author makes special use of Cyprian's Testimonia (n. 2, 3; BDombart, Zfwiss Theol. 22, 374), of Tertullian (see above) and Minucius. He attacks the adherents of the Pagan classics: apol. 583 (*Vergilius legitur, Cicero aut Terentius item. nil nisi cor* [*os* ?] *faciunt, ceterum de vita siletur*), yet there are frequently traces of recourse to Vergil, Horace, Lucretius; Dombart pref. to his ed. p. IIII. The diction (on this cf. the index verborum et locutionum in Dombart's ed.) and matter are the same in either poem, and this similarity in particular, combined with the correspondence of the two poems in time (n. 2. 3), proves Commodianus to have been the author of the Apologeticum also. The phraseology appears very slovenly as compared with the book Latin, e.g. in the use of cases and genders, the construction of prepositions and verbs, and in the verbal forms (*paupera* nom. sing. fem., *pauperis* abl. pl., *lucernas*, *divitias* etc. as nom. pl. ?, *ipsud*, *sumptum* neuter for *sumptus*, *nuntia* for *nuntii*, *insigni* for *insignes*, *praebĕre*, *augĕre*).—In general see AEbert, Abh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 5, 414; Lit. d. MAlters 1, 86. Leimbach l.l. 23. GBoissier, Commodien in the Mélanges Renier, Par. 1887, 37.

2. The so-called carmen apologeticum adversus Iudaeos et gentes (the title and name of the author are not preserved) is from a cod. Phillippicus 12261 s. VIII (not divided into lines), formerly at Middle-Hill and now at Cheltenham, printed by JBPitra, spicilegium Solesmense 1 (Par. 1852), 21 (cf. p. 537. 566. XVI, and 4, II. 222). HRönsch (a better text with explanations) in the ZfhistTheol. 1872, 163; 1873, 300; also after recent collations by Dombart, see n. 4 ad fin. There are altogether 1060 lines, of which the last are in the MS. fragmentary and illegible. At the close: *explicit tractatus sancti episcopi de A.....co.* A chronological hint v. 805: *sed quidam haec, aiunt: quando haec* (end of the world) *ventura putamus ?* (807) *multa quidem signa fient tantae termini pesti, sed erit initium septima persecutio nostra* (according to Augustin. civ. d. 18, 52 that by Decius). *ecce iam ianuam pulsat et cingitur ense* (?) *qui cito traiciet Gothis inrumpentibus amne* (the Danube, a. 250). *rex Apollyon erit cum ipsis nomine dirus.* (813) *pergit ad Romam cum multa milia gentis decretoque dei captivat ex parte subactos.* (885) *haec Nero tum faciet, . . . ut urbs et populus ille cum ipso tradatur, tollatur imperium quod fuit inique repletum, quod per tributa mala diu macerabat omnes.* In view of the approaching end of the world all those who are still unconverted are exhorted to embrace Christianity. The allusion to the Goths etc. points to the year 249, and in conformity with this we have the utilisation of the first two books (published a. 243) of Cyprian's Testimonia in Comm.'s Apologeticum, whereas the third book, published somewhat later, is not turned to account; BDombart, ZfwissenschTheol. 22, 385.—AEbert, in the Abh. d. sächs. G. d. W. 5, 387. CLeimbach, über C.s carm. ap., Schmalkalden 1871. ELudwig, Phil. 36, 285. Explanatory comments by BAubé, rev. archéol. 1883 2, 312. 342.

3. The *Instructiones per litteras versuum primas* consist of 80 poems. They treat the subject in acrostics, and sometimes in telestics, e.g. 1, 28 (Ph Thielmann, Arch. f. Lexikogr. 5, 143) and supplement this with other silly conceits: 2, 8 end all the lines with the letter *e;* 2, 27 with *i;* 2, 29 with *o.* Themes, e.g.: de fulmine ipsius Iovis; de septizonio et stellis; Apollo sortilegus falsus; Hercules; de Ammudate et deo magno; repugnantibus adversus legem Christi dei vivi; item gentilibus ignaris; qui iudaeidiant fanatici; de populo absconso sancto omnipotentis Christi dei vivi etc.—The instr. are in the MSS. divided into 2 books, of which the first contains 41, the second 39 acrostics. Ebert included

2, 1–4 in b. 1. Cf. Dombart, Wien. SBer. 107, 741. It is more correct to add 1, 41 to b. 2, so that each book would comprise 40 poems. The first book is apologetic and polemical, concerned chiefly with the heathens and Jews. The second begins with reflections on Antichrist, the end of the world, the Resurrection, Last Judgment, and so forth, and addresses exhortations to the Christians, catechumens and clergy. As we find in the Instruct. traces of Cyprian's treatise de habitu virginum and of the three books of his Testimonia having been used, the Instr. cannot have been written before a. 250, BDombart, ZfwissTheol. 22, 386.—Dodwell, diss. de Commodiani aetate, in his annales Quintil. (Oxon. 1698) and in the edition by Schurzfleisch. AEbert, Abh. (see n. 2 ad fin.) 417.—A copy (made by JSirmond) from an early MS. (cod. St. Albini apud Andecavenses) once at Angers but now lost; it was first published by NRigaltius Toul 1649, reprinted Toul 1650 (1666). From Sirmond's copy is derived Paris. 8304 s. XVII, and from this Leid. Voss. 49 s. XVII. New collations of the latter in Ludwig's ed. (n. 4); see also JBPitra, spicil. Solesmesm. 4, 224. The only early MS. now known, formerly at Middle-Hill, now at Cheltenham, is the Phillippicus 1825 (olim Meermannianus 708) s. XI. New collations in Dombart's edition (n. 4). Cf. besides BDombart, Wiener SBer. 96, 447; BlfbayrGW. 16, 342.—Other editions by HLSchurzfleisch (Wittenb. 1704; a valuable addendum 1709), in Migne, Patrologiae cursus 3 (Par. 1844), 202, and in FOehler's Minucius Felix (1847). See also n. 4 ad fin.—LKälberlah, curarum in Commod. Instr. spec., Halle 1877. JHuemer, ZföG. 30, 31.

4. Commodianus' hexameter is a hybrid varying between accent and quantity. It is not ignorance of the rules of prosody which leads him to neglect them. For e.g. out of 490 disyllabic verse-endings in the apolog. he has only twice disregarded the rule (thus 551 *tértiŏ dĭe*). The lines are divided by the regular caesura after the third arsis into two halves. They have 13–17 syllables, of which 5–7 in the first half, 8–10 in the second. The two half-lines are generally constructed according to quantity towards the end but not at the beginning. The third arsis itself is common, serving as the conclusion of the first half, as is the last syllable of the whole line; in the thesis of the second and fifth (which are always dactylic) and in the arsis of the sixth foot Commodianus tries to observe the quantity: at the same time he prefers to shorten vowels long by nature rather than those which are long by position, and generally avoids the severance of the word-accent and verse-accent at the end of the line. Hiatus is allowed throughout, the elision of vowels only occurs (and that rarely) with *est* (*causa resecta est*). The word-accent counts for more than the metrical value of the syllables (3. 15. 17. 18. 24. 36. 44. 49. 98 are correct hexameters, which occur at the beginning of the carm. apolog.). But often enough there are the boldest violations of rule in the accentuation (e.g. *tóllatur*, *ímmites*, *clámamus*, *éstote*, *blándire*, *ófficio* [in three syllables], *ex antro* as dactyls, the accentuation of *filióli* etc. already suggests the Italian *figliuólo*). A tendency to alliteration, assonance and rhyme is also shown (Dombart, ed. 204). In the apolog. every two lines are closely connected, with hardly an exception, by the thought (WMeyer l.l. 304).—Cf. in general LMüller, de re metr. 448. FHansen, de arte metrica Commodiani, Strassb. 1881; RhM. 38, 222; Phil. Suppl. 5, 227. WMeyer, Anf. u. Urspr. der lat. u. gr. rhythm. Dicht. 24.—Collective editions: Commodiani carmina recogn. FLudwig, Lps. 1877. 78 II and esp. ed. BDombart, Vienna 1888 (in the Wiener corp. scr. eccles. lat. vol. XV); also his Commodianstudien, Wien. SBer. 107, 713; BlfbayrGW. 17, 446. H Schneider, Casus, Tempp. u. Modi b. Commod., Nürnb. 1889.—MManitius, RhM. 45, 317.

5. The same combination of an acrostichic arrangement with barbarous

prosody and metre as in the Instr. of Comm. (n. 3) appears also in the Inscription of L. Praecilius Fortunatus from Cirta in the CIL. 8, 7156 (= WILM. 592).

## 2. The second half, A.D. 253–305.

385. This is the commencement of an unfortunate epoch for Italy and the Roman Empire. The countries themselves were ravaged by fearful plagues, and sorely pressed by enemies from without, in the West by the Franks, in the North by the Alemanni, in the North-East by the Goths, and in the East by the Persians. We have now in rapid succession a number of Emperors, most of whom were both raised to the throne and deposed by the army. Some of them were excellent rulers, e.g. Claudius (a. 268–270), Aurelian (a. 270–275), Probus (a. 276–282), but none of them reigned long enough to exert any effective influence. At last a powerful organising genius arose in C. Valerius Diocletianus (a. 245–313), Emperor 284–305. But just as he was the last Emperor who celebrated a triumph and the last who was deified, so it is with him that the old time, the ancient Roman order and the Roman power end. The old effete system is radically altered and the great Empire is established on a new basis. While until then Eastern influences had penetrated all departments of life, Northern influences also now became perceptible. Outwardly, it is true, all conformed to the dominant language; both in the East and in the South Latin was used, e.g. by Lactantius in Bithynia, and in the succeeding period by Ammianus of Antiochia, Claudian of Alexandria and Priscian of Caesarea. But both form and contents suffered in this process. The educated aimed at a merely imitative correctness, e.g. Nemesianus; but the multitude were more and more infected by barbarism, and the language was impoverished and broken down. The general depression did not allow anything great to develop itself, whether good or bad. The period before Diocletian is poorest of all. Even jurisprudence, which had till then maintained a high level, became exhausted; it suddenly grows dumb and subsists on the old inheritance. The state of erudition is exemplified by the stolid epitomiser Solinus. Historical composition dragged on in the most miserable manner. Grammar is represented by such a tiro as Nonius Marcellus. Oratory displayed itself only in bombastic adulation of the rulers; the panegyric orators commenced in this period, beginning with Gaul.

1. Trebell. Poll. Gallien. 11, 6–9 *fuit Gallienus* (a. 218–268, sole ruler 260–268) . . . *oratione, poemate atque omnibus artibus clarus. huius illud est epithalamion quod inter centum poetas praecipuum fuit. nam cum fratrum suorum filios iungeret et omnes poetae graeci latinique epithalamia dixissent, idque per dies plurimos, ille . . . ita dixisse fertur* etc. (here follow three hexameters, and two others from the last cod. Bellovacensis of ClBinetus AL. 711 PLM. 4, 103). *longum est eius versus orationesque conectere, quibus suo tempore tam inter poetas quam inter rhetores emicuit. sed aliud in imperatore quaeritur, aliud in oratore vel poeta flagitatur.* GThomas, über das Epithalamium des Gall., Münch. SBer. 1862 2, 41.

2. Vopisc. Car. 11 Numerianus (Emperor a. 284), *Cari filius* (the younger brother of Carinus) . . . *eloquentia praepollens* (cf. 7, 1 *adulescentem cum lectissimum tum etiam disertissimum*), *adeo ut publice declamaverit feranturque illius scripta nobilia, declamationi tamen magis quam Tulliano adcommodatiora stilo. versu autem talis fuisse praedicatur ut omnes poetas sui temporis vicerit. nam et cum Olympio Nemesiano contendit . . . et Aurelium Apollinarem iamborum scriptorem, qui patris eius gesta in litteras rettulit, isdem quae recitaverat editis veluti radio solis obtexit. huius oratio fertur ad senatum missa tantum habuisse eloquentiae ut illi statua . . . quasi rhetori decerneretur, . . . cui subscriptum est: Numeriano Caesari, oratori temporibus suis potentissimo.*

3. The corruption of the language (vulgar metre and vulgar Latin) increased from this time forth, and left its traces in the inscriptions (those of popular origin and from such districts as Africa); cf. the collection of examples in the Indices of the several volumes of the CIL. under 'Grammatica.' The use of the cases in particular becomes much disordered e.g. *filias fecerunt* (CIL. 8, 3783), *ob meritis* (ib. 4380 and elsewhere), *cum Albinium coniugem* (ib. 8007), *cum filios suos tres* 3933, *cum genus* 7795, *per Iulio Casto fratre* (2887). The popular diction gradually creeps into the official records also; HJordan, Herm. 7, 367. EWölfflin, Phil. 34, 137; lat. u. roman. Comparation, Erl. 1879. Cf. also Tiede, über lat. u. deutsche Umgangssprache, Sprottau 1872. ORebling, die röm. Umgangssprache, Kiel [2] 1883; Lateinisches u. Romanisches in the Festschr. d. Gymn. at Wesel 1882, 93. OWeise (on hybrid forms), Phil. 47, 45; the literature quoted above § 305, 9. See § 345, 9. § 370, 6.

4. The provincial orators and writers strongly feel the difficulties with which they have to contend. Panegyr. 9, 1 *neque ignoro quanto inferiora sint ingenia nostra romanis. siquidem latine et diserte loqui illis ingeneratum est, nobis elaboratum, et si quid forte commode dicimus ex illo fonte et capite facundiae imitatio nostra derivat.* Pacat. in Theodos. 1, 3 *huc accedit auditor senatus, cui difficile sit . . . pro ingenita atque hereditaria orandi facultate non esse fastidio rudem hunc et incultum transalpini sermonis horrorem.*

5. Christianity now spread also among the educated. Arnob. 2, 6 *tam magnis ingeniis praediti oratores, grammatici, rhetores, consulti iuris ac medici, philosophiae etiam secreta rimantes magisteria haec expetunt, spretis quibus paulo ante fidebant.* A philosopher who wrote against Christianity at Nicomedia, and hence probably in Greek, is mentioned by Lactant. inst. 5, 2.—A protocol on the judicial examination (and execution) at Teveste (Africa) a. 295 of Maximilianus, who attempted to escape military service on religious grounds, in Mabillon's vet. anall. 4 (Par. 1685), 566.—The alleged acta proconsularia on the death of Cyprian in Hartel's praef. to Cypr. p. cx.

6. Earliest Latin commentator of the Bible: *Victorinus, Petabionensis* (at Pettau in Styria) *episcopus, non aeque latine ut graece* (probably as a Greek by birth)

*noverat. unde opera eius grandia sensibus viliora videntur compositione verborum. sunt autem haec: commentarii in . . .* (a series of books of the Old Testament), *in apocalypsim Iohannis* (the comm. on Matth. is mentioned by HIERON. 7, 7. p. 247 Vall.), *adv. omnes haereses et multa alia. ad extremum martyrio coronatus est* († c. a. 303), HIERON. vir. ill. 74. Cf. besides HIERON. ep. 48, 12. 58, 10. 61, 2. 70, 5. 84, 7. The extant works in MIGNE 5, 282 and ROUTH, relig. sacr. $3^2$, 453. Their genuineness is however doubtful. See also CAVE, scrippt. eccl. hist. p. 95. JHAUSSLEITER, ZfkirchlWiss. 1886, 239.

## a) The Time before Diocletian, a. 253–284.

386. In the time of Carus and his sons, M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus of Carthage wrote his didactic poem on the chase (Cynegetica), the first 325 lines of which have come down to us. They exhibit fluency, ease, and command of language in the traditional style, the technique being in the main the same as in the four wordy eclogues by this author, in which he has taken as his pattern Calpurnius' (§ 306) bucolic essay, but proves considerably inferior even to this very mediocre model.

1. VOPISC. Car. 11, 2 (*Numerianus*) *cum Olympio Nemesiano contendit, qui halieutica, cynegetica et nautica* (*pontica* BÄHRENS, cf. n. 4) *scripsit quique omnibus coronis* (thus Casaubon: *colonis* in the MSS.) *illustratus emicuit.* Cf. § 385, 2. In the book on the chase, the only one of these three didactic poems which is extant, the author first states that he intends to avoid mythological subjects, which had been so much treated by others: *nos saltus viridesque plagas camposque patentes scrutamur* (40) etc. He promises (63) the sons of Carus a poem on their deeds: *mox vestros meliore lyra memorare triumphos accingar, divi fortissima pignora Cari, atque canam nostrum geminis sub finibus orbis* (in the North and East) *litus et edomitas fraterno numine gentes* etc. *haec vobis nostrae libabunt carmina Musae cum primum vultus sacros . . . contigerit vidisse mihi* etc. It appears that the poem was written away from Rome and after the death of Carus, a. 284. The designation of the Spaniards by *gens ampla iacet trans ardua Calpes culmina* (251) would seem to suggest that the author wrote in Africa; moreover both in the MSS. of the cynegetica and in those of the ecl. (§ 306, 1) N. is styled *poeta carthaginiensis.* Of the 325 hexameters extant, 102 belong to the introduction; after which the poet speaks only of the preparations for the chase, especially of the hounds. Two fragments also occur in the Statius scholia on Theb. 2, 58 *ut etiam Olympius* (see above l. 1) *ait;* 5, 389 *sic in Olympio* etc.—There are some isolated archaisms, like *mage* (317), and frequent reminiscences, chiefly from Vergil, and some from Manilius (see § 253, 2).—On his use of Val. Fl., MMANITIUS, RhM. 44, 543.—In the time of archbishop Hinkmar of Rheims († a. 882) the work was used as a text-book in schools (*puer scholarius in libro qui inscribitur cynegeticon Carthaginiensis Aurelii didici*).

2. Manuscripts of the book on the chase: Vindobon. 3261 s. XVI (a copy of the portion of cod. Vindob. 277 [Sannazarianus] s. IX. relating to this subject [now long since lost], in which Ovid's hal. and Grattius' and Nemes.' cyneg. were formerly placed together, cf. § 250, 4 in fin. § 253, 1), Par. 4839 and 7561, both s. X. MHAUPT pref. to his ed. p. XXIV and his op. 1, 403.—The editions of the cyneg., in

which the poem is usually connected with Grattius' Cyneg., see § 253, 1 in fin.—For the history of the text of the Eclogues of Nemesianus, which are in the MSS. united with Calpurnius' and on the poems themselves see § 306, 1. 2. On the editions of these § 306, 3. Also the collective ed. of ecl. and cyneg. in Bährens' PLM. 3, 176.—Ecl. 4, 23. 25. after Theokritos 23, 30. 32? ? GKaibel, Herm. 17, 419 and against him HSchenkl, ed. of Calp. and Nemes. p. xxxiii.

3. HBoragineus of Lübeck is alleged to have copied from a poem of Nemesianus de aucupio 'furtim in bibliotheca porcorum Salvatoris Bononiensis versus aliquot.' GLongolius, dialogus de avibus, Cologne 1544 gives two fragments from this, altogether 28 lines: also in Wernsdorf, PLM. 1, 128, Haupt, Ovid. hal. etc. p. 56, A.L. 883. 884 Bährens' PLM. 3, 203. But the circumstances of the discovery are suspicious, and even if the archaism *contemplaverit* (v. 3) is not against N.'s authorship, this certainly does not apply to the spondee *gulae* (v. 28) and the frequent synaloepha with a long vowel (v. 5. 6. 14. 27). These lines are probably the production of modern times.

4. The commencement of the Pontica by an unknown author (n. 1 l. 2), consisting of 22 well-constructed hexameters, elevated and refined in style, has accidentally got into the MSS. of Solinus; Mommsen, Solin. p. xxxix. Wernsdorf, PLM. 1, 153. 161. Cf. JKlein, RhM. 22, 627. AL. 720. Bährens' PLM. 3, 172.

5. The contents of a prayer to Oceanus for a fortunate voyage (in 28 hexameters) by a Pagan author (from Paris. 13026 s. IX/X), are similar, Wernsdorf, 4, 314 (cf. p. 51). AL. 718. Bährens' PLM. 3, 165.

387. The history of this time was written by a number of authors, whose task might have been facilitated by the brevity of the single reigns, if the majority had not lacked real independence of thought. We hear of them only through the scriptores historiae augustae who availed themselves of them. Dexippus, who wrote in Greek, was more important than all these writers.

1. Vopisc. Aurelian. 12, 4 *in ea re, quam fidei causa inserendam credidi ex libris Acholii, qui magister admissionum Valeriani principis* (a. 253–260) *fuit, libro actorum eius nono.* Lamprid. Alex. 64, 5 *qui . . . historicos eius temporis legant et maxime Acholium, qui et itinera* (*intima* Lipsius, *interiora* Peter) *huius principis scripsit.* Cf. ib. 14, 6. 48, 7 (§ 381, 6). HPeter, hist. rom. fr. 354.

2. Trebell. Valerian. 8, 2 *ut Caelestinus dicit.*—Gallien. 18, 6 *quae qui volet scire legat Palfurium Suram, qui ephemeridas eius vitae composuit.*

3. Trebell. xxx tyr. 6, 5 *satis credimus Iuli Atheriani partem libri cuiusdam ponere, in quo de Victorino sic loquitur.* This is followed by a very candid judgment. FRühl, RhM. 43, 597. Macr. 3, 8, 2 *apud Calvum Aterianus* (the MSS. have *actherianus*) *adfirmat legendum* etc. He is no doubt the Haterianus who is mentioned as a commentator of the Aeneid (Ribbeck, prolegg. Verg. p. 177) in the Veronese scholia (on Aen. 7, 337. 9, 360. 390. 397. 10, 242). Gräfenhan, Gesch. d. class. Philol. 4, 303.

4. Trebell. xxx tyr. 12, 3 *verba Ballistae, quantum Maeonius Astyanax, qui consilio interfuit, adserit, haec fuerunt.*—Ib. 15, 8 of Zenobia: *mulier, ut Cornelius Capitolinus adserit, speciosissima.*—Ib. 25, 2: *illibato patrimonio, quod quidem ad suos posteros misit, ut Dagellius* (?) *Fuscus dicit.*—Claud. 5, 3 *et hunc* (*Aureolus*) *tamen*

*quidam historici laudare conati sunt, et ridicule quidem: nam Gallus Antipater, ancilla honorum et historicorum dehonestamentum, principium de Aureolo habuit: ' venimus ad imperatorem nominis sui.'*

5. Vopisc. Tac. 11, 7 *si quis omnia de hoc viro cupit scire legat Suetonium Optatianum, qui eius vitam adfatim scripsit.*—Firm. 6, 2 *ea quae de illo* (Firmus) *Aurelius Festivus, libertus Aureliani, singillatim rettulit* (merely res leves) *si vis cognoscere eundem oportet legas.*—Aurelian. 1, 6 *ephemeridas illius* (*viri* i.e. Aurelianus) *scriptas habemus, etiam bella charactere historico digesta. . . . quae omnia ex libris linteis, in quibus ipse cotidiana sua scribi praeceperat, . . . condisces.*—Ib. 4, 2 *Callicrates Tyrius, Graecorum longe doctissimus, . . . dicit.* ib. 6, 4 *refert Theoclius Caesareancrum scriptor.* 27, 6 *hanc epistulam Nicomachus se transtulisse in Graecum e lingua Syrorum dicit.*

6. Vopisc. Firm. etc. 10, 4 *M. Salvidienus hanc ipsius* (*Saturnini*) *orationem vere fuisse dicit, et fuit re vera non parum litteratus. nam et in Africa rhetoricae operam dederat et Romae frequentaverat pergulas magistrales.*—Car. 4, 3 *Fabius Ceryllianus, qui tempora Cari, Carini et Numeriani sollertissime persecutus est.*—Car. 17, 7 *de eius luxuria . . . quicumque ostiatim cupit noscere legat etiam Fulvium Asprianum usque ad taedium gestorum eius universa dicentem.*—Firm. etc. 14, 4 *ut Onesimus dicit, scriptor vitae Probi.* Cf. ib. 13, 1. Car. 4, 2 (*O., qui diligentissime vitam Probi scripsit*). 7, 3. 16, 1. 17, 6.

388. At about the same time lived the rhetorician Aquila Romanus, to whom we owe a meagre and hastily written little book De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis, to which Julius Rufinianus subsequently added a similar work as a supplement.

1. Jul. Ruf. begins: *hactenus Aquila Romanus ex Alexandro Numenio. exinde ab eo praeteritas, aliis quidem proditas* (*figuras*), *subtexuimus.* Aquila dedicates his work to an anonymous person, whom he thus addresses at the beginning: *rhetoricos petis longioris morae ac diligentiae quam pro angustiis temporis, quod me profecto urget, ideoque postea plenum hoc tibi munus reddemus. in praesenti autem nomina ipsarum figurarum cum* (Latin) *exemplis percurrisse sufficiat.* 17 *hae fere sunt ab elegantissimis electae figurae sententiarum. quibus si, ut adulescens acerrimo ingenio, utebaris . . . ex imitatione lectionis tullianae, . . . nihil mirum est.* The work is extant in its complete form, but is greatly inferior to that of Rutilius Lupus (§ 270). The diction is harsh, careless and frequently at variance with the rules of good Latinity.—Probus (or rather Sacerdos, see § 394) GL. 4, 19, 32 *sic* (pubes puberis) *Aquila rettulit Tullium dixisse.* Cassiod. GL. 7, 209, 18 *Aquilam et Quintilianum sed et Avitum, quos non nulli in orthographiae peritia laudandos esse putaverant.*—Editions chiefly with those of Rutilius Lupus, such as that by Ruhnken (Leid. 1768) p. 139. In CHalm, rhett. latt. min. (Lps. 1863) p. 22.—Textual criticism: JGvFröhlich (JJ. 89, 208). JSimon (Phil. 28, 628).—WWensch, de Aquila Romano, Wittenb. 1861.—On Saturninus § 387, 6.

389. The grammarian C. Julius Solinus composed his Collectanea rerum memorabilium in the first ten or twenty years of this period, if not earlier. The work is mainly a selection from the curiosities mentioned in Pliny's Natural History, arranged from the geographical point of view and greatly enlarged.

Solinus did not however himself compose this epitome, but merely further abridged an earlier and more extensive one; for the historical matter therein a chronicle of the best period has been employed. The individual additions of the author are quite worthless, his diction is pretentious and void of taste, the style long-winded. But this work was well suited to the taste of the succeeding age. It was revised in the sixth century, and then received the new title of Polyhistor.

1. Aldhelm († 709) quotes (p. 323) *Iulius Solinus in collectanea rerum memorabilium;* the monk Dicuil (a. 825) *Iulius Solinus in collectaneis.* In the Heidelberg cod. the work bears the title: *Iulius Solinus Advento* (n. 2 in fin.) *sal(utem)*; in Paris. 6831 *Iulii Solini collectio rerum memorabilium;* in other MSS. saec. X (e.g. Monac. 6384) the subscription: *expl. fel. G. Iuli Solini grammatici.* Isidorus (de rer. nat. 40, 1) calls the author merely Solinus; so also Priscian with the addition *in collectaneis* (GL. 2, 539, 16), *in memorabilibus* (ib. 2, 80, 23. 151, 6. 270, 17. 3, 313, 10), and (erroneously) *in admirabilibus* (2, 233, 17), once (2, 29, 9) *in collectaneis vel polyhistore*, the last two words being probably the addition of a late interpolator (Mommsen p. lxii).—In Serv. georg. 2, 215 *Solinus et Nicander qui de his rebus (θηριακά) scripserunt* the name is corrupt and we should probably read *Philinus.* Cf. *Φιλῖνος ὁ θηριακός* ERohde, RhM. 28, 273 and GKnaack, Herm. 18, 33.

2. Solinus cannot have lived later than the fourth century (see n. 5), while the style and subject-matter prove that he did not live earlier than the third century. Mommsen (l.l. p. vi) decides for the time of Valerian and Gallienus because Solinus knows Constantinople only by the name of Byzantium and because of the absence in his work of any trace of the division of the Empire into provinces by Diocletian and Constantine, and of any reference to Christianity. If the gloss in the cod. Monac. 14429 s. X (§ 203, 1; cf. HUsener, RhM. 22, 446) *Iulius solinus sub octiuiano fuit* is to be emended *sub Oclatinio* (referring to the consul of a. 218 Oclatinius Adventus as the person to whom Solinus had dedicated his book, see n. 1 l. 3), Solinus should be assigned to the first half of the third century.

3. From Solinus' dedication to Adventus (n. 1. 2) . . . (2) *liber est ad compendium praeparatus quantumque ratio passa est ita moderate repressus ut nec prodiga sit in eo copia nec damnosa concinnitas. cui . . . velut fermentum cognitionis magis inesse quam bratteas eloquentiae deprehendes.* (3) *exquisitis enim aliquot voluminibus studuisse me impendio fateor ut et a notioribus referrem pedem et remotis largius immorarer. locorum commemoratio plurimum tenet, in quam partem ferme inclinatior est universa materies. . . .* (4) *inseruimus et pleraque differenter congruentia, ut . . . saltem varietas ipsa legentium fastidio mederetur. . . .* (5) *nonnulla etiam digna memoratu, quae praetermittere incuriosum videbatur quorumque auctoritas . . . de scriptoribus manat receptissimis. quid enim proprium nostrum esse possit, cum nihil omiserit antiquitatis diligentia quod intactum ad hoc usque aevi permaneret? . . . opiniones universas eligere maluimus potius quam innovare.* (6) *. . . des velim infantiae meae veniam. constantia veritatis penes eos est quos secuti sumus.* The author's attention is chiefly devoted to curiosities of any kind (*παράδοξα*). He starts with Rome, passes on to Italy with the islands, Greece with the northern countries, including Thrace, and the islands: Pontus, Scythia; Germany, Gaul, Britain, Spain; the North of Africa and Egypt; Asia (Arabia,

Syria, Asia Minor, Assyria, India, Parthia). He winds up with the Gorgades and Hesperides.

4. Three-fourths of Solinus' subject-matter is borrowed (without any mention of him) from Pliny, whose diction is rhetorically dressed up with numerous mistakes (MOMMSEN p. IX). Yet from some additions which Solinus cannot have made independently, especially of sources not mentioned by Pliny, or of the praenomina or of the period, it appears that he cannot have used Pliny direct (ib. p. XIX sq.). The additions from Mela (who is also not named) must likewise have been found in the source of Sol., a chorographia pliniana, see vol. I, p. 96 middle. On the use of the latter in Ammianus Marcellinus see MOMMSEN, Herm. 16, 627. On the chronological additions see § 291, 6. Cf. MOMMSEN, Sol. p. 249.

5. Solinus' work was copied already by Theodosius II (a. 402–450), according to the subscription in the first class of the MSS. (see n. 6): *Iulius Solinus (de memorabilibus) explicit feliciter. studio et diligentia domni Theodosii invictissimi principis.* OJAHN, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 342. It was used by St. Augustine (de civ. dei) and Capella (with Pliny), by Priscian (n. 1, esp. in his translation of Dionysios' Periegesis), and Isidorus (de nat. rer. and origg.). Capella and Isidorus have frequently mistaken the sense of Solinus (MOMMSEN p. IX). The numerous MSS. attest the diligent use of the work in the Middle Ages (n. 6). MOMMSEN p. XXX. 255.—An abridgment in hexameters was made in the tenth century, under the name of Theodericus (e.g. in a Brussels MS. s. XII), also under that of Petrus Diaconus (s. XII); MOMMSEN p. XCII. LATAPIE, sur l'abrégé poétique de Polyh. Sol. par Thierry (Theodericus), attribué jusqu'ici à Pierre-Diacre, Bull. de l'acad. de Bruxelles 16, 79; cf. ROULEZ ib. 143.

6. The manuscripts of Solinus, all of which are derived from an archetype which was itself corrupt, fall into three classes, marked by the divergence in their headings and in the divisions of the chapters. Those of the first class (esp. Heidelberg. and Paris. 6813. 6833) s. XI sqq. are derived from a MS. (at the latest s. VIII) in which the last leaf but one had been lost. The few interpolations in this class are nearly all from Isidorus. On a MS. of the first class in Frankfurt on the Oder s. XII see ERASMUS, Herm. 12, 320.—The second class (chiefly represented by Leidensis [Voss. Q. 87] s. IX and Guelferbytanus [Gud. 163] s. X) is in some respects better than the first, but already contains numerous additions. The third (chief representative Angelomontanus s. X) contains partly variations of the diction, partly amplifications of the contents from Pliny and other sources, which are due to a general revision (perhaps by Scotch monks who had settled on the Lake of Constance, s. VI), with a new preface (p. 233 M.), the title also being changed to the unsuitable one of Polyhistor, while the appearance of Solinus' authorship was still kept up. Sangallensis s. X has been pieced together from classes I and III, Paris. 6810 from classes II and III. For further details see MOMMSEN'S edition. FLÜDECKE, über zwei wichtige HSS. des Sol., Bremen 1866. AMACÉ, un important ms. de Solin (i.e. Vatic. 3343), in the Mél. d'archéol. 8 (1888), 506.—See also MMANITIUS, Phil. 47, 562 on the acquaintance with Solinus shown by writers in the Middle Ages.

7. Editions e.g. by JCAMERS (Vienna 1520), ELVINETUS (Pictav. 1554), MDELRIO (Antv. 1572. Lugd. 1646) and others. The chief work for elucidation (esp. of Pliny) is CLAUDII SALMASII Plinianae exercitationes in Sol. Polyh., Paris 1529 and (cur. SPitisco) Utrecht 1689 II. Lps. 1777. Critical edition: rec. THMOMMSEN, Berl. 1864. Cf. FLÜDECKE, Gött. gel. Anz. 1865, 1089. On the 22 hexameters found in the MSS. of Solinus see § 386, 4.

390. To this period also appears to belong the diligent and learned writer on the history of the Romano-Etruscan religion and its antiquities, Cornelius Labeo, who defended the ancient faith, while borrowing from the Christian religion.

1. Macr. 3, 4, 6 *Cornelius Labeo de dis penatibus.* 1, 18, 21 *Cornelius Labeo in libro . . . de oraculo Apollinis Clarii.* 1, 16, 29 *Cornelius Labeo primo fastorum libro* (GWissowa, de Macrob. font. 26 disputes the correctness of this title on insufficient grounds); cf. 1, 12, 21. 22. Serv. Aen. 3, 168 *Labeo in libris qui appellantur de dis animalibus.* Cf. the same writer Aen. 1, 378 *alii, ut Nigidius et Labeo, deos penates . . . tradunt.* August. civ. dei 2, 11 *Labeo, quem huiuscemodi rerum peritissimum praedicant, numina bona a numinibus malis ista etiam cultus diversitate distinguit.* 14 *Platonem Labeo inter semideos commemorandum putavit* (according to this Labeo was a neo-Platonist). 3, 25. 8, 13. 9, 19 *non nulli istorum . . . daemonicolarum, in quibus et Labeo est, eosdem perhibent ab aliis angelos dici quos ipsi daemones nuncupant* (hence Labeo had belonged to the Christian period and not to the beginning of it) 22, 28. The same Labeo (Λαβεών) is mentioned by Lyd. de mens. 4, 1. 20 (probably from the fasti, see above) and de ostent. 3 extr. (as learned in the Etruscan religion). 42 (heading: καθολικὴ ἐπιτήρησις πρὸς σελήνην περὶ κεραυνῶν καὶ ἄλλων καταστημάτων, ἐκ τῶν Λαβεῶνος καθ' ἑρμηνείαν πρὸς λέξιν ἀπὸ τῆς θερμῆς τροπῆς); cf. CWachsmuth, prolegg. p. xxiii). We can hardly trust the forger Fulgentius (expos. serm. ant. s. v. *manales* p. 388 Roth), who gives a quotation from *Labeo qui disciplinas etruscas Tagetis et Bacidis XV voluminibus explanavit* (cf. OMüller, Etr. 2², 30. LPreller, röm. Myth. 1², 355)? It is equally doubtful whether the same Labeo is referred to as *Cornelius*, who *quattuor Mercurios esse scribit* in Schol. Stat. Theb. 4, 482? OJahn, RhM. 9, 627. As the MSS. read *Corvilius*, MHertz, BerlphWschr. 1889, 594 supposes this to refer to Messalla Corvinus (§ 199, 2).—Arnobius' (§ 396) criticism on Paganism refers to much which in Augustine and Macrobius is expressly mentioned as the teaching of Labeo. Arnobius indeed, although he never mentions Labeo, seems to level his criticism expressly at him, and from the manner in which this is done we may conclude that A. is occupied with the work of a contemporary which has appeared not long previously. Accordingly Labeo may be assigned to the second half of the third century. GKettner, Cornelius Labeo, ein Beitr. z. Quellenkritik des Arn., Pforta 1877 (including a collection of the fragments). AReifferscheid, Bresl. ind. schol. 1879/80, 9. OMüller, Etr. 2², 36. GWissowa, Herm. 22, 35. WKahl, Cornelius Labeo, ein Beitrag etc., Phil. Suppl. 5, 719. JMülleneisen, de Corn. Labeonis fragmentis, studiis, adsectatoribus, Marb. 1889.

## b) The Time of Diocletian, a. 284–305.

391. The most important art continued to be Oratory. Its chief home was now in Gaul, where Massilia, Narbo, Tolosa, Burdigala, Augustodunum, Remi (Durocortorum) and Treviri had rhetoricians of their own, whose teaching was facilitated by the vivacity and linguistic versatility of the population. A diction was formed here which differed from the laboured periods of the Africans by its smoothness and regularity, and surpassed it in

wealth of words, though it was inferior to it in depth of thought. The subject-matter and the tone of oratory were conditioned by the state of political affairs. In consonance with the Oriental and despotic style introduced by Diocletian into his court, whereby the person of the Emperor was withdrawn from ordinary intercourse and likewise from the swords of the soldiers, oratory was now devoted to the praise of the Emperors, their superhuman virtues and performances. This was the time which produced the school of the Panegyrici, who started with the example furnished by Pliny the Younger, but in their diction imitated Cicero. There is still extant a collection of eight panegyrics from Gaul, transmitted anonymously; they were composed about the turn of the third and fourth century. The two earliest of these speeches were delivered by anonymous orators at the Imperial headquarters at Trèves in praise of Diocletian's colleague, Maximianus Herculius, a. 289 and 291. But especially prominent in this collection is the rhetorician Eumenius of Autun (born c. 260?), who imitated and exaggerated Cicero's rotundity and richness; he handles his grandiose rhetoric with mastery, and exhibits a very agreeable personality. We possess by him a speech of a. 297 in favour of the restoration of the Schools in his native town. The panegyrics and speeches of acknowledgment relating to the Caesar Constantius (a. 297) and his son the Emperor Constantine (a. 307. 310 and 311) are probably also by him.

1. The spread of civilization from Rome to the provinces and their tenacious attachment to her, notwithstanding external difficulties, are among the most pleasing features of the decline of Rome. In Trèves e.g. (of which AUSON. Mos. 383 says: *aemula te Latiae decorat facundia linguae*) there was an institution for higher learning, to whose lecturers (*rhetor, grammaticus latinus et, si qui dignus reperiri potuit, graecus*) as late as a. 376 Valens and Gratian granted fresh privileges (cod. Theod. 13, 3, 11). A certain *grammaticus graecus Aemilius Epictetus sive Hedonius* is mentioned in an inscription at Trèves (Corp. inscr. Rhen. 801). Arbogast (§ 474, 1), evidently a German, who held the command in Trèves about a. 472, is mentioned by SIDON. APOLL. (ep. 4, 17) as an admirer and student of Roman literature and a representative of Roman eloquence.

2. A collection of 12 panegyrici has been preserved in manuscript. The MSS. of this which are still extant (all s. XV) are derived from a codex (long since lost) of the Mayence cathedral library. Copies of this Maguntinus are the Upsaliensis 18 (written by JHERGOT 1458 at Mayence), the Harleianus 2480 in London (EBÄHRENS, RhM. 30, 464) and the copy (also lost) which JAURIPA made at Mayence 1433, from which the Italian MSS. are derived (JAURISPAE epistula, ed. HKEIL, Halle 1870). Among the latter the best are Vatic. 1775. 1776. Paris. 8556 etc. The cod. Bertiniensis (formerly at St. Omer) used by JLIVINEIUS (n. 3) was perhaps closely related to the Maguntinus. Cf. in general BÄHRENS' prae-

fatio, also HKeil, praef. ad Plin. epist. p. 38 and HRühl (n. 3 l. 7) 7.—The collection divides into two (or three) parts. The first consists of four separate unnumbered panegyrics of very various date (= $^3/_5$ of the entire collection): a (1 in the edd.): Pliny's panegyric of a. 100 (§ 340, 12); b (= 12): *panegyricus Latini Pacati Drepani dictus Theodosio* of a. 389 (§ 426, 6); c (= 11): *gratiarum actio Mamertini de consulatu suo Iuliano Imp.* of a. 362 (§ 417, 7), Claudius Mamertinus is also called the author c. 17; d (= 10): *panegyricus Nazarii dictus Constantino* of a. 321 (§ 401, 7).—Next after the MS. designation: *incipiunt panegyrici diversorum VII* and with separate numeration, but without the author being named: 1 (= 8 in the edd.) *incipit primus*, a speech of acknowledgment to Constantine; 2 (= 7) *incipit secundus*, a panegyric on the same; 3 (= 6) *incipit tertius*, a panegyric on Maximian and Constantine (§ 401, 5); 4 (= 5) *incipit quartus*, a panegyric on Constantius; 5 (= 4) *incipit quintus*, a plea for the restoration of the Schools at Augustodunum; 6 (= 2) *incipit sextus*, a panegyric on Maximian (see n. 5); 7 (= 3) *item eiusdem magistri memet* (thus Upsal., i.e. *magistri memoriae;* cf. Sachs l.l. 7 [cf. below n. 6 l. 12; § 416, 1 middle] Seeck l.l. 714) *genethliacus Maximiani Aug.*—There follows as an appendix to the previous section an eighth speech (= 9) *hic dictus est Constantino, filio Constantii* (§ 401, 6).—The editions follow the chronological order.

3. Editions of the panegyrici by JCuspinianus (1513), BRhenanus (Bas. 1520), especially JLivineius (Antwerp 1599). Also CRittershusius (cum notis JGruteri et Acidalii, Francof. 1607), ChrCellarius (Hal. 1703), J. de la Baune (Ven. 1728), ChrGSchwarz (Altorf 1739–48), Wolfg.Jäger (Nürnb. 1779 II), HJArntzen (Utr. 1790–95 II), Valpy (Lond. 1838), and esp. rec. EBährens (Lps. 1874) — JGWalch, parerga acad. (Lps. 1721) 849. CGHeyne, censura XII panegyricorum vett., in his opusc. 6, 80. JBurkhardt, die Zeit Constantins 62. HRühl, de XII panegyricis latt., Greifsw. 1868. FEyssenhardt, lectt. paneg., Berl. 1867. EBährens, RhM. 27, 215. MHaupt, op. 3, 629. KSchenkl, Wien. Studd. 3, 118. SBrandt, RhM. 38, 603; Eumenius (n. 4 ad fin., including various notices on the models of the paneg.). KBurkhard, obss. ad panegyr. lat., act. Erlang. 3, 161; Wien. Studd. 8, 170. 9, 171.

4. As regards the authors of the second part (n. 2 l. 17) we can only ascertain from the headings that speeches 6 (= 2 in the edd.) and 7 (3) are by one and the same author (cf. n. 2 l. 5 from the end *eiusdem*), and further, from a letter given in speech 5 (= 4), 14, that this speaker on behalf of the restoration of the Schools at Augustodunum was called Eumenius (*vale, Eumeni carissime nobis*). The superscription *panegyrici diversorum* proves that there were several authors, and this is also indicated by the separate heading to 7 (3), although the simple numeration of the other speeches suggests the inference that they were by a single author. In support of this there is the fact that speeches 1–8 date from 289–313 and were all written in Gaul. Now as in other speeches besides 5 (= 4) references to Augustodunum occur, and the personal circumstances as well as the chronological relations are either similar to or identical with those of Eumenius, other speeches in addition to the fifth (4) have been attributed to him, and finally OSeeck, JJ. 137, 713 has claimed for him all the speeches of this group (1–8). It is perhaps more correct to distinguish three groups in the panegyrici diversorum: *α*) 1–4+5 four panegyrics, in inverse chronological order from the latest to the earlier, and appended to these the speech de rest. schol., all belonging to Eumenius; *β*) 6–7 two speeches on Maximian by an unknown mag. mem.; *γ*) 8 a speech on Constantine by an unknown author.—OSeeck, d. Reden des Eum., JJ. 137, 713. SBrandt, Eumenius u. die ihm zugeschriebenen

Reden, Freiburg 1882. HSachs. de IV panegyricis qui ab Eumenio scripti esse dicuntur, Halle 1885. BKilian (n. 6 ad fin.).

5. The two earliest speeches on Maximian (nos. 2 and 3 in the edd.), are attributed on insufficient manuscript authority to a certain (older) Mamertinus (on the younger M. see § 417, 7). In the cod. Ven. the *memet* of the Upsal. (n. 2 l. 5 from the end) has according to the heading of c (= 11) become *mamertini*. Vatic. 1775 omits the unintelligible word. The author of these speeches is unknown (see n. 4): they too are attributed by Seeck to Eumenius. The heading of no. 3 as well as its contents and the close chronological connection show no. 2 and no. 3 to be by one and the same author; see esp. Seeck l.l. HRühl (n. 3) 18 takes a different view. No. 2 was delivered on the birth-day of Rome (21st April) a. 289, away from Rome (13. 14), in the North (12), in a town situated on a navigable river (12), no doubt in Maximian's palace at Trèves. — No. 3 (Genethliacus) celebrates Maximian's birthday (2). This speech likewise was no doubt delivered away from Rome (12. 19) and beyond the Alps (9) a. 290 or 291. Seeck l.l. The author had once before delivered a speech in honour of Maximian and promised another: 1 *ut expectationem sermonis eius quem tuis quinquennalibus* (1 Apr. 290) *praeparaveram hac natalis praedicatione compensem et dicendi munus, quod tunc voti promissione susceperam, nunc . . . repraesentem. voveram autem . . . ut me dignatione qua pridem audieras rursus audires. . . . gaudeo igitur . . . dilatam esse illam cupiditatem meam. neque enim orationis eius quam composueram facio iacturam, sed eam reservo . . . decennalibus tuis.* 5 *sed de rebus bellicis victoriisque vestris . . . et multi summa eloquentia praediti saepe dixerunt et ego pridem, cum mihi auditionis tuae divina dignatio eam copiam tribuit, quantum potui praedicavi.* Here the author alludes to his former speech (no. 2). He says that on this occasion he confines himself to the Emperor's *pietas* (c. 6–12) and *felicitas* (c. 13–18). The latter theme had already been treated (but more briefly) by the author in no. 2 (9 sq. 11. 13), of which the res bellicae formed the principal contents.

6. To Eumenius belongs (see n. 4 l. 5) the speech concerning the restoration of the Schools at Augustodunum (no. 4), delivered towards the end of a. 297 before the praeses provinciae (Lugd. I). Prominence is given to the author's declaration that he intends to devote his own salary to this purpose. pro rest. schol. 1 *certum habeo . . . plerosque mirari quod ego, qui ab ineunte adolescentia usque in hunc diem numquam isto in loco dixerim et quantulumcumque illud est quod . . . videor consecutus exercere privatim quam in foro* (as he was a declaimer and rhetorician, not a pleader) *iactare maluerim, nunc demum, sero quodam tirocinio, ad insolitum mihi tribunal adspirem.* 3 *relictis docendi praecipiendique rationibus.* 6 (*Constantium*) *mirari satis nequeo, qui . . . me filio potius meo ad pristina mea studia aditum molientem ipsum iusserit disciplinas artis oratoriae retractare.* 11 *salarium me liberalissimi principes . . . in sexcenis milibus nummum* (on the value which this represents at the time see Seeck, l.l. 724) *accipere iusserunt, . . . ut trecena illa sestertia quae sacrae memoriae magister acceperam . . . geminarent. hoc ego salarium . . . cupio ad restitutionem huius operis . . . destinare.* 13 *litteras quibus mihi tanti principes instituendam iuventutem commendare dignati sunt,* in which (14) e. g.: *auditorio huic . . . te potissimum praeficere debuimus, cuius eloquentiam et gravitatem morum ex actus nostri habemus administratione compertam. hortamur igitur . . . ut professionem oratoriam repetas* etc. 17 *illic avum meum quondam docuisse audio, hominem Athenis ortum, Romae diu celebrem, mox in ista urbe* (Autun) *. . . detentum. cuius locum, in quo, ut referunt, maior octogenario docuit* etc. BKilian, der Panegyrist Eumenius, Münnerstadt 1869.

7. The following speeches are in all probability also to be attributed to Eumenius (n. 4 in fin.): a) a panegyric on the Caesar Constantius (no. 5 in the edd.) delivered probably at Trèves, about the middle of 227. Cf. 4: *habenda est ratio temporis, Caesare stante* (Seeck, l.l. 724) *dum loquimur*. The orator fails, however, to act up to this intention. 5 *aliis haec* (the deeds of Diocletian, Maximian and Galerius) . . . *celebrabo temporibus, . . . ipsis qui gessere praesentibus*. Maximian is still in Mauretania (5). The author has already given up his chair and his appointment at Court; he speaks again *post diuturnum silentium* and as an elderly man, as it seems (c. 1), also 1 *quo in genere orationis quanta esset cura . . . sensi etiam cum in quotidiana illa instituendae iuventutis exercitatione versarer. . . . sed cum ex illo veteri curriculo me . . . post indultam a pietate vestra quietem* (retirement?) *studium ruris abduxerit* etc. He alludes to a speech in honour of Maximian 1; to his former charge at Court 2; to the restoration of Augustodunum 21. b) A festival speech on the marriage of Constantine and Fausta, the daughter of Maximian (no. 6) delivered at Trèves a. 307. c) A panegyric on Constantine (no. 7) delivered at Trèves (22; cf. 13), on the dies natalis of the town (22), a short time after the execution of Maximian at Massilia (20), a. 310. Again he declares that he aims at *brevitas* (1. 7). He says of himself that he is a native of Augustodunum and in the *media aetas* (1, 1), has grown-up children (among them a son *jam summa fisci patrocinia tractantem*) and as a teacher of rhetoric has trained many pupils *ad tutelam fori et ad officia palatii*. The adulation displayed in this speech is very gross, e.g. 10–12. 21. 22. At the close of the speech Constantine is invited to visit Augustodunum (22). Tacitus (Agr. 12) is used in c. 9. d) Speech of acknowledgment to Constantine, delivered at Trèves (c. 2), a. 311 (n. 8) in the name of Augustodunum, whose appellation had been changed to Flavia, for the remission of taxes and other benefits which Constantine had bestowed upon the town during his recent sojourn there. The end seems to be incomplete. The author is a native of Augustodunum, remembers in his boyhood the siege and capture of his native town a. 269 (WBrandes, laudes Domini, Brunswick 1887, 26) and is a citizen of repute. There is no trace of Christianity in all these speeches, but on the contrary the ancient faith is displayed rather ostentatiously.

8. Symmach. ep. 6, 34 wants a Gallus rhetor for the education of his son at Rome. Cf. ib. 9, 88, *gallicanae facundiae haustus requiro, non quod his septem montibus eloquentia latiaris excessit, sed quia praecepta rhetoricae pectori meo senex olim Garumnae alumnus immulsit*. Cf. above § 272, 27 and p. 294.

9. Perhaps about a. 260 an inscription was set up at Beneventum *M. Caecilio Novatilliano c. v. oratori et poetae inlustri* CIL. 9, 1572 (cf. 1571) Wilmanns 662.

392. Of the six so-called scriptores historiae augustae four wrote as early as under Diocletian, viz. Aelius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Vulcacius Gallicanus and Trebellius Pollio. The lives of Hadrian, Aelius, Didius Julianus, Septimius Severus, Pescennius Niger, Caracalla and Geta have been handed down under the name of Spartianus; under that of Julius Capitolinus we have the lives of Antoninus Pius, M. Antoninus philosophus, Verus, Pertinax, Clodius Albinus, Macrinus, the two Maximini, the three Gordiani, Maximus and Balbinus. Vulcacius Gallicanus is the author of the biography of Avidius Cassius. Tre-

bellius Pollio wrote the (incomplete) account of the Valeriani, the Gallieni, the thirty tyrants (so called by him), and of Claudius. The whole collection embraces the Emperors from Hadrian to Numerianus (a. 117–284); only those of 244–260 have been (in part) lost. The date and the author of this collection are not known to us. All the contributors alike are characterised by intellectual poverty and feebleness. They exemplify the pitiable close of the biographical history of the Emperors started by Suetonius. It is lamentable to see the literary clumsiness of these writers, and their inability to deal even passably with the duties and prerogatives of the historian. They prefer to dwell on the merest details of the life of the princes and the Court, and their attitude, as they lay their works at the foot of the throne (perhaps as highly placed officials), is invariably servile and courtier-like. Yet they mean well and intend to state what is, or what they believe to be, the truth. Where they go astray, they are rather dupes than impostors.

1. The manuscripts of the scriptores hist. aug. are derived from the same source, as they show e.g. the same gap after the vita of Maximus and Balbinus, in which the biographies of the Emperors posterior to Gordian III and the beginning of the vita Valerianorum were lost. In the succession of the Imperial biographies a good deal of disorder has already arisen in the archetype, partly owing to leaves being transposed. The best MSS. are Bambergensis s. IX and Palatino-Vaticanus 899 s. X/XI. Excerpts, derived from the same source as the MSS., in the Cusanus s. XII (JKlein, eine Hs. des Nic. Von Cues, Berl. 1866, 95. Mommsen, Herm. 13, 298) and in the Vatic. Palat. 886 s. XI. As early as the beginning of the 9th century Sedulius had access to an excerpt similar to that in the Cusanus (§ 473, 9; Haupt, op. 3, 339. Mommsen l.l.). The collection bears in the MSS. the title: *vitae diversorum principum et tyrannorum a divo Hadriano usque ad Numerianum a diversis compositae.* As the excerpts however quote *ex (de) vita Caesarum*, it is probable that the original title was 'Vitae Caesarum' (Mommsen l.l.).

2. Editions: e.g. ed. princ. (by BAccursius), Milan 1475. Aldina, Ven. 1516. 1519. By DErasmus (Bas. 1518 and often), JGruter (Hanov. 1611), ICasaubonus (Par. 1603. 1620 with the notae of ClSalmasius). A variorum edition Leiden 1671 II. UObrecht, Strassb. 1677. recc. HJordan et FEyssenhardt, Berl. 1864 II and esp. rec. HPeter, Lps.$^2$ 1884 (cf. also by the same author the Jahresbericht in the Phil. 43, 137, treating minutely of all questions relating to the scr. h. a.).—Spartiani vita Hadr. comm. ill. JCenterwall I, Ups. 1869.

3. HDodwell, praelectiones Camdenianae (Oxon. 1622) p. 32. CGHeyne, censura sex scriptorum hist. aug., opuscula acad. 6, 52. HEDirksen, die scriptt. h. aug., Andeutt. z. Krit. u. Ausleg., Lpz. 1842. Mommsen, röm. Gesch. vol. 5. G Bernhardy, de script. h. a. prooemia duo, Halle 1847, FRichter on the scr. h. a., RhM. 7, 16. AKrause, de font. et auctor. scriptt. h. a., Neustettin 1857—74 II. HPeter, hist. crit. scriptt. h. a., Lps. 1860. EPlew, de diversitate auctorum h. a., Königsb. 1869; Marius Maximus als directe und indirecte Quelle der h. a., Strassb., 1878. EBrocks, de IV prioribus h. a. scriptoribus, Königsb. 1869; Studd. z. d. scr.

h. a., Marienwerder 1877; Königsb. wiss. Mon.-Bl. 5, 119. 6, 60. CCzwalina, de epistularum actorumque quae a scriptt. h. a. proferuntur fide atque auctoritate I, Bonn 1870. CRübel, de fontibus IV priorum h. a. scriptorum, Bonn 1871. JJ Müller in Büdinger's Unterss. z. röm. Kaisergesch. 3, 33. ADreinhöfer, de fontt. et auctor. vitarum quae feruntur Spart. Capitol. Gallic. Lampridii, Halle 1875. HJänicke, de vitae Hadr. scriptoribus (Halle 1875) 11. JDürr, die Reisen d. Kais. Hadrian (Vienna 1881) 73. AZeitler, zu Spart. vita Hadriani, Eichstätt 1875. EPerino, de fontt. vitarum Hadriani et Septimii Severi ab Aelio Spartiano conscriptt., Heidelb. 1880. CGiambelli, gli scrittori della h. a. studiati nelle loro fonti, Atti dell' acad. dei Lincei 1880–81. AEnmann, Phil. Suppl. 4, 356. EKlebs, d. dynastische Element in d. Geschichtschreibung d. Kaiserzeit, Histor. Zeitschr. NF. 25, 227.—CPaucker, de latinitate scriptorum h. a., Dorpat 1870. FSKrauss, de praeposs. usu ap. sex scriptt. h. a., Vienna 1882. CCotta, quaestt. gramm. et critt. in scriptt. h. a., Bresl. 1883. KLessing, Studd. z. d. scr. h. a. (syntax. casuum and crit.), Berl. 1889.

Textual criticism: ABecker, obss. critt. in etc. Bresl. 1838. HPeter, exercitt. crit. in etc. Posen 1863; JJ. 129, 75. OHirschfeld, Herm. 3, 230; Wien. Studd. 6, 121. MHaupt. op. 3, 421. 462. JOberdick, ZföG. 16, 737. 19, 340. 23, 803. JJCornelissen, coniectanea lat., Daventr. 1870; Mnemos. 11, 246. ERösinger, Schweidnitz 1868. JGolisch, Schweidnitz 1870. 1877 and JJ. 103, 646. EBährens, JJ. 103, 649. 133, 213. Madvig, advers. 2, 630. AGemoll, spicileg. crit. in scr. h. a., Wohlau 1876; die scriptores h. a. I, Striegau 1886. JKlein, RhM. 34, 142. 37, 274. RPeiper, RhM. 32, 524. AKellerbauer, JJ. 115, 623 (using a new collation of the Bamberg.). MPetschenig, Wiener SBer. 93, 355; z. Krit. d. h. a., Graz 1885. RUnger, JJ. 119, 493. 123, 209. JPlew, Krit. Beitr. z. d. scr. h. a., Strassb. 1885. RBitschofsky, krit. exeg. Studd. z. ch. scr. h. a., Vienna 1888. EKlebs, Phil. 47, 559.

4. The following vitae are dedicated to Diocletian: a) Aelius Caesar, with the title: *Diocletiano Aug. Aelius Spartianus suus sal. In animo mihi est, Diocletiane Aug., tot principum maxime.* b) Marcus (19, 12 *ut vobis ipsis, sacratissime imp. Diocletiane, et semper visum est et videtur*). c) Verus (11, 4 *praeter vestram clementiam, Diocletiane Aug.*). d) Avid. Cass. (3, 3 *proposui enim, Diocletiane Aug.*). e) Septim. Sever. (20, 4 *reputanti mihi, Diocl. Aug.* f) Pescenn. Nig. (9, 1 *haec sunt, Diocletiane maxime Augustorum*, etc. g) Macrin. (15, 4 *serenitati tuae, Diocl. Aug., detulimus, quia te cupidum veterum imperatorum esse perspeximus*). Of these vitae a, e, f belong to Spartianus, b, c, g to Capitolinus and d to Vulcacius. The works dedicated to Constantine are by Spartianus the life of (Caracalla and) Geta (1, 1 *Constantine Auguste*), by Capitolinus the lives of Clod. Alb. (4, 2 *Constantine maxime*), of the Maximini (1, 1) and the Gordiani (1, 1. 34, 6). The various attempts (see n. 3), in opposition to the quite unanimous tradition, to assign these biographies to other authors (especially in regard to those claimed for Spartianus and Capitolinus), have not led to any convincing results. The authors draw from their sources (e.g. Marius Maximus, Junius Cordus; Herodianos) in an uncritical and hasty manner, frequently set varying accounts of the same things directly side by side without noticing the contradictions thus produced, or supplement their main authority in the most superficial way with additions from other sources. HDessau, Herm. 24, 337 has recently even attempted to prove that the six scrr. hist. aug. never existed except in the brain of some artful forger, who produced his own very dubious wisdom under the mask of this collection of six writers (invented for the purpose), towards the end of the fourth century. Mommsen, Herm. 25, 228. PHabel, Wschr fklPh. 1890, 418.

5. SPARTIAN. Ael. 5, 5 *de quo genere cibi aliter refert Marius Maximus, non pentapharmacum sed tetrapharmacum appellans, ut et nos ipsi in eius vita persecuti sumus* (=Hadr. 21, 4 *unice amavit tetrapharmacum*). Ael. 1, 1 *in animo mihi est . . . non solum eos qui principum locum . . . retentarunt, ut usque ad divum Hadrianum feci, sed illos etiam qui vel Caesarum nomine appellati sunt nec principes aut Augusti fuerunt, vel quolibet alio genere aut in famam aut in spem principatus venerunt, cognitioni numinis tui sternere.* 7, 5 *de quo idcirco non tacui quia mihi propositum fuit omnes qui post Caesarem dictatorem, h. e. divum Iulium, vel Caesares vel Augusti vel principes appellati sunt quique in adoptionem venerunt vel imperatorum filii aut parentes Caesarum nomine consecrati sunt singulis libris exponere, meae satisfaciens conscientiae, etsi multis nulla sit necessitas talia requirendi.* Hence his intention appears to have been to write a complete history of the Emperors in the form of biographies. We do not know whether this intention was actually carried out; at all events, we possess only parts of his work. His principal source was Marius Maximus (§ 381, 2). A chronological hint Ael. 2, 2 *nostris temporibus a vestra clementia Maximianus atque Constantius Caesares dicti sunt* (a. 292).

On the biographies addressed by Julius Capitolinus to Diocletian and those addressed by him to Constantine, see n. 4. In characterisation of him see Gord. 21, 3 *haec de Gordiano iun. digna memoratus comperimus; non enim nobis talia dicenda sunt quae Iunius Cordus ridicule ac stulte composuit* (§ 381, 4) . . . *quorum etiam scientia nulli rei prodest, si quidem ea debeant in historia poni ab historiographis quae aut fugienda sint aut sequenda.* Max. et Balb. 4, 5 *placet aliqua dici de moribus et genere, non eo modo quo Iunius Cordus est persecutus omnia, sed illo quo Suetonius Tranquillus et Valerius Marcellinus.* Maximin. 29, 6 (28, 10) *ne quid praetermissum esse videatur;* 33, 4 *ne quis me hoc nescisse crederet.*

6. VULCAC. GALL. Avid. Cass. 3, 3 *proposui, Diocletiane Aug., omnes qui imperatorum nomen sive iusta ex causa sive iniusta habuerunt in litteras mittere, ut omnes purpuratos Augustos cognosceres.* The plan of the author, who is called *vir clarissimus* in the MSS., was, therefore, somewhat more limited than that of Spartianus (n. 5). Only his Avidius Cassius was admitted into the extant collection. An extensive use of the correspondence (perhaps from Aemilius Parthenianus, § 381, 5), the genuineness of which, however, is widely disputed (CZWALINA l.l. 19), is peculiar to this vita. Cf. EEHUDEMANN, Phil. 7, 585. 9, 189. BNIEHUES, de Vulc. Gallic. vita Avidii Cassii, Münst. 1885. EKLEBS, RhM. 43, 321.

7. VOPISC. Aurelian. 2, 1 *quoniam sermo nobis de Trebellio Pollione, qui a duobus Philippis usque ad divum Claudium et eius fratrem Quintillum imperatores tam claros quam obscuros memoriae prodidit, . . . fuit, adserente Tiberiano* (praef. urbi a. 303?) *quod Pollio multa incuriose, multa breviter prodidisset.* The commencement of Pollio's portion is lost. He is the inventor of the idle and perverse notion of the *XXX tyranni.* POLLIO XXX tyr. 1, 1 *scriptis iam pluribus libris, non historico nec diserto, sed pedestri adloquio . . . in unum eos* (the XXX) *libellum contuli, . . . maxime cum vel in Valeriani vel in Gallieni vita pleraque de his dicta . . . constet.* 33, 8 *libellum non tam diserte quam fideliter scriptum, neque ego eloquentiam mihi videor pollicitus esse, sed rem, qui hos libellos quos de vita principum edidi non scribo, sed dicto, et dicto cum ea festinatione* etc. 11, 6 *ut fidelitas historica servaretur, quam ego prae ceteris custodiendam putavi, qui quod ad eloquentiam pertinet nihil curo. rem enim vobis proposui deferre, non verba.* XXX tyr. 31, 10 *nemo in templo Pacis* (the rendezvous of the critics; see § 219, 21 l. 5) *dicturus est me feminas inter tyrannos, tyrannas videlicet vel tyrannides, ut ipsi de me solent cum risu et ioco iactitare, posuisse.* With these words the author introduces an appendix to his 30 Tyrants, consisting of two Tyrants to replace the two she-

tyrants (Zenobia and Victoria), who were made fun of. We possess the original version and the appendix. XXX tyr. 31, 5 *haec de XXX tyrannis dicenda videbantur . . . nunc ad Claudium principem redeo. de quo speciale mihi volumen . . . videtur edendum.* Claud. 1, 1 *ventum est ad principem Claudium, qui nobis intuitu Constanti Caesaris cum cura in litteras digerendus est.* Claud. 11, 5 *vera dici fides cogit, simul ut sciant ii qui adulatores nos aestimari cupiunt id quod historia dici postulat [nos] non tacere.* ib. 3, 1 *in gratiam me quispiam putes Constantii Caesaris loqui, sed testis est et tua conscientia et vita mea me nihil umquam cogitasse, dixisse, fecisse gratiosum.* 10, 7, *ut sit omnibus clarum Constantium divini generis virum . . . esse, . . . salvis Diocletiano et Maximiano Augg. et eius fratre Galerio.* Hence he wrote during the life-time of Constantius I († 25th July, 306), but after the completion of the Thermae of Diocletian (May a. 305? Dessau, Herm. 24, 340); s. XXX tyr. 21, 7 *in his locis fuerunt in quibus thermae Diocletianae sunt exaedificatae, tam aeterni nominis quam sacrati.* His grandfather lived under Aurelian and was a friend of Tetricus (XXX tyr. 25, 3). Valerian. 8, 5 *quoniam vereor ne modum voluminis transeam. . . . ad aliud volumen transeam. . . . semper enim me vobis dedidi . . . et famae, cui negare nihil possum* (therefore also dedicated to some person holding a high position). Gallien. 14, 2 *Claudius, ut suo dicemus loco, vir optimus.* Richter, RhM. 7, 20. HPeter, hist. crit. 9. Cf. Mommsen, röm. Gesch. 5, 149. FRühl, RhM. 43, 597.

8. Vopisc. Aurelian. 44, 2 *Herennianus teste Asclepiodoto saepe dicebat Diocletianum frequenter dixisse*, and 44, 3 *Asclepiodotus . . . perhibet.* Probably the consul of a. 292 and praef. praet. a. 296? Car. 13, 5 *quorum* (i.e. Diocletian and his three colleagues) *vitam singulis libris Claudius Eusthenius, qui Diocletiano ab epistulis fuit, scripsit.*—On Σαμωκὸς (?) ἱστορικός mentioned by Lyd. magg. 3, 32 see § 374, 4.

9. The list of the Roman provinces (nomina omnium provinciarum, in the cod. Veron. 2 s. VI/VII) of a. 297 is an important historical document; Mommsen, Abh. d. Berl. Akad. 1862, 489. Cf. rev. archéol. 13, 377. 14, 369. 15, 1. EKuhn, JJ. 115, 697. CCzwalina, d. Verz. d. röm. Prov., Wesel 1881. WOhnesorge, d. röm. Prov.-Liste I, Duisb. 1889. This list and similar documents (e.g. the Notitia Galliarum written in the earliest version between a. 386 and 450; WBrambach, RhM. 23, 262) also in OSeeck, notit. diguit. 247 and ARiese, geogr. lat. min. 127. See also Müllenhoff, Germania antiqua 158.—To a. 301 belongs the edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium (i.e. on the highest prices to be allowed), which it has been possible to restore, though not completely, from a number of specimens (Latin and Greek) extant in inscriptions. Best edited in the CIL. 3, p. 801. Addenda ephem. epigr. 4, 180, also in the reports of the Archæol. Inst. at Athens 5 (1880), 70; Berl. archäol. Ges., Jan. 1887; BerlphWschr. 1889, 1066. Commented on especially by Mommsen, Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 3 (1851), 1. 383 and HWWaddington, édit de Dioclétien établissant le maximum dans l'Empire Romain, Paris 1864 (a reprint from his commentary on Le Bas, inscriptions grecq. 3, 145). Cf. Lactant. de mortib. persecutorum (composed a. 313/14 see § 397, 7) 7 *Diocletianus cum variis iniquitatibus immensam faceret caritatem, legem pretiis rerum venalium statuere conatus est: tunc ob exigua et vilia multus sanguis effusus nec venale quicquam metu apparebat, et caritas multo deterius exarsit donec lex ipsa post multorum exitium solveretur.* Mommsen, Herm. 25, 17.

393. It had become more and more difficult for litigants and lawyers to keep in view the Imperial decrees and decisions, which were constantly growing in number. Hence under Diocle-

tian the need was felt of collecting the existing laws, so far as they rested on Imperial rescripts. Accordingly a collection of the constitutions of the Emperors from Hadrian to Diocletian was made by a jurist of the name of Gregorianus (or Gregorius?), the codex Gregorianus. This was, in the fourth century, supplemented by the similar collection of Hermogenianus (or Hermogenes?), which embraced the years 291–365 in three different editions. Both these collections survive only in those fragments, which were excerpted from them in later codes.

1. Where these collections are cited (see e.g. n. 3 in fin.) the compilers are called Gregorianus and Hermogenianus, or these names are used as adjectives (as Theodosianus = codex Theodosianus). As the writers who make the quotations are far removed in time (over 100 years) from the authors of the compilation, it is uncertain whether the latter may not have been named Gregorius and Hermogenes (KRÜGER l.l. 278). In support of Hermogenianus we have at least the quotations from the epitome (n. 4) in the Digest. MOMMSEN, ZfRG. 23, 347. The collections appear to have originated in the East. KRÜGER l.l. 282. Most recent edition: Codicis Gregoriani et codicis Hermog. fragmenta ad mss. fidem recogn. et annot. crit. instruxit GHÄNEL, Bonn 1837 (= Corp. iur. anteiust. 2, 1).—ZIMMERN, Gesch. d. röm. Privatr. 1, 1, 157. HFJACOBSON, de codd. G. et H., Königsb. 1826. HÄNEL's praefationes. RUDORFF, röm. RGesch. 1, 274. HUSCHKE, ZfRGesch. 6, 279. KARLOWA, RGesch. 1, 942. PKRÜGER, Quellen u. Lit. d. röm. R. 277.

2. The codex Gregorianus probably originally bore the title *Gregori(an)i codex constitutionum principalium*. The earliest authentic constitution which it contains is of a. 196; but as the cod. Iust. which was based on it contains also a const. of Hadrian, it is probable that Greg. began with him. The latest constitution in Greg. is of a. 295, about which year it is probable that the collection was published. Diocletian and Maximian are called in it *domini nostri* (collat. 1, 10). HUSCHKE l.l. 280. A predecessor of Greg. was Papirius Justus, § 369, 7, and Julian's redaction of the Praetorian Edict (§ 350, 2) was an analogous work. Being a collection of the Imperial ius generale, the cod. Greg. embraced constitutions of all kinds, while it excluded what was antiquated. The arrangement was probably that of the Edict, which was also followed in all main points in the cod. Iust. The work probably contained 16 books, like the cod. Theodos., which is also arranged *ad similitudinem Gregoriani atque Hermogeniani codicis* (cod. Theod. 1, 1, 5). The last three books seem to have contained the criminal law. The documents themselves with inscriptions and subscriptions were included; the Imperial archives were the principal source of the collection. HUSCHKE l.l. 294. 314. KRÜGER l.l. 280.

3. The codex Hermogenianus is always mentioned after the Greg., only titles, not books, being quoted from it. It appears therefore to have been a supplement of the Greg. Only Rescripts are quoted from the Herm., the earliest of a. 291. The first edition appeared between a. 314 and 324 (MOMMSEN, Herm. 17, 532. KRÜGER, l.l. 282). This was followed by two editions, which added the decrees subsequently issued. The Hermogen. also was voluminous: Constitution 120 is quoted from tit. 69 of the Hermog. in the Sinaitic scholia on Ulpian (§ 376, 5). Consult. 9, 1–7 attributes to the cod. Hermog. seven more by Valentian and Valens of a. 364 sq. The last edition would thus appear to have been published about

365; cf. Sedul. pasch. op. praef. (p. 172, 10 Huem.): *cognoscant Hermogenianum, doctissimum iuris latorem, tres editiones sui operis confecisse.* Huschke, l.l. 291.

4. Index florent. mentions among the sources of Justinian's Digest in the last place Ἑρμογενιανοῦ ἐπιτομῶν βιβλία ἕξ, an abridgment of the ius, made about a. 339; JGothofredus, prolegg. ad cod. Theod. p. ccx. The excerpts from it are collected by Hommel, paling. 1, 185, Lenel, paling. 1, 265. JFinestres, comm. in Herm. icti iuris epitomarum libros VI, Cervar. 1757 II. HEDirksen, hinterlass. Schrr. 2, 482.

394. The grammarian and writer on metre, Marius Plotius Sacerdos, by whom we have Artes grammaticae in three books (the third treating of metre and containing many illustrations from Greek), probably wrote in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian.

1. Books 1 and 2, which are handed down through Vindobon. 16 (Bobiensis) s. VII/VIII, partly incomplete, were first edited by Endlicher and Eichenfeld, anall. gramm., Vienna 1837; now in Keil's GL. 6, 427.—Book 3 (de metris), already published by EPutschius (in Keil's GL. 6, 496), is preserved in Valentinianus s. IX, Leid. Voss. s. X, Paris. SGerm. 1094 s. X.—In book 1 and 2 the work and its author are entitled *M. Claudi Sacerdotis artium grammaticarum liber I* and *II*; cf. also the close of b. 1 (GL. 6, 470): *hucusque artium grammaticarum fecimus instituta, de catholicis vero nominum et verborum* (= b. 2) *latius exponemus.* At the beginning of book 3 the name is given more correctly, the contents of the entire work being indicated at the same time, GL. 6, 496: *Marius Plotius Sacerdos composui Romae docens de metris. Cum de institutis artis grammaticae primo libro me tractavisse comperisset v. cl. Uranius nec ei displicuisset, vel quod non absurde compositum vel quod ad eius filium v. cl. mihi contubernalem et aetate paene studiisque mihi coniunctum Gaianum* (probably the same to whom in the cod. Iust. 3, 32, 11. 5, 43, 3. 6, 42, 26. 8, 28, 18 rescripts by Diocletian [and Maximian] are addressed) *scriptus esset, compulit ut etiam de nominum verborumque ratione nec non etiam de structurarum compositionibus exprimendis breviter laborarem. cuius praestantissimi viri iussionibus libens arbitror libro secundo nos explicabiliter oboedisse. nunc in hoc sive tertio sive novissimo artium libro . . . vobis viris amplissimis, nobilitatis splendore praedito Maximo* (rescripts addressed to Maximus of a. 294–305 in the cod. Iustin. 6, 9, 5. 9, 22, 18. 9, 41, 15. 10, 31, 11) *et omni laude praedicabili Simplicio* (cf. GL. 6, 509. 512), *quorum et ad quos seria nonnisi de litteris exercentur, quoniam . . . me posse etiam de metris tractare iudicastis breviter esse componendum decrevi.*—In all three books the word *sacerdos* (in allusion to the name of the author) is brought in as an example with remarkable frequency, in one passage GL. 6, 504, 19 Sacerdos uses his name *Marius* in the same way. S. is also cited as *Marius Plotius* in a Berne scholion on Vergil, JJ. Suppl. 4, 994. Rufinus GL. 6, 565, 5 in the enumeration of metrical writers wrongly says: *Sacerdos qui et Donatus.* Cassiodorus published the section of Sacerdos de schematibus (98 in number, GL. 6, 448; see also Cassiod. GL. 7, 215, 25) together with Donatus' ars and other grammatical works (§ 483, 3). As to the date: Sac. quotes the writer on metre Juba (§ 373ª, 5) and Aquila Romanus (§ 388); see Probi cath. GL. 4, 19, 32. As *Saxon* (*Saxŏnis*) and *Franco* (*Francōnis*) are given as examples in Sacerdos GL. 6, 474 (= Probi cath. GL. 4, 9), he cannot have written prior to the reign of Diocletian. On the other hand Charisius and Diomedes GL. 1, 318, 7. 534, 36 (or rather their authority) allude in an example to our grammarian

Sacerdos: cf. also Dositheus GL. 7, 393, 12. 407, 19. HWentzel, symb. crit. ad lat. metr. 37. WChrist, Phil. 18, 130. 178. Steup, de Probis 165. HKeil on GL. 6, 417.

2. The part of b. 2 (catholica nominum et verborum) now extant is almost identical with the Catholica of the so-called Probus. The writer is, however, Sacerdos, not Probus; see on this § 300, 7a. Concerning b. 3 the author says GL. 6, 543, 15 *quem de graecis nobilibus metricis lectis a me et ex his quidquid singulis fuerat optimum decerpto composui*, yet he often displays great ignorance, especially in the Greek and Latin examples which he composed partly himself. Westphal, gr. Metr. 1², 133. HKeil on GL. 6, 423. LMüller, RhM. 27, 284.—Emendations of the Greek examples: Bücheler, RhM. 37, 337.

395. It was perhaps at this period that Aelius Festus Aphthonius wrote his four books de metris, which Marius Victorinus at a later time, about the middle of the fourth century, incorporated in his system of grammar.

1. Below b. 4 of the ars of Marius Victorinus (§ 408, 3) there are the words (GL. 6, 173, 32) *Aelii Festi Aphthonii v(iri) p(erfectissimi) de metris omnibus explicit liber IIII.* Victorinus had therefore incorporated the work of his predecessor (although with various alterations) in his own production. GL. 6, 31, 17–173, 31 belong to Aphthonius. He treats in b. 1 de elementis artis, 2 de prototypis speciebus novem, 3 de coniunctis inter se et mixtis metris, 4 de conexis inter se atque inconexis. Thacomnestus (perhaps Theomnestus?), who is quoted by Aphthonius GL. 6, 140, 3, but who according to Schultz l.l. (cf. FLeo, Herm. 24, 283) is also used as a favourite authority by other writers, is otherwise unknown. In addition Caesius Bassus, Terentianus Maurus and Juba are turned to account in Aphthonius.—Cf. ThBergk, Phil. 16, 639. HKeil, quaestt. gramm. 1 (Halle 1870), vii; GL. 6, xiv. Westphal, Metr. 1², 126. CThiemann, JJ. 107, 429. OHense, act. soc. Lips. 4, 123. GSchultz, quibus auctoribus Aphthonius in re metr. usus sit, Bresl. 1885.

396. The rhetorician Arnobius published at Sicca in Numidia, under Diocletian, about a. 295, after his conversion to Christianity, the seven books adversus nationes, which he had hastily written in defence of this step. This apology has in the main a polemical character and exhibits little comprehension of the purport of Christianity. The author combats polytheism with rhetorical exaggeration, is fond of strong expressions and uses quite a motley diction.

1. Hieron. chron. ad a. Abr. 2343 = 326 a.d. = 1079 u. c. (probably the year in which Arnobius died): *Arnobius* (the name is of Greek origin; cf. Μηλόβιος, AReifferscheid, Bresl. ind. Schol. 1879/80, 10) *rhetor in Africa clarus habetur. qui cum Siccae ad declamandum iuvenes erudiret et adhuc ethnicus ad credulitatem* (i.e. to Christianity) *somniis compelleretur, neque ab episcopo impetraret fidem quam semper impugnaverat, elucubravit adversum pristinam religionem luculentissimos libros et tandem, veluti quibusdam obsidibus pietatis (datis), foedus impetravit.* de vir. illustr.

79 *Arnobius sub Diocletiano principe Siccae apud Africam florentissime rhetoricam docuit scripsitque adversum gentes quae vulgo extant volumina.* epist. 70, 5 (ad Magnum) *septem libros adv. gentes Arnobius edidit.* 58 (ad Paulin.), 10 (p. 326 Vall.) *Arnobius inaequalis et nimius et absque operis sui partitione confusus.* That the work was composed about a. 295 (= 1048 U. C.) appears from 1, 13 *trecenti sunt anni ferme, minus vel plus aliquid, ex quo coepimus esse christiani et terrarum in orbe censeri*, and 2, 71 *aetatis cuius urbs Roma in annalibus indicatur? annos ducit quinquaginta et mille, aut non multum ab his minus.* A vague reference to past persecutions of the Christians occurs 4, 36 *nostra scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari, cur immaniter conventicula dirui?*

2. ARNOB. 1, 1 *quoniam comperi nonnullos . . . dicere, postquam esse in mundo christiana gens coepit terrarum orbem perisse, . . . statui pro captu ac mediocritate sermonis contraire invidiae et calumniosas dissolvere criminationes.* This is done in b. 1, which winds up with the justification of the beginnings of Christianity. There we read c. 62: *Christus interemptus est non ipse*, but *homo quem induerat et secum ipse portabat.* B. 2 contains a comparison of the doctrines of the philosophers with those of Christianity and a psychology which has a Gnostic colouring. B. 3–5 attack the heathen mythology, 6 and 7 the worship associated with temples and images, sacrifices and spectacles. Arn. does not mention his sources, though he has made considerable use of his predecessors, among the Greeks especially of the Προτρεπτικός of Clemens Alex. (in b. 4–6). He gets most of his materials from the Epicureans (e.g. from Lucretius, cf. EKLUSSMANN, Phil. 26, 362. JESSEN, Lucr. u. sein Verhältn. zu Catull und Späteren, Kiel 1872, 17), rationalists (like the Euhemerus of Ennius), and antiquarians such as Varro and esp. Cornelius Labeo, see § 390, 1; cf. KBURESCH, Klaros 128. Owing to the great amount of materials accumulated Arnobius possesses also some antiquarian value.

3. Arnobius knows nothing of the Old Testament, and very little of the New (OEHLER p. XIII). The divinity of Christ is by him almost exclusively based upon His miracles, which he describes 1, 48 in such a manner as to leave it doubtful whether he had actually read the gospels. He does not personally justify his assertion (1, 58): *numquam veritas sectata est fucum, nec quod exploratum et certum est circumduci se patitur orationis per ambitum longiorem:* rather his loose views concerning barbarisms and solecisms (1, 59) apply to himself. He is fond of accumulating rhetorical figures, e.g. 2, 39–42 he has one anaphora and rhetorical question after the other: *idcirco* (deus) *animas misit ut* etc. He likes to place synonymous expressions side by side without connecting them. The close of the work wants the final revision, different versions of the same idea are left standing together etc. GKETTNER, Cornel. Labeo 35.

4. The text of Arn. rests solely on a Paris. 1661 s. IX (see above § 368, 5), in which the work is entitled Adversus nationes. Editions e.g. by GELENIUS (Bas. 1546. 1560), CANTERUS (Antv. 1582), URSINUS (Rome 1583), ELMENHORST (Hanov. 1603. Hamb. 1610), STEWECHIUS (Antv. 1604), SALMASIUS (Leid. 1651), in GALLANDI bibl. patr. 4, 133, and by OBERTHÜR (Würzburg 1783). Ed. JCORELLI, Lps. 1816. Comm. instr. GFHILDEBRAND, Halle 1844. In MIGNE, cursus patrol. 5 (Par. 1844), 718 (various treatises ib. p. 351. 1291). Rec. ill. FOEHLER, Lps. 1846; esp. rec. AREIFFERSCHEID (with a full index verborum et locutionum), Vienna 1875.

5. On Arnobius cf. THHUG, PRE. $1^2$, 1747. JMEURSIUS, criticus Arnobianus, Leid. 1598. JCBULENGER, eclogae ad Arn., Tolos. 1623. LENOURRY, apparat. ad bibl. patr. 2, 257. AEBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 64. KBFRANCKE, Pyschol. u. Erkenntnislehre des Arn., Lpz. 1878. ECKELT, des Arn. Schr. adv. nat., Neisse 1884.—

EKlussmann, emendatt. Arnob., Lps. 1863; Phil. 26, 623; Jen. Lit.-Z. 1875, 566. RKlussmann, curae afric., Gera 1883. ThHug, Beitr. zur Krit. lat. Pros. (Bas. 1864) 21. MZink, BlfbayrG. 7, 295. 8, 292; in the Bamberger Progr. 1873; JJ. 111, 865. FPauly, ZföG. 27, 897. MBastgen, quaestt. de locis Arnob., Münst. 1887.

397. Arnobius' pupil in oratory, Lactantius Firmianus, professor of rhetoric at Nicomedia and subsequently in the West tutor of the prince Crispus, surpasses all other Christian writers by the purity and elegance of his diction, which is formed on the best models. His conversion to Christianity had not impaired his gratitude to the sources from which he had previously derived intellectual nourishment. In the estimation of subsequent times his religious opinions were less orthodox than his style. The more important of his numerous works in prose and verse have come down to us: his seven books Institutionum divinarum, a popular and apologetic manual of Christian doctrine considered as the highest truth—a work of which we also possess an abridgment; De opificio dei, a popular anthropology from the Christian point of view; De ira dei, a similar work on the doctrine of God. More fanatical than the usual manner of Lactantius, but otherwise not at all unlike his style is the treatise handed down under the name of Caecilius on the end of all persecutors of the Christian religion from Nero down to Galerius and Maximinus Daza, a work of importance for historical studies.

1. Hieron. de vir. ill. 80 *Firmianus, qui et Lactantius* (in numerous MSS. he is also called *Lucius Caecilius* [or *Caelius*] *Firmianus Lactantius*, see n. 7 and cf. also § 321, 10), *Arnobii discipulus, sub Diocletiano principe accitus cum Flavio grammatico, cuius de medicinalibus versu compositi extant libri* (cf. contra Iovin. 2, 332 Vall. *Marcellum Sidetem et nostrum Flavium hexametris versibus disserentes;* Ps.-Plin. de re med. 3, 14), *Nicomediae rhetoricam docuit et penuria discipulorum, ob graecam videlicet civitatem, ad scribendum se contulit. . . . hic extrema senectute magister Caesaris Crispi, filii Constantini, in Gallia fuit, qui postea* (a. 326) *a patre interfectus est.* chron. ad a. 2333=315 a.d. *Crispum Lactantius latinis litteris erudivit, vir omnium suo tempore eloquentissimus, sed adeo in hac vita pauper ut plerumque etiam necessariis indiguerit.* epist. 70, 5 (ad Magnum) *septem libros adversus gentes Arnobius edidit totidemque discipulus eius Lactantius, qui de ira quoque et opificio dei duo volumina condidit; quos si legere volueris dialogorum Ciceronis in eis ἐπιτομὴν reperies.* 58, 10 (ad Paulin.) *Lactantius quasi quidam fluvius eloquentiae tullianae utinam tam nostra affirmare potuisset quam facile aliena destruxit!* Lactant. inst. 5, 2 *ego cum in Bithynia oratorias litteras accitus docerem.* 1, 1 *professio . . . illa oratoria in qua diu versati non ad virtutem, sed plane ad argutam malitiam iuvenes erudiebamus. . . . multum tamen nobis exercitatio illa fictarum litium contulit ut nunc maiore copia et facultate dicendi causam veritatis peroremus.* 3, 13 *equidem tametsi operam dederim ut . . . dicendi assequerer facultatem propter studium*

*docendi tamen eloquens numquam fui, quippe qui forum ne attigerim quidem.* Lact. belongs to the West of the Empire, as he is wont to contrast the Romans as *nostri* (inst. 1, 5. p. 11, 2 Fr.) with the *Graeci* (ib. p. 2, 17); if he was a pupil of Arnobius, he also was probably a native of Africa.

2. Hieron. vir. ill. 80 *habemus eius Symposium, quod adulescentulus scripsit* (n. 8 ad fin. and § 449), Ὁδοιπορικὸν *de Africa usque Nicomediam, scriptum versibus, et alium librum qui inscribitur Grammaticus, et pulcherrimum De ira dei et Institutionum divinarum adversum gentes libros VII et* Ἐπιτομὴν *eiusdem operis in libro uno acephalo et Ad Asclepiadem libros II; De persecutione librum unum; Ad Probum Epistolarum libros IV; Ad Severum* (cf. vir. ill. 111) *epistolarum libros II; Ad Demetrianum auditorem suum epistolarum libros II; Ad eundem de opificio dei vel formatione hominis librum unum.* To the Grammaticus we should probably refer GL. 6, 209, 11 *nostra quoque memoria Lactantius de metris 'pentameter' inquit et 'tetrameter.'* The letters ad Probum were possibly written before Lactantius' conversion and dealt (chiefly) with questions of scholarship; Rufin. GL. 6, 564 *Firmianus ad Probum de metris comoediarum sic dicit* etc. Hieron. comm. in ep. ad Gal. (opp. ed. Vall. 7, 1, 426) *Lactantii nostri quae in tertio ad Probum volumine de hac gente* (Galatae) *opinatus sit verba ponemus.* FOsann, Beiträge 2, 365. OHense, acta soc. phil. Lips. 4, 139. FLeo, Herm. 24, 293. The letters ad Demetrianum turned on Christian subjects. Hieron. epist. 84, 7 (ad Pammach. et Oc.) *Lactantius in libris suis et maxime in epistolis ad Demetrianum spiritus sancti omnino negat substantiam et errore iudaico dicit eum vel ad patrem referri vel ad filium;* and comm. in ep. ad Gal. 4, 6 *multi per imperitiam scripturarum, quod et Firmianus in octavo* (? Vall.: *altero*) *ad Demetrianum epistolarum libro facit, asserunt spiritum s. saepe patrem, saepe filium nominari* etc. Damasus to Hieronymus (Hier. opp. ed. Vall. 1, 1, 159) *fateor tibi, eos quos mihi iampridem Lactantii dederas libros ideo non libenter lego quia et plurimae epistolae eius usque ad mille spatia versuum tenduntur et raro de nostro dogmate disputant; quo fit ut et legenti fastidium generet longitudo et si qua brevia sunt scholasticis magis sint apta quam nobis, de metris et regionum situ et philosophis disputantia.* Lactantius does not seem to have carried out his intention of writing a special work against the Jews (inst. 7, 1 extr. *sed erit nobis contra Iudaeos separata materia, in qua illos erroris et sceleris revincemus*).

3. De opificio dei. Dedication (not before a. 304): *quam minime sim quietus, etiam in summis necessitatibus* (cf. n. 1), *ex hoc libello poteris existimare, quem ad te rudibus paene verbis, . . . Demetriane, perscripsi, ut et quotidianum studium meum nosceres et non deessem tibi, praeceptor etiam nunc, sed honestioris rei meliorisque doctrinae* (than formerly in the study of rhetoric). . . . *profiteor nulla me necessitate vel rei vel temporis impediri quominus aliquid excudam quo philosophi nostrae sectae quam tuemur instructiores doctioresque in posterum fiant. . . . tentabo . . . corporis et animi . . . rationem explicare.* The physical side of the subject is elaborately treated, after Aristotle and the Stoics, from a teleological and theological point of view. Vergil and Lucretius are repeatedly quoted, the latter being combated. The conclusion (c. 20): *haec ad te, Demetriane, interim paucis et obscurius fortasse . . . peroravi; quibus contentus esse debebis, plura et meliora lecturus si nobis indulgentia caelitus venerit. tunc ego te ad verae philosophiae doctrinam et planius et verius cohortabor. statui enim quam multa potero litteris tradere quae ad vitae beatae statum spectent, et quidem contra philosophos. . . . incredibilis enim vis eloquentiae* etc. This is doubtless an allusion to his institutiones, which were perhaps originally dedicated to his pupil Demetrianus; cf. n. 4. An edition of the work cum notis DErasmi (Bas. 1529. Par. 1529), Willichii (1542).

4. LACT. instit. 1, 1 (p. 4, 4 Fr.) *veritatis, cui asserendae atque illustrandae septem volumina destinavimus. . . . quae licet possit sine eloquentia defendi, . . . tamen claritate ac nitore sermonis* (cf. 5, 2 *ornate copioseque*) *illustranda . . . est, ut potentius in animos influat* (p. 2 after the middle). *si quidam prudentes . . . institutiones civilis iuris compositas ediderunt, . . . quanto melius nos . . . divinas institutiones litteris persequemur.* Cf. de ira 2 *horum imperitiam iam coarguimus in secundo divinarum institutionum libro. Quos ex parte iam refutavimus in quarto supra dicti operis libro.* 11 *docuimus in nostris institutionibus.* 17 *quibus in sexto libro institutionum satis respondimus.* B. 1 bears in the MSS. the title De falsa religione; b. 2 de origine erroris; 3 de falsa sapientia; 4 de vera sapientia; 5 de iustitia; 6 de vero cultu; 7 de vita beata. He purposes to prove the Christian religion to be *cum solam religionem tum etiam et solam et veram sapientiam* (5, 4 extr.); he considers it as the revealed *veritas* and *iustitia*. His predecessors Minucius Felix, Tertullian and Cyprian (e. g. 5, 1) are mentioned and used, also Cyprian's testim. ad Fortun., in particular for the quotations from the Bible. He frequently refers to classical writers, especially Cicero and Vergil, then Lucretius and Ovid (Met. and Fasti), also Ennius, Plautus, Terence, Lucilius, Horace, Persius, Varro, Sallust, Seneca and others. The time of composition falls between a. 307 and 310. In part of the MSS. we find several addresses to the Emperor Constantine (e.g. 1, 1. 2, 1. 3, 1. 4, 1. 5, 1. 6, 3. 7, 27) and other additions, which develope and follow up a thought which frequently recurs in L., viz. that evil is an essential condition of good (2, 8. 7, 5. de opif. 19). They are not derived from Lactantius but belong probably to the fourth cent. Cf. esp. SBRANDT, die dualist. Zusätze u. d. Kaiseranreden bei L., Wien. SBer. 118. 119.

5. Besides the Institutiones themselves we also possess an abridgment of them by Lactantius (SBRANDT, ArchflatLex. 5, 286). It begins: *quamquam divinarum institutionum libri quos iam pridem ad illustrandam veritatem religionemque conscripsimus ita legentium animos instruant ut nec prolixitas pariat fastidium nec oneret ubertas, tamen horum tibi epitomen fieri, Pentadi frater, desideras. . . . faciam quod postulas, etsi difficile videtur* etc. The first complete edition by CM PFAFF (Par. 1712), then JDAVIS (Cantabrig. 1718). MS. s. VII at Turin.

6. HIERON. comm. in ep. ad Ephes. 4, 26 (opp. 7, 1, 628 Vall.) *Firmianus noster De ira dei docto pariter et eloquenti sermone conscripsit.* The work is chiefly directed against the Epicureans. Cf. c. 22 *haec habui quae de ira dei dicerem, Donate carissime, ut scires quemadmodum refelleres eos qui deum faciunt immobilem. restat ut more Ciceronis utamur epilogo ad perorandum. . . . illorum persuasionem revincamus qui sine ira deum esse credentes dissolvunt omnem religionem.* As his source he alleges *doctrinam dei* (c. 1), but this is nowhere proved; on the contrary, all his arguments rest on individual reflections, his own and those of others. That the work was composed after the inst. appears from c. 2. 11 and 17 (see n. 4).

7. The work de mortibus persecutorum (of the end of a. 313 or the beginning of a. 314, EBERT l.l. 123, FGÖRRES, Phil. 36, 597) has been preserved in only one MS., Paris. Colbert. 1297, and was first published from it (Paris 1679) by STBALUZE (Miscell. 2, 1. 347). On a new copy of the MS. by GLAUBMANN see KHALM, Wien. SBer. 50, 161. The title is: *Lucii Caecilii liber ad Donatum confessorem de m. p.* It begins: *audivit dominus orationes tuas, Donate carissime. . . . ecce . . . ecclesia rursum exurgit. . . . excitavit enim deus principes* (Constantine and Licinius) *qui tyrannorum nefaria et cruenta imperia rescinderunt* etc. c. 35 *hoc edictum proponitur Nicomediae prid. Kal. Maias* (a. 311; on this edict of tolerance by the Emp. Galerius see JBELSER, Ellwangen 1889). *tunc apertis carceribus, Donate*

*carissime, . . . liberatus es, cum tibi carcer sex annis pro domicilio fuerit.* 48 *Nicomediam ingressus . . . die id. Iun.* (a. 313) *. . . litteras proponi iussit. . . . sic ab eversa ecclesia usque ad restitutam fuerunt anni decem, menses plus minus quattuor.* The accurate acquaintance with all the events of Nicomedia (see on this CWehner, Saalfeld 1885), the dedication to Donatus (cf. n. 6), the great similarity of diction (see below) and the frequent quotations from Vergil (also from Horace) render it almost certain that the work is actually the one entitled *de persecutione* by St. Jerome (see n. 2 l. 5) and that L. Caecilius (or Caelius) is justly given by some MSS. among the names of Lactantius. The concise style of this short treatise as compared with the diffuseness of the Institutiones is easily explained from the difference of subject, and the passionate tone may be due to the exultant sense of personal perils at length escaped and to long repressed resentment. There is, however, a passage inst. 5, 23: *quidquid adversum nos mali principes moliuntur fieri ipse* (deus) *permittit. et tamen iniustissimi persecutores . . . non se putent impune laturos. . . . veniet, veniet rabiosis ac voracibus lupis merces sua, qui iustas et simplices animas nullis facinoribus admissis excruciaverunt.* This is carried out in the extant pamphlet (de mort.). The doubts advanced by NLe Nourry, OFFritzsche (ed. p. viii) and others do not appear well-founded. Although in accordance with the nature of the subject the style of the work differs from that of the Institutiones, yet the vocabulary and syntax are in complete agreement with the latter, see VKehrein, quis scripserit libellum de mort. persec., Münster 1877.—JBurckhardt, Constantin [2] 39. 58. 289. 299. 309. ORothfuchs, qua historiae fide Lactantius usus sit in libro de m. pers., Marb. 1862. Hunziker in Büdinger's Untersuch. z. röm. Kaisergesch. 1, 117 and esp. AEbert (on the authorship of the work de m. p.), Lpz. SBer. 1870, 115.—A school edition by FDübner, Paris 1879.

8. Under the name of Lactantius (*Lactatius* in the Veron.; in the Paris. the heading is wanting) there is extant a poem de ave phoenice in elegiac metre (170 lines). It is also quoted eight times in the short treatise de dubiis nominibus (§ 495, 8) under the name of Lactantius, GL. 5, 577. 578 etc. The earliest MSS. are Paris. 13048 s. VIII (Bährens, RhM. 30, 308), Veron. s. IX (LJeep, Begrüssungsschr. d. Lpz. Phil. Vers. 1872, 45), and Leid. Voss. Q. 33 s. X. The poem is utilised by Gregory of Tours in his de cursu stellarum p. 861, 1 A.-K. *quod de Phinice Lactantius refert* etc. Cf. MHaupt's ed. of Ov. Hal. p. 67.—Printed in most of the edd. of Lactantius, in Burmann's Claudian p. 1035, Wernsdorf's PLM. 3, 298, Riese's Anth. lat. 731, quite recently in LJeep's Claudian 2 (1879), 211 (rec. ARiese) and in Bährens' PLM. 3, 253.—Separate editions by AMartini (Lüneb. 1825), HLeyser (Quedlinb. 1839).—The poem is elaborately rhetorical in style and exhibits, over and above the usual mythological phraseology, so many Biblical reminiscences and, what is more, so many points of correspondence in diction and ideas with writings of the same kind by the Patristic Lactantius, that the authorship of the latter is confirmed. The reminiscences of the poem in Claudian's Phoenix (§ 439, 6) should be understood as implying that Claudian is the imitator not the model. Cf. AEbert, Lit. d. MA. 1[2], 97. ARiese, RhM. 31, 446; in Jeep's Claudian 2, 190. HDechent, RhM. 35, 39. ThBirt, ib. 34, 8. Against the Patristic writer's authorship see FRitschl, op. 3, 806. GGötz, act. soc. Lips. 5, 322. EBährens, RhM. 29, 200. 30, 308; JB. 1873, 220; on the PLM. 3, 248.—Cf. besides HKlapp, Wandsbecker Progr. 1875 p. xv.—On a poetical version of this poem in Anglo-Saxon see Gäbler in Wülcker's Anglia 3, 491.

More doubtful is the authorship of the carmen de passione domini (de beneficiis suis Christus; MManitius, RhM. 45, 156). The 55 distichs de pascha are the

production of Venantius Fortunatus (carm. 3, 9). On the assignment to Lactantius of the enigmas of 'Symphosius' see § 449.

9. Lactantius expresses his admiration of Cicero in many passages very ingenuously, e.g. de opif. 1 and 20. inst. 1, 15. 3, 13. 7, 1. He actually calls Ovid *poeta non insuavis* (de ira 20). Even Lactantius' positive doctrine, though honestly Christian and very zealous, does not show the slightest trace of dogmatic casuistry and rigidity. Thus he asserts (inst. 5, 3): *non idcirco a nobis deum creditum Christum quia mirabilia fecit, sed quia vidimus in eo facta esse omnia quae nobis adnuntiata sunt vaticinio prophetarum.* Such early writers as Hieronymus (see n. 1 sq.) and Sidonius (ep. 4, 3 *instruit ut Hieronymus, destruit ut Lactantius, adstruit ut Augustinus*) regard L. as failing in dogmatic orthodoxy. Cf. FWAmmon, Lact. opin. de relig. in syst. redig., Erlangen 1820. Overlach, die Theologie des Lact., Schwerin 1858; Dorpater Zeitschr. f. Theol. IV. His latinity on the other hand was generally admired. JAKrebs, de stilo Lact., Halle 1706. MNKortholt, de Cicerone christiano Lactantio, Giessen 1711.

10. The MSS. of Lactantius (besides mort. pers., n. 7) are numerous, e.g. a Bononiensis s. VII. and the Fragmenta Floriacensia (de opif. dei) in Orleans (in the cod. 169; SBrandt, Wien. SBer. 110, 167); Puteaneus s. IX. in Paris; SGallen Palimps. 213 (inst., SBrandt, Wien. SBer. 108, 231) and others. Editions e.g. ed. princeps Rome 1465 (the first book printed in Italy), by XBetuleus, Bas. 1563. MThomasius, Antv. 1570. Gallaeus, Leid. 1660. JGWalchius, Lps. 1715. CAHeumann, Gött. 1736. Rec. et notis ill. JLBünemann, Lpz. 1739. Ed. JBLe Brun et NLenglet du Fresnoy, Par. 1748 II. Ed. Oberthür, Würzb. 1783 II. In Gallandi Bibl. patr. 4, 229. Ed. OFFritzsche, Lps. 1842. 1844 (Gersdorf's bibl. patr. 10, 1. 2). In Migne, patrol. t. VI and VII (Par. 1844). In the press is a new edition by GLaubmann and SBrandt (vol. 19 of the Wiener corp. scr. eccl. lat.)—LeNourry, apparatus ad bibl. patr. 2, 3, 571 sqq. Walch introd. to his ed. JGGeret, de Lact., Wittenb. 1722. PBertold, Prolegg. zu Lact., Metten 1861. AEbert, (s. n. 8) $1^2$, 72. JGThMüller, quaest. Lact., Gött. 1875. TEMecchi, Lattanzio e sua patria, Fermo 1875. PMeyer, quaestt. Lact. I, Jülich 1878. SBrandt, die dualistischen Zusätze u. die Kaiseranreden bei Lact. nebst einer Unters. üb. d. Leben des L., Wien. SBer. 118. 119. PBrandt, das Leben des Lactantius, Wien. SBer. B. 120 (1890). FMarbach, d. Psychologie des Lact., Halle 1889.

398. To the time preceding the official victory of the Christian religion we should probably assign a number of metrical compositions which move in the field of the heathen mythology quite freely, not to say with a certain satisfaction, and in which the traditional forms of composition are generally employed with tolerable correctness. To these probably belong the so-called Catonis disticha, a school collection of moral maxims, each consisting of two hexameters, in four books, which played an important part during the whole of the Middle Ages. Also the Pervigilium Veneris, a poem which breathes an almost modern sentimental enthusiasm for nature and which, composed in sonorous trochaic septenarii, celebrates Venus as the life-giving power of the universe and summons men to

keep the festival of Nature, when she renews her youth in the spring-time. The short playful epic which bears the name of Vespa belongs probably to this period, also Reposianus' story of the loves of Mars and Venus, the distichs of Pentadius, the speech of Achilles on hearing the trumpet of Diomed, Dido's letter to Aeneas, and similar imitations of originals of the classical period.

1. 'Catonis disticha.' The collection in the Paris. 2659 s. IX. is entitled *liber* (*quartus*) *Catonis philosophi*, in the Paris. 8320 s. X (probably owing to a confusion with Seneca): *Catonis Cordub.*, in the Veron. 163 s. IX *dicta Marci Catonis ad filium suum* (cf. § 121). Scaliger mentions a vetustissimus codex Bosii with the heading: *Dionysii Catonis disticha de moribus ad filium;* but nothing is otherwise known of this manuscript, and the name Dionysius is perhaps only due to Priscian's translation (§ 481, 7) of D.'s periegesis (HAUPT, op. 1, 376) found in the same MS. The name 'Cato' is probably only intended to designate the maxims as wise; cf. HJORDAN, RhM. 14, 277. B. I contains 40, II 31, III 44, IV 49 maxims. B. II, III, IV have each a special preface (commending the collection to the reader), which seems to have been merely lost in the case of b. I. The preface to b. II shows an acquaintance with the pharmaceutical didactic poem of Macer (§ 223, 5). IV, 49 is a kind of epilogue. The maxims convey, frequently in an ingenious form, a homely neutral kind of morality, which was doubtless framed for didactic purposes (4, 23 *disce, sed a doctis, indoctos ipse doceto, propaganda etenim est rerum doctrina bonarum;* 27 *discere ne cessa: cura sapientia crescit*, 49 *fac discas*. Their tendency is monotheistic and humanitarian, but without any specifically Christian colouring; many of them (e.g. 1, 26. 2, 26. 3, 3. 4, 26) are even frankly Pagan, and the warning against sortes (2, 12) and bloody sacrifices (4, 14. 38) is not based on Christian principles. The maxims on the treatment of women and slaves are of the same character (cf. 4, 44 *cum servos . . . famulos dicas, homines tamen esse memento*, and 3, 12 *uxorem . . . nec retinere velis*—for the sake of her dos—*si coeperit esse molesta*). 4, 49 apologises for the absence of rhetorical ornament: *Miraris versus nudis me scribere verbis? Hoc brevitas fecit, sensu coniungere binos.* The diction (*mage; officiperdus* 4, 42) and metre are still quite tolerable. All the evidence goes to show that the collection dates from a good period, perhaps s. III–IV A.D. It was already known to Vindicianus (close of s. IV, see § 432, 12).

2. The collection is preceded by one of 56 quite short proverbs in prose with a separate preface (*Cum animadverterem quam plurimos graviter in via morum errare, succurrendum opinioni eorum . . . fore existimavi, maxime ut gloriose viverent . . . nunc te, fili carissime, docebo* etc.), by a different author, and belonging probably to a later time, perhaps even a different period. For whereas nos. 1–40 are written from the point of view of antiquity (e.g. 5 *foro pare;* 23 *pugna pro patria*), the later ones (which have a somewhat richer vocabulary) bear strong marks of their Christian origin (53 *minime iudica;* 54 *alienum noli concupiscere*). In the earlier ones (chiefly consisting of two words) the author's interest in school education is also clearly manifested (no. 11. 26. 27. 38); cf. 36 sqq. *trochelude. aleam fuge. litteras disce.* The structure varies a good deal in the several manuscripts.

3. A list of the numerous and ancient MSS. (beginning with s. IX) in HAU-

THAL p. IV and BÄHRENS p. 206. Addenda and criticism in RPEIPER, Zfdeutsche Phil. 5, 165. 169. KSCHENKL, ZföG. 24, 485; Wien. Studd. 5, 166. MBONNET, rev. de phil. 7, 23. LFONTAINE, rev. de phil. 4, 177. CCIPOLLA, riv. di fil. 8, 517. HJMÜLLER, symb. ad emend. script. lat. I (Berl. 1876), 15–23.—A later (large) edition by OARNTZEN (Utr. 1735 and 1754. In this are also given the treatises by BOXHORN and CANNEGIETER de Catone). Catonis philosophi liber . . . ad fid. vetust. libr. MSS. rec. FHAUTHAL, Berl. 1869. Now in BÄHRENS' PLM. 3, 205.—Mediaeval translations and editions: FZARNCKE, der deutsche Cato; Gesch. der deutschen Übersetzungen der im MAlter unter dem Namen Cato bekannten Distichen, Lpz. 1852; and: Eine vierte Umarbeitung der sog. dist. Cat. (in leonin. Hexam.), Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. W. 1870, 181. IFEIFALIK, der altböhmische Cato, SBer. der Wiener Akad. 36, 211. ATOBLER, d. altvenezian. Übersetz. der Sprüche des Dion. Cato, Abh. d. Berl. Akad. 1883. MOGOLDBERG, d. caton. Dist. in d. engl. u. franz. Lit., I der engl. Cato, Lpz. 1883. JNEHAB, d. altengl. Cato, Gött. 1879; ABEETS, de dist. Cat. in het middel nederlandsch, Groningen 1885.

4. Other versions of the same or similar in contents have been handed down to us. Single maxims, each consisting of one hexameter, entitled *sententiae generales in singulis versibus*, or *monosticha de moribus incerti*, and *proverbia Catonis philosophi*, mostly of value both as regards their contents and form (from MSS. s. IX–XI.) are given in AL. 716. PLM. 3, 236. Three maxims in couplets, differing also in their tone, have been added to the 68 one-line maxims. Eleven hexameters with the heading *Catonis (philosophi) de musis* are given in PLM. 3, 243. On the utilisation of the Catonian proverbs in Columbani carmen monostichon see BÄHRENS' PLM. 3, 213. 240.

5. The Pervigilium Veneris. It is extant in the Parisini 10318 (Salmasianus) and 8071 (Thuaneus, see § 476) and in the former bears the heading: *per uirgilium Veneris trocaico metro. sunt uero uersus* (i.e. poems in the section in question of the collection, ARIESE, Anthol. lat. 1, XXI) *XXII*. It consists of 93 lines, divided by the refrain *cras amet qui numquam amavit quique amavit cras amet* into stanzas of unequal length (none less than 4 lines). The religious point of view is catholic and at the same time attests the influence of philosophy. Venus is represented as Genetrix, whose worship had been revived by Hadrian, and her festival takes the form of a spring festival and feast of flowers. The scene is laid in Sicily (v. 49 sqq.). The diction is rhetorical, sometimes bombastic, but warm and animated. The author exhibits Greek culture, but also echoes Vergil (Aen. 11, 458) in one passage (v. 85). The close is melancholy in tone: *illa* (the nightingale) *cantat, nos tacemus, quando ver venit meum? quando fiam uti chelidon et tacere desinam?* which, according to the spirit of the poem, implies a longing for the restoration of youth by love. The frequent and sometimes loose use of *de* (v. 4. 6. 12. 24. 34. 38. 45 sq. 61. 88 Büch.) need not be taken as a sign of African latinity. It occurs in a similar manner elsewhere, e.g. in Reposianus (v. 30). GPIAZZA, studio crit. int. al. pervig. Ven., Trani 1889.

6. From the nature of the case it is impossible to discover the author of the Pervig. The poem bears much resemblance to some lines of Annius Florus (§ 248, 8), who used the same metre, and the refrain recalls the manner of Nemesianus. Itaque acquiescendum in hoc erit ut medio inter Florum et Nemesianum tempore, h. e. secundo vel tertio p. Ch. n. saeculo, conditum Pervigilium esse statuamus: thus BÜCHELER l.l. p. 51. The mainly joyous tone and comparatively pure taste of the poem might incline us to allow it a date nearer to the period of the Antonines, if such characteristics were not so often deceptive.

LMüller assigns it rather to the third or fourth century. So too EBährens (unedierte lat. Gedichte, Lpz. 1877), who without any sufficient reason attributes the poem to Tiberianus (§ 401, 9). In JJ. 105, 494 March a. 476 is actually given as its date, while v. 73 sq. is made to refer to the mother of Romulus Augustulus.

7. Ed. princ. by Pithoeus, Par. 1577 (on this see HOmont, rev. de philol. 9, 124). Then e.g. by Wernsdorf (PLM. 3, 425. 463), ECFSchulze (Gött. 1812), JCOrelli (in his Phaedrus), in the treatises by Heidtmann, Göbel, OMüller (see below) and elsewhere, e.g. (by FLindemann) Lps. 1852. Adnotabat et emendabat FBücheler, Lps. 1859. In ARiese's AL. 1, 200, in EBährens, unedierte lat. Ged. (Lpz. 1877), 39. PLM. 4, 292.—On the poem see HPoldamus (Greifsw. 1830), GHHeidtmann (Greifsw. 1842), ThBergk (Halle 1859), OJacobi (Lund 1867). OMüller, de Annio Floro (Berl. 1885) p. 18.—ECGöbel, de ephymniis (Gött. 1858) p. 56. Textual criticism: JJScaliger and AStatius, rev. de phil. 9, 124. JFrei, RhM. 10, 195. FBücheler, ib. 15, 446. LMüller, JJ. 83, 639. JMähly, Phil. 23, 356. KSchenkl, ZföG. 18, 233. EBährens, JJ. 105, 55. 107, 66. JWMackail, Journ. of phil. 17, 179.

8. *Vespae iudicium coci et pistoris iudice Vulcano* (99 hex.) in the cod. Salmas. and Thuaneus (n. 5 init.); AL. 199. PLM. 4, 326. The subject is a competition between a cook and a baker. Vulcan the umpire decides that both are deserving and should therefore cease from quarrelling. The whole is a *jeu d'esprit*, it adopts in common with the idyl the form of a competition and is at the same time connected with the rhetorical ἔπαινοι and ψόγοι. Cf. Meleager of Gadara's λεκίθου καὶ φακῆς σύγκρισις (Athen. 4, 157 B). Cf. § 151, 2 ad fin. 274, 1. 306, 8. The crustula on the first of Jan. (v. 46 cf. 16) points to Rome as the scene. The metrical structure is elegant, the tone and the execution have a certain charm. The second or third cent. is indicated by what the author says of himself: *ille ego Vespa precor cui divae saepe dedistis per multas urbes populo spectante favorem* (v. 3 sq.). He is therefore an itinerant scholar (rhetorician), who gives exhibitions of his art here and there throughout the Roman Empire like Apuleius and many others in the period of the Sophistic revival. We may recognise the rhetorician by the subject of his poem and the scholastic character of his jokes; cf. 44 *Satyros—saturos*, *Panes—panes*; 82 *gallos—Gallos* and also the play on the double meaning of *ius* v. 29. 60. 6? His erudition appears in the spondaic accentuation of quasi (v. 82 sq.). The author is also well versed in Greek literature (especially mythology) and expresses his Pagan sentiments with an enjoyment which is evidently not disturbed by Christian scruples. The fact that at v. 6 he quotes in recommendation of his poem: *aliquid quoque iuris habebit*, would suggest a time when jurisprudence was still flourishing. Cf. Teuffel, Studien u. Charakt. (1 ed.) 458. Haupt. op. 3, 20.

9. Reposianus de concubitu Martis et Veneris (182 hex.) e.g. in Wernsdorf PLM. 4, 319. AL. 253. PLM. 4, 348. Along with a half-sentimental description of the beauties of nature (a forest, v. 33) the author shows a wanton imagination and somewhat light principles (140. 178). The caesura and synaloephae are correct, but at 93 we find *tuo* as a monosyllable, and at 126 *gratiosa* as *gratjosa*. Wernsdorf l.l. 4, 52. Burckhardt, Constantin ²148. ERohde, gr. Rom. 108, n. 1. —Critical works: EBährens, RhM. 31, 605, who takes Reposianus to be a contemporary of Dracontius (§ 475); cf. also the same author in unedierte lat. Ged. (Lpz. 1877) 10.—By a certain Modestinus we have a graceful epigram (11 hex.) on Amor asleep, AL. 273 (cf. p. x). PLM. 4, 360.

10. T. Caesius Taurinus dedicates the portrait of his father T. Caesius

Primus, who was a fruiterer, to *Fortuna quae tarpeio coleris vicina Tonanti* with an inscription in 23 hex., now at Palestrina (CIL. 14, 2852, BURMANN's Anth. lat. 1, 80, WERNSDORF, PLM. 4, 309), which has incorrectly been assigned to this period; it dates rather from A.D. 136.

11. The cod. Salmasianus (§ 476, 1) contains six poems in elegiac metre by Pentadius (cf. § 397, 5), AL. 234. 235. 265. 266–268. PLM. 4, 343–345. 358–359. Of these the three longer ones (de fortuna, de adventu veris, and to Narcissus) are echoici; see § 26, 4; the rest are epigrams.

12. By an unknown author, and of the nature of a rhetorical exercise is the letter addressed to Aeneas by Dido before killing herself, in 150 hexameters (of which 5 form an introduction, which ends thus: *cui grata voluptas esse potest modicum dignetur amare poetam*), in WERNSDORF PLM. 4, 439 (cf. p. 55 sq.). AL. 83. PLM. 4, 271. The subject is taken from Vergil, but the execution resembles that of Ovid. Rhetorical figures, general reflections and so forth are often introduced, and the artifice of a phrase employed as a sort of refrain occurs twice (42 sqq., 100 sqq.), while alliteration is frequent. The external form is correct (132 *quōd* before *h*). The author indicates his creed 121: *esse deos natura docet, non esse timendos rerum facta probant.* Probably not earlier than the fourth century (cf. also the asyndeton 124 *Improbe dure nocens crudelis perfide fallax Officiis ingrate meis*).

13. The wordy oration of Achilles *in parthenone cum tubam Diomedis audisset* (89 hex.) with reminiscences of Stat. Achilleis, is likewise a rhetorical production (suasoria), not without linguistic shortcomings (38 the indicative in an indirect question, 55 *sed Danais comes esse placet*, for so the author wrote, 57 *Atridi*; cf. DRACONT. 8, 537. 449. 548) and prosodiacal and metrical faults (v. 12. 47. 66. 70. 71. 72. 80). This poem also is not earlier than the fourth cent. WERNSDORF PLM. 4, 425 (cf. p. 54 sq.). AL. 198. PLM. 4, 322.

## 399. Lastly, towards the end of the third or in the first third of the fourth century Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius wrote his Latin version of the Greek novel of Aisopos, otherwise Pseudo-Kallisthenes on Alexander the Great.

1. The title: *Iuli Valeri Alexandri v. c. Polemi res gestae Alexandri Magni translatae ex Aesopo Graeco.* The translator or rather the editor of the work, which is divided into 3 books (ortus, actus, obitus Alexandri), is perhaps identical with Polemius consul in a. 338. IGRION, i nobili fatti di Alessandro Magno, Bologna 1872, p. XXVI. Kluge (§ 412, 4) and Grion have with some probability attributed to the same author the so-called Itinerarium Alexandri (below § 412), which in the single extant MS. (Ambros. P 49 sup. s. IX/X, see n. 3) immediately follows the story of Alexander, and there bears the title *incipit itinerarium eiusdem.* There is no doubt that this Latin book on Alexander was utilised already for the Itinerarium (composed a. 341–345). CKLUGE, de itiner. Alex. 34. IZACHER, Pseudocallisthenes 48. On the other hand the designation of Alexander as *victoriosissimus* and of Darius as *dominus et deus* (2, 33) seem to point to a date of composition not before a. 270 (LANDGRAF, ZföG. 33, 429. SCHÖNER, d. Titulaturen d. röm. Kaiser, acta Erlang. 2, 449), as does the allusion to the enlargement of Rome under Aurelian (1, 26. KBAYSEN, Phil. 42, 410), whereas the fact that Constantinople is not included in the enumeration of the largest towns (1, 26) would lead to the conclusion that the work was written before the Imperial capital was transferred to Constantinople (a. 330). The book on

Alexander is quoted in [Sergius] explan. in Don. GL. 4, 557, 25 *in historia Alexandri Magni legitur 'iubet omne facessere famulitium ut arcanum sermonem tuto committeret,'* which quotation applies to 1, 3, 18–20.

2. The diction is full of provincial and popular idioms and oddities, and may perhaps point to the non-Italian extraction of the translator (e.g. *ac si=quasi; anguina=angues; antistare=antistitem esse; continentia*=contents [of a letter]; cf. § 480, 5); *industriari, iubere* with dat.; *nuptiae=nuptiarum; penita* n. pl.; *prae* with accus.; *sedere*=to please, frequently *thoracam* acc. and other peculiarities). Cf. CKluge l.l. 46. 51. GLandgraf, phil. Rundsch. 1881, 126; ZföG. 33, 429 and Kübler's Index verbb. et locut.—Verses are introduced here and there after the example of the original (§ 28, 3).

3. Manuscripts: Taurinensis (palimps.) s. VII, preserved only in a very incomplete form (specimen of the writing Zangemeister-Wattenbach, exempla codd. lat. t. 25). Ambros. P 49 sup. s. IX/X. Paris. 4880 s. XIII. On these MSS. see JZacher, Pseudocallisthenes l.l. Kübler pref. to his ed.; Herm. 22, 627; riv. di. filol. 16, 361.—Of importance also are the epitomes of the work, the most extensive being in Oxon. coll. corp. Chr. s. XII (see on this DVolkmann l.l.) and the one published by JZacher (Iul. Valerii epitome, Halle 1867).—Editions: ed. princ. by AMai (in his ed. of the itiner. Alex.), Milan 1817; then in his Classici auctores 7 (Rome 1835), 59. 102; again (together with the ed. princ. of the Greek text by CMüller) in FDübner's Arrian, Paris (Didot) 1846. Recently in particular rec. BKübler, Lps. 1888.—On the Alexander legends and books generally see JZacher, Pseudocallisthenes, Halle 1867. PMeyer, Alexandre le Grand dans la litt. franç. du moyenâge, Par. 1886 II.—Criticism etc.: WWackernagel and JMähly, Zfdeutsche Philol. 1, 119. 3, 416. HMeusel, JJ. 99, 282. EBährens, ib. 105, 636. AEberhard, in the Festschr. for WCrecelius, Elberf. 1882, 22. GLandgraf, ZföG. 33, 429; introd. to his ed. of the vita Alex. M. by the Archipresb. Leo, Erl. 1885. HRönsch, ZföG. 33, 898. MManitius, ib. 36, 739. CBoysen, WschrfklPh. 1884, 333; Phil. 41 and 42. DVolkmann, in Iul. Val. coniectanea, Pforte 1884.

4. Likewise translated from the Greek are 'Alexandri Magni regis Macedonum et Dindimi regis Bragmanorum de philosophia per litteras facta collatio,' and 'Epistola Alexandri Macedonis ad Aristotelem magistrum suum de itinere suo et de situ Indiae,' both extant in old MSS. s. IX sqq., last printed in BKübler's Iul. Val. p. 169. Cf. the same in Vollmöller's romanische Studd. 1888, 203. RSabbadini, riv. di fil. 15, 534. The epistola p. 205, 6 Kübl. is quoted in the treatise de dubiis gener. GL. 5, 586, 22 *ut Alexander 'palus erat sicca.'*

## D. THE FOURTH CENTURY AFTER CHRIST.

400. The character of the fourth Century was decided by two circumstances, the official victory of Christianity and the transfer of the Imperial capital to Constantinople. Even under Diocletian Rome had ceased to be the residence of the Emperor; when Constantine created a new abode adapted to the new order, Rome was left to itself and thus retained its Pagan and antique character somewhat longer. The victory of the Christian religion involved the rupture with the ancient world, but at the same time contributed to save its culture, as the victorious barbarians

would have mercilessly destroyed the civilisation of the West, if they had not been restrained by Christianity. When polytheism ceased to be the religion of the State, Christianity did not at once step into its place; for though the adherents of the Christian religion were favoured and polytheism was kept down and prohibited, first in its excrescences and then gradually in its external manifestations, yet in all essentials equality and toleration reigned till towards the end of the fourth century. The stauncher adherents of the old religion, reduced to a minority, clung all the more passionately to its forms, though quite in vain, as polytheism had long since been decaying, the external circumstances merely accelerating its end.

Christianity, however, was likewise imperilled by its own victory. Deviations and extremes within its own pale, which had remained unnoticed during the time of common persecution, now became the cause of deep-seated discord and internecine quarrels. A simple confession of faith no longer sufficed: a prescribed dogmatic form of belief was required, and even then faith began to harden into orthodoxy and canonical conformity. The naive and friendly attitude towards the ancient culture, which we find in Minucius Felix and even in Lactantius, give way to conscious estrangement, and a *modus vivendi* was not arrived at until Paganism was completely extirpated. In Latin literature the Christian religion had now reached the epoch of its greatest brilliancy; Ambrosius, Hieronymus and in part also Augustine belong to this century; yet in this department also we find the same intellectual dependence and the same leaning of the Latin on the Greek writers, which had been the weak point in Roman literature from its very commencement. But Paganism also had a Symmachus to set off against those great luminaries. On the whole this period lacked not life, but originality. In its senile decrepitude it lived on the reminiscences of the past. Rhetoric still maintained its ascendency and counted many names, but few of any brilliancy. Its influence now extended to jurisprudence, which consequently lost its former fixity and firmness of terminology. In grammar, the old tracks were followed and earlier writers copied (Charisius, Diomedes). Historical composition produced only copyists and epitomisers like Aurelius Victor, Eutropius and Festus; a higher flight was attempted only by the worthy Marcellinus. Poetry was treated as an adjunct to prose style and was therefore strongly imbued with a scholastic

flavour and indulged in all kinds of artificial inventions, such as centos etc. The numerous Christian poets, the most eminent of whom was Prudentius, failed in the effort to combine the ancient form with the new subjects, especially as the uncertainty of the technical forms was constantly increasing; they, however, frequently evince in their simplicity and earnestness a great superiority over the hollow verbosity of the Pagan authors of this period. It is indeed chiefly owing to them that popular verse-construction founded on verbal accent and rhyme gradually began to be recognised also in literature.

1. Principal work: JBurckhardt, die Zeit Constantins des Grossen (Basle 1853. Lpz.[2] 1880), esp. [2]135. 183. 273. 437. Cf. also Mommsen, Lpz. Ber. 1850, 69. 212.

2. The general unsettlement and the increasing influx of the barbarian hordes caused, even among the adherents of the victorious religion, the feeling that the days of the Empire were numbered. Hieronym. ep. 60 (ad Heliod.), 16 *horret animus temporum nostrorum ruinas persequi. . . . romanus orbis ruit, et tamen cervix nostra erecta non flectitur.* On the relation between classical culture and the Christian religion cf. ib. 22 (ad Eustoch.), 29 *quid facit cum psalterio Horatius? cum evangeliis Maro? cum apostolo Cicero? cum ante annos plurimos . . . Ierosolymam pergerem bibliotheca, quam mihi Romae summo studio ac labore confeceram, carere omnino non poteram. itaque . . . lecturus Tullium ieiunabam. post noctium crebras vigilias . . . Plautus sumebatur in manus. si quando . . . prophetas legere coepissem, sermo horrebat incultus.* Then he says that he had a vision, as if he were dragged into Court, chastised and heard a voice: *Ciceronianus es, non Christianus.*

3. The actual toleration is characterised by such combinations as in Firmic. math. 8, 24: *sacerdotes, prophetas, aruspices, religiosos.* It is a rhetorical exaggeration when Mamertinus (grat. act. 23) says that under the Christian Emperors nobody dared to look up to heaven for fear of being suspected of worshipping the Sun (28; cf. panegyr. 6, 12. Firm. math. 1, p. 14. 5, p. 115. Anth. gr. [ed. 1794] 3, p. 148 f. AL. 388). On the other hand Julian's reign was for the Christians rather a temptation than a persecution. Cf. Hieron. ad a. 2378 = 361: *Iuliano ad idolorum cultum converso blanda persecutio fuit, inliciens magis quam impellens ad sacrificandum. in qua multi ex nostris voluntate propria corruerunt.* To his period perhaps belongs the hymn to Luna, § 21, 3. A. 382 Gratianus' (a. 375–383) attack on polytheism took place; after 394 (Theodosius) it was openly persecuted.—Symmachus declares epist. 3, 11 *trahit nos usus temporis in argutias plausibilis sermonis . . . spectator veteris monetae solus supersum, ceteros delenimenta aurium capiunt. . . . te autem non paeniteat scriptorum meorum ferre novitatem.*

4. In the fourth century theorists in metrology were already giving minute attention to the difference between quantitative verse (*metra*) and accented (*rhythmi*). Mar. Victor. GL. 6, 206 *rhythmus quid est? verborum modulata compositio non metrica ratione, sed numerosa scansione ad iudicium aurium examinata, ut puta veluti sunt cantica poetarum vulgarium . . . metrum est ratio cum modulatione, rhythmus sine ratione metrica modulatio.* JHuemer, Unterss. üb. d. ältesten lat.-christl. Rhythmen, Vienna 1879. Cf. besides § 62, 2.

5. The earliest extant manuscripts of Latin authors do not (with quite unimportant exceptions, e.g. § 252, 9) reach back beyond the fourth (or third?) cen-

tury. The date of the earliest MSS. is however uncertain. Lists of the MSS. from s. I–VII in a chronological order in EHübner, Grundr. z. Gesch. u. Encykl. d. klass. Phil., Berl. 1876, 29. PhBersu, d. Gutturalen, Berl. 1885, 13.

6. The Latin Church drew her weapons by preference from the inexhaustible armoury of the Greek Church, and the early Latin translations of Greek Christian works had a great influence on the spread of Christianity, and some are of especial value, particularly for the study of popular Latin. Unfortunately the date and authorship of the translations can only in a few instances be fixed with certainty. Besides those cited above § 373, 10 there are extant in similar early translations e.g. the epistles of Clement and Ignatius (FXFunk, Tüb. Quartalschr. 63, 137; d. Echtheit der Ignat. Briefe, Tüb. 1883, 139. PdeLagarde, d. lat. Überss. d. Ign., Abhh. d. Gött. Ges. d. W. b. 19 [1882], the κλείς (clavis) of Melito of Sardes, † about a. 175 (Pitra, spicil. Solesm. 2, xiii. 1 and anall. sacra 2 [1884]), the commentary on Isaiah by Basileios of Cæsarea, † a. 379 (Bibl. Casinensis 4 [1880], 392), the treatise περὶ κατανύξεως of Io. Chrysostomos, † a. 406 (Monum. tachygr. ed. WSchmitz, fasc. 2; cf. § 191, 5 l. 14 and § 443, 4), the ἱστορία ἡ πρὸς Λαῦσον (historia Lausiaca) of Palladius († c. a. 425) and the many other Greek biographies, opinions (vitae, sententiae patrum) and homilies of Greek divines, the celestial ladder κλίμαξ παραδείσου, scala paradisi) of Ioannes Scholasticus († c. a. 600) and other works. Cf. also § 433, 5. 435. 480, 11. 483, 11. 494, 2 and elsewhere.

## 1. First Half of the Fourth Century.

401. Constantine (sole ruler from a. 323–337) appreciated literature and himself wrote Memoirs, of which, however, only scanty traces survive. He considered literature merely as serving the purposes of his rule, whence he approved of the public panegyric speeches addressed to him. Five such have come down to us, three of which are by the rhetorician Eumenius, and one by Nazarius. With regard to the other rhetoricians we know of two also as writers on rhetoric, Marcomannus and Titianus, both being the sources of C. Julius Victor.

1. Lydus de magistr. 2, 30 ταῖς διαλέξεσι Κωνσταντίνου, ἃς αὐτὸς οἰκείᾳ φωνῇ γράψας ἀπολέλοιπεν. 3, 33 Κωνσταντῖνος . . . ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λέγει συγγράμμασιν . . . πολὺς ὢν ἐν τῇ παιδεύσει λόγων. Constantine used to preach sermons before his Court and other hearers. Euseb. vita Const. 4, 29–33. Burckhardt, Constantin[2] 277. Victor epit. 41, 14 *nutrire artes bonas, praecipue studio litterarum; legere ipse, scribere, meditari.* Eutrop. 10, 7 *civilibus artibus et studiis liberalibus deditus.* Optatianus to Const. p. 3, 6 Müll. *eius imperatoris qui inter belli pacisque virtutes . . . etiam Musis tibi familiaribus plaudis ut . . . huius etiam studii in te micet splendor egregius.* A specimen of Constantine's appreciation of art § 403, 1. The Edicts which bear his name are in the bombastic style which since Diocletian had become usual in such compositions, i.e. in agreement with the superhuman position of the speaker he affects the tone of heavenly revelations. MVoigt, drei epigraphische Constitutionen Constantins d. Gr., Lpz. 1860. Of his son Constantius Victor Caes. 42, 22 says *litterarum ad elegantiam prudens atque orandi genere leni iucundoque*, but after his death in the epit. 42, 18 *facundiae cupidus; quam cum assequi tarditate ingenii non posset aliis invidebat.*

2. Laws of Constantine of a. 321, 326, 333 (Cod. Theodos. 13, 3) confirm the

professors and physicians appointed by the State and their families in the exemption chiefly from the decurionship and military service. He himself writes to Optatianus p. 4, 6 Müll.: *saeculo meo scribentes dicentesque non aliter benignus auditus quam lenis aura prosequitur, denique etiam studiis meritum a me testimonium non negatur.* Cf. Victor l.l. (n. 1).

3. Biographers of Constantine: Eusebios in his *βίος Κωνσταντίνου*, an insincere and servile work (Burckhardt, Constantin[2] 307. 331. 334. 372); Praxagoras, Bemarchios, Eunapios, all of whom wrote in Greek.—A small book de Constantino magno eiusque matre Helena dates only from the later Mediaeval period (e codd. primus ed. EHeydenreich, Lps. 1879; other writings: JJ. 127, 503).

4. On Eumenius' festival speech on the marriage of Constantine with Maximian's daughter Fausta, and two other speeches by the same author delivered before Constantine, see § 391, 7 b. c. d.

5. Panegyric on Constantine (no. 9; § 391, 2 in fin.), delivered at Trèves at the beginning of a. 313, after Constantine's return from his Italian expedition, by a provincial speaker, who *semper res a numine tuo gestas praedicare solitus est* (1). The expedition is related with comparative simplicity, the facts themselves speaking loud enough. At a later time it would perhaps not have been observed (or put differently) that Constantine undertook it *contra haruspicum monita* (2). On the relation of this speech to the next (no. 10) see n. 6. Cicero is called *summus orator* (19), Vergil *magnus poeta* (12). There are allusions to Vergilian (*quantae molis sit* 24) and Horatian (? *distentus* 24; cf. Hor. s. 2, 5, 40) expressions. Bolder phrases are excused (*ut sic dixerim* 1).

6. Hieron. chron. ad a. Abr. 2340=322 A.D. *Nazarius rhetor insignis habetur.* Cf. ad a. 2352=335: *Nazarii rhetoris filia in eloquentia patri coaequatur.* Pontacus gives her name as Eunomia, probably in accordance with AL. 767 (from Paris. 8319 s. XI) '*Laus domnae Eunomiae sacrae virginis*,' and 768 '*item laus Eunomiae*.' In these poems she is praised as a Christian maiden and as *fecunda libris* (768, 2; cf. 767, 3 *alta sapis . . . . profunda rimaris*). Auson. prof. Burdig. 15, 9 (*gloria fandi*) *Nazario et claro quondam delata Paterae* (n. 7) *egregie multos excoluit iuvenes.* His name is prefixed to a panegyric on Constantine of a. 321 (no. 10; cf. § 391, 2). It is the fifteenth year of Constantine's reign (2) and *beatissimorum Caesarum quinquennia prima* (1. 2. 38). Caesar Crispus has already distinguished himself in war (36 sq.) and Constantinus Caesar can already write (37). The Emperor himself is absent (3), but is nevertheless constantly addressed. The capture of Rome (a. 312) *pridie* (*pridem*?) *prolixius mihi dicta sunt* (30). This is done in speech no. 9 (see n. 5) which precedes in the editions (not in the MSS., see § 391, 2), and has for this reason been ascribed to Nazarius. But the variations which these compositions present are against this identification. One and the same person is styled in 9 *Pompeianus*, in 10 *Ruricius.* In 9 historical allusions (especially from Roman history) are frequent, but rare in 10. The religious views in 9 are vaguely deistic (13. 26), but in 10 there is more Christian colouring (esp. 7, cf. also 14). Naz.'s fondness for forming substantives (*ratiocinator, auxiliator, discriminatrix, concitatrix, incitatrix, ornatrix, interpolatrix; molitio, depulsio, deiectio, adeptio, insultatio, exsultatio*, for comparatival expressions (*benignius quam securius* etc. 2. 1. 3. 25. 26. 27. 28, and elsewhere) and poetical phrases (*securus sui, aevi immaturus, immodicus animi; dies conditur; praecipitante die, relaxaverat acies; caeci eventus, cruda hieme* etc.) is not shared by 9; in 9 the post-position of *quippe* occurs only in one passage borrowed from paneg. 2, 5 (c. 9), but is frequent in 10 (1. 3. 8. 9. 32); while *sed enim* (*vero*) does not occur in 10, but does occur in 9 (8. 20); so also *et quidem, alioqui*, the inf. in a exclamation (2). 9 attests a great preference

for a dactylic close of sentences (e.g. c. 3), while 10 prefers bacchic, ionic and trochaic terminations (e.g. c. 12).

7. HIERON. ad a. 2352=335 A.D.: *Patera rhetor Romae gloriosissime docet.* Ep. 120 (ad Hedybiam), 1 (opp. 1, 818 Vall.) *maiores tui Patera atque Delphidius, quorum alter antequam ego nascerer rhetoricam Romae docuit, alter me iam adolescentulo omnes Gallias prosa versuque suo illustravit ingenio.* AUSON. prof. Burdig. 5 is dedicated to him with the title: *Attius Patera pater rhetor;* here we read e.g. *Patĕra, fandi nobilis* (2), *tamen quod aevo floruisti proximo iuvenisque te vidi senem* (4), *doctor potentum rhetorum* (6), *tu Baiocassis* (Bayeux) *stirpe Druidarum satus . . . Belĕni sacratum ducis e templo genus* (7, 9). *fratri patrique nomen a Phoebo datum* (*Phoebicius*, the father, also a grammarian, is mentioned ib. 11, 23 sqq.) *natoque de Delphis tuo* (13). The son, Attius Tiro Delphidius, is celebrated ib. 6, where we read e.g.: *facunde, docte, lingua et ingenio celer, iocis amoene Delphidi,* at an early age *poeta nobilis. puer celebrasti Iovem. mox inde . . . epos ligasti metricum.* He then became famous as an orator (cf. AMMIAN. 18, 1, 4 a. 359 *Numerium Narbonensis paulo ante rectorem accusatum ut furem . . . Delphidius orator acerrimus vehementer impugnans* etc.) and was carried by his ambition into a political career which, however, nearly ruined him. *mox inde rhetor, nec docendi pertinax, . . . medio . . . aevi raptus es.* His widow Euchrotia and daughter Procula attached themselves to Priscillianus: SULPIC. SEV. chron. 2, 48, 2. 2, 51, 3. JSCALIGER, lect. auson. 1, 10. Cf. § 418, 12.—To this time we may likewise assign, among Ausonius' professores Burdigalenses, Macrinus (11. 11), Thalassius (13), Staphylius (21), all three teachers of Ausonius, also Nepotianus (16), Sucuro, Concordius, Ammonius, Anastasius (or were the last two identical? 11), some of them quite minor luminaries.

8. HIERON. ad a. 2352=335 A.D. *Tiberianus, vir disertus, praefectus praetorio Gallias regit.* He is probably the same who was a. 326 comes per Africam, a. 332 comes Hispaniarum and a. 336 vicarius Hispaniarum (Cod. Theod. 3, 5, 6. 12, 5, 1. Cod. Iust. 6, 1, 6). Another is mentioned § 402, 2; cf. § 392, 7. The former is probably the poet whom we know from quotations and by a few poems. SERV. Aen. 6, 136 *Tiberianus 'aurum quo pretio reserantur limita Ditis':* this line occurs (as v. 3) in a poem (28 hex.) on the pernicious effect of gold, published by EBÄHRENS (unedierte lat. Gedichte, Lps. 1877) from Harleian. 3685 s. XV, therefore attributable to Tib. BÄHRENS l.l. published from the same MS. a beautiful description of nature (*Amnis ibat inter herbas valle fusus frigida* etc., 20 trochaic septenarii with the heading '*versus Tiberiani*'); similarly de avicula 12 hendecasyllabics: whether the latter really belong to Tib. remains uncertain. In addition (extant in Vatic. Regin. 215 s. VIII, Paris 2772 s. X/XI and elsewhere) '*versus Platonis a quodam Tiberiano de graeco in latinum translati*' (32 hex.), an invocation of the Supreme Being compounded from Platonic, Orphic and Pythagorean reminiscences, printed in HAUPT's ed. of Ovid's Halieut. p. 65 (cf. p. XXVI). AL. 490 (cf. ib. 2, x), LQUICHERAT, bibl. de l'école des chartes 4, 267. Cf. MZINK, Fulgentius 69. The metre and prosody of these poems are pure, the diction betrays the poet of a late period. The whole is given together in BÄHRENS' PLM. 3, 263. Tiberianus is also quoted in SERV. Aen. 6, 532: *Tiberianus etiam inducit epistolam vento allatam ab antipodibus quae habet 'superi inferis salutem'*, FULG. myth. 3, 7 (p. 120 Munck.) *T. in Prometheo ait*, ib. 1, 26 (p. 62) *Tiberianus 'Pegasus hinniens transvolat aethram'*, the same Vergil. cont. p. 154 M. *T. in libro de Socrate*, the same expos. serm. s. v. sudum (p. 567 Merc.) *Tiberianus 'Aureos subducit ignes sudus ora Lucifer.'* Tiberianus imitated by Ausonius, see SCHENKL's Auson. p. 303; by Prudentius, see KROSSBERG,

JJ. 127, 771. For an explanation of the poems cf. ROehler, de Tiberiani quae feruntur fragmentis, Halle 1879. See also § 398, 6 ad fin.

9. C. Julius Victor (§ 427, 7) mentions among the sources of his ars rhetorica together with Titianus and others a certain Marcomannus, the first German name which finds a place in Roman literature.

10. Hieron. chron. ad a. 2361=344 A.D. *Titianus, vir eloquens, praefecturam praet. apud Gallias administrat.* He is probably the cos. a. 337 Ti. Fabius Titianus; PRE. 6, 2007, 9. Cf. also n. 9 and above § 379, 8.

11. Exuperius of Burdigala, a rhetorician at Tolosa and at Narbo, the tutor of the princes Delmatius and Hannibalianus, who became Caesars a. 335 and obtained for him *honorem praesidis Hispanumque tribunal*, Auson. prof. Burdig. 18.

402. To the first third of this century belong the writings of the last two of the scriptores historiae augustae (§ 392), Aelius Lampridius and Flavius Vopiscus (of Syracuse). To the former are attributed the biographies of Commodus, Diadumenus, Elagabalus and Alexander Severus. On the other hand to Vopiscus are ascribed the biographies of Aurelianus, Tacitus and Florianus, that of Probus, the so-called 'quadriga tyrannorum' Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus, and the life of Carus and his sons.

1. Cf. generally § 392 and the notes.—To Constantine Lampridius dedicates his Elagabalus (2, 4. 34, 1 *Constantine sacratissime, venerabilis*) and his Alex. Sev. (65, 1). Lampridius is quoted already by Vopisc. Prob. 2, 7 (cf. n. 2). Elag. 35 *cuius vitam me invitum et retractantem ex Graecis Latinisque collectam scribere ac tibi offerre voluisti, cum iam aliorum ante tulerimus. scribere autem ordiar qui post sequentur. quorum Alexander optimus et cum cura dicendus est, . . . Aurelianus praecipuus et . . . auctor tui generis Claudius. de quo vereor ad clementiam tuam scribens vera dicere, ne malevolis adulator videar esse. . . . his iungendi sunt Diocletianus . . . et Maximianus . . . ceterique ad pietatem tuam. te vero, Auguste venerabilis, multis paginis isdemque disertioribus illi prosequentur quibus id felicior natura detulerit. his addendi sunt Licinius* [*Severus Alexander*] *atque Maxentius, quorum omnium ius in dicionem tuam venit* (a. 323), *sed ita ut nihil eorum virtuti derogetur. non enim ego id faciam quod plerique scriptores solent, ut de eis detraham qui victi sunt.* In other passages also Lampr. manifests his moral and patriotic sentiments; see Elag. 1, 1 sq. 34, 1 sq. Alex. 1. 2. These ulterior intentions were probably not completely carried out (Alex. 64, 2 *Aurelianum et deinceps. de quibus, si vita suppeditaverit, ea quae comperta fuerint publicabimus*); at all events the later vitae are not extant.

2. Vopiscus is called in the heading *Syracusius*. From this origin may be explained the notice in Vopisc. Aurel. 42, 2 *Aurelianus pro consule Ciliciae, senator optimus . . . qui nunc in Sicilia vitam agit.* Aurelian. 1 *hilaribus . . . impletis . . . vehiculo suo me . . . praef. urbis* (a. 303? Richter, RhM. 7, 18) . . . *Iunius Tiberianus accepit.* At his request Vopiscus wrote the life of Aurelianus; *parui Tiberiani praeceptis, accepi libros graecos* (and the libri lintei ex bibliotheca Ulpia, § 387, 5) . . . *ex quibus ea . . . in unum libellum contuli*, after Diocletian's abdication (cf. 44, 2), but probably not so early as the reign of Constantius Chlorus († 25th July 306), as Aur. 44, 5 *et est quidem iam Constantius imperator* would seem to show, but

probably considerably later; cf. Aur. 42, 12. 43, 2. Prob. 22, 3 with FRühl, RhM. 43, 597. Another view is held e.g. by HPeter, Phil. 43, 141. The date of the consulate of Flavius Placidus (Aur. 15, 4 *vidimus proxime consulatum Furii Placidi*) cannot be fixed with certainty. Friedländer, SG. 2⁶, 328 takes it to be that of a. 343. The diction is diffuse, and there is much material not put to any definite use. At a later time vita Taciti atque Floriani, then the vita Probi. Prob. 1, 5 *non patiar ego ille a quo dudum solus Aurelianus est expetitus, cuius vitam quantum potui persecutus, Tacito Florianoque iam scriptis non me ad Probi facta conscendere, si vita suppetet omnes qui supersunt usque ad Maximianum Diocletianumque dicturus. neque ego nunc facultatem eloquentiamque polliceor, sed res gestas;* cf. Tac. 16, 6. Prob. 2, 7 *mihi quidem id animi fuit ut non Sallustios . . . atque omnes disertissimos imitarer viros in vita principum et temporibus disserendis, sed Marium Maximum . . . ceterosque qui haec et talia non tam diserte quam vere memoriae tradiderunt.* Date of composition of the Probus: Vopiscus Prob. l.l. mentions Capitolinus and Lampridius as previous authors of the biographies of the Emperors and writes the Probus at a time when *populus militantium bellis civilibus rem publicam vexat* (23, 3; cf. 5 *qui ad civilia bella milites parant, in germanorum necem arment dexteras fratrum*), therefore perhaps before the outbreak of the last war between Constantine and Licinius, a. 322 or 323? Rühl l.l. 604. Others conjecture the time of the civil wars of a. 307 or 312. For the life of Probus Vopiscus (Prob. 2, 2; cf. 3, 4, 5, 1) also uses *ad colligenda talis viri gesta* the *ephemeris* (private memoirs) *Turduli Gallicani, viri honestissimi et sincerissimi, . . . amici senis.* Prob. 24, 6 *haec sunt quae de Probo cognovimus. . . . nunc in alio libro . . . de Firmo et Saturnino et Bonoso et Proculo dicemus. . . . post inde . . . Carum incipiemus propagare cum liberis.* Bonos. 15, 10 *supersunt mihi Carus, Carinus et Numerianus. nam Diocletianus et qui sequuntur stilo maiore dicendi sunt.* Car. 18, 3 *post quos Diocletianum et Maximianum principes dii dederunt, iungentes talibus viris Galerium atque Constantium.* Their lives, he says, were already written by Claudius Eusthenius (§ 392, 8): *quod idcirco dixi ne quis a me rem tantam requireret.* The life of Probus is dedicated to a certain Celsinus, the quadriga tyr. to a certain Bassus (cf. § 403, 1). Firm. 2, 1 *scis, mi Basse, quanta nobis contentio proxime fuerit cum amatore historiarum M. Fonteio, . . . contra ego mecumque Rufus Celsus et Ceionius Iulianus et Fabius Sosianus contenderent* etc. Other contemporaries are the cos. Furius Placidus (see above l. 3) and Junius Messala (Carin. 20, 4). Vopiscus' grandfather (Sat. 9, 4. Bon. 15, 4. Num. 13, 3. 14, 1) and father (Aurel. 43, 2) held high positions. Vopiscus himself lived at Rome and was an adherent of the Pagan religion, whose superstitions he shared (Aurel. 21, 4; but *mendacia haruspicum*, Tac. 15, 4). He also believed in the miracles of Apollonius of Tyana and promises (Aurel. 24, 9): *si vita suppetit, . . . breviter saltem tanta viri facta in litteras mittam.* Vopiscus likes to display his knowledge at every opportunity. He availed himself of original documents. Whenever his sources differ, his principle is *in medio relinquere*, e.g. Aurel. 16, 2 sq. Prob. 3, 3. Car. 4, 1 sqq. See GSuster, riv. di filol. 17, 247 on a modern version (extant in the Durlac. 36, Ricc. 619, Ottob. 1303) of the speech of Nicomachus in Vopisc. Tac. 6, which differs from the best tradition. In general cf. FRichter, RhM. 7, 17. HPeter, hist. crit. 10. JBrunner in Büdinger's Unterss. 2, 1. OLinsenbarth, der Kaiserbiograph Flav. Vopisc., Kreuzn. 1876.

3. Capitol. Maximini 1, 2 *servavi hunc ordinem quem pietas tua* (Constantine) *etiam ab Tatio Cyrillo clariss. viro, qui graeca in latinum vertit, servari voluit.*—On the memoirs of Constantine and his historians see § 401, 1. 3; on the Imperial and local chronicles of a. 334 see § 413, 3.

403. Under Constantine poetical form was employed by Optatianus and Juvencus. Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius obtained by his artificial and nonsensical poem in praise of Constantine his recall from exile and the favour of the Emperor. The Spanish presbyter C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus composed a version of the New Testament history in epic metre and in the phraseology of the Roman epic poets, especially Vergil. He shows an appreciation of the simple grandeur of his model, poetical sensibility and fair technical skill.

1. *Publii Optatiani Porfyrii panegyricus dictus Constantino Augusto:* the MSS. give the title thus. The poet himself wrote not Porphyrius but Porfyrius: the name is likewise so given in poem 21, where the words *Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius haec lusi* are skilfully introduced. The poet is probably identical with Publilius Optatianus praef. urbi. in a. 329 and 333; cf. Tillemont, hist. des emp. IV, Constantin, art. 61, and notes sur Const. 52. While in exile Optatianus sent the paneg. to the Emperor: 2, 31 *respice me falso de crimine, maxime rector, exulis afflictum poena . . . sancte tui vatis Caesar miserere serenus* (cf. 1, 11). From the eulogistic allusions (5, 30. 9, 24. 10, 25) to the prince Crispus, the son of Constantine, whom his father caused to be executed a. 325, as well as from the reference to the following vicennalia (16, 35. 19, 33. 4, 1), which were celebrated by Constantine in the same year, it may be gathered that the paneg. had already appeared in a. 325. The poet had probably sent in his panegyric expressly for the jubilee of the Emperor's reign, as he could the more surely count upon his pardon at such a time, and the Emperor did, in fact, pardon him then or shortly afterwards. Hieronym. probably fixes the date of his recall too late ad a. Abr. 2345=328 a.d. *Porphyrius misso ad Constantinum insigni volumine exilio liberatur* (cf. Baeda GL. 7, 258, 22).—Poems 1–20 formed part of the paneg. addressed to the Emperor. To these are joined poems 21–27, a second series addressed to a certain Bassus (perhaps the one mentioned § 402, 2?) 21, 14 *sed rursum Bassus nunc prodere carmen imperat*, and in the very same poem is inserted the line (*Optatianus haec lusi*) *omne genus metri tibi pangens, optume Basse.* The collection is preceded by a testimonial from Constantine and Optatianus' acknowledgment of the Emperor's gracious acceptance of the poems addressed to him. Extract from Constantine's missive: *frater carissime . . . gratum mihi est studiorum tuorum facilitatem in illud exisse ut in pangendis versibus, dum antiqua servaret, etiam nova iura sibi conderet. vix hoc custoditum pluribus fuit ut nodis quibusdam artis innexi citra interventum vitii inculpatum carmen effunderent. tibi nominum difficultate opposita, numero litterarum, distinctionibus versuum—qui ita medium corpus propositi operis intermeant ut oculorum sensus interstincta colorum pigmenta delectent—hoc tenere propositum contigit ut* etc. . . . *gratum igitur hoc mihi dicationis tuae munus fuit. exercitatio mentis et naturae facilitas comprobata est.*—Was Optatianus a native of Africa? The name occurs there frequently (CIL. 8, 629. 631. 679. 2393. 4198). Further evidence may be found in the inclusion of the *versus anacyclici Porfirii* (AL. 81 PLM. 4, 268), which certainly belong to our poet (in Müller's ed. no. 28), in the collection of the cod. Salmasianus (476, 1). Two fragments in Fulgentius mythol. 2, 4 and Vergil. contin. p. 759 Stav. (*Porphyrius in epigrammate*).

2. In his 28 (the versus anacyclici of the cod. Salm. constitute no. 28, see n.

1 in fin.) poems Optatianus proves himself to be a master in the most difficult tricks of versification. A number of the poems (2. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 14. 18) take the form of a square, i.e. the individual poems consist of just as many hexameters as there are letters in each hexameter (viz. 35). Over and above this, the external letters of the four sides of the square, brought into prominence by being rubricated (17, 12, epist. Const. 11), or the similarly emphasised letters of the parallel or diagonal lines, or again those of smaller interlinear figures, such as e.g. a rhomboidal lattice-work (cancellati flexus 22. 21), are made to form special verses and maxims (some in Greek), chiefly in praise of the Emperor (cf. e.g. 5 AVG XX CAES X in a mosaic of letters). In several poems the so-called monogram Christi (8. 14. 19) is introduced. There are besides acrostics, mesostics and telestics, lines which read backwards as far as the words are concerned, yet retain the same meaning and metre (28). In the 15th poem v. 1 consists of words of only two syllables, while vv. 2. 3. 4 consist respectively of words of 3, 4 and 5 syllables; v. 5 is a so-called versus rhopalicus, i.e. each successive word has one syllable more than the preceding word. V. 7 contains in 8 words the eight parts of speech; vv. 14. 15 (hexameters) when read backwards form sotadean lines. The 4 hexameters of poem 25, the four verse-endings being retained, may be transformed into 72 hexameters, which yield a quasi-meaning, and so forth. In spite of all this Optatianus is strict in his verse-construction and prosody, though he is not altogether free from the influence of his time (especially in his somewhat lax treatment of hiatus, of position, and occasionally in scansions such as *sŭplex*, *nătio*, *rătus*). The author has added for each piece an instruction in prose (in verse only for 17) how to use it.—In gen. cf. JBurckhardt, Constantin ²276. LMüller de re metr. 466; pref. to his ed.; Nord u. Süd 4, 84.

3. Manuscripts: Bern. 212 s. IX/X, Eporadiensis 70 s. X, Phillippicus 1815 s. X, Vatic. Regin. 733 s. X. Cf. also LHavet, rev. d. phil. 1 (1877), 282; GGötz and GLöwe, Leipz. Stud. 1, 377.—Editions by PPithoeus (poemata vett. Par. 1590. Lugd. 1596), Velser (Augsb. 1595, and in Marci Velseri opp., Nürnb. 1682), Migne 19, 391. Recens. et praefatus est LMüller, Lps. 1877.—Specimens in Wernsdorf, PLM. 2, 365. Criticism and explanation: EBährens, JB. 1877 2, 60 (on c. 4), and especially WFröhner, Phil. Suppl. 5, 74.

4. Hieron. ad a. Abr. 2345=328 a.d. *Iuvencus presbyter* (in the best MSS. he is called C. Vettius Aquilinus Iuvencus, see below) *natione Hispanus evangelia heroicis versibus explicat* (cf. ep. 70, 5, in Matth. 1, 2, 11). De vir. ill. 84 *Iuvencus, nobilissimi generis Hispanus presbyter, quattuor evangelia hexametris versibus paene ad verbum transferens quattuor libros composuit et nonnulla eodem metro ad sacramentorum ordinem pertinentia. floruit sub Constantino principe.* Cf. Iuvenc. hist. ev. 4, 805 (*haec mihi pax Christi tribuit, pax haec mihi saecli, quam fovet indulgens terrae regnator apertae, Constantinus* etc.). According to this the translation was made about a. 330. In the best MSS. it bears the title: *Evangeliorum liber I–IIII* [*versibus*] *Gai Vettii Aquilini Iuvenci* [*presbyteri*]. It follows Matthew principally. The Gospels are used as a rule in the Itala version, but in a few cases the author goes back to the Greek original. Gebser l.l. 30. Ebert, Lit. d. MA. 1², 115.

5. In accordance with Vergil his model (besides Vergil, Lucretius, Horace, Ovid and Lucan are also utilised) Juvencus in his hist. evang. aimed at correctness of form, but he was not able to free himself entirely from the weaknesses of his time. Many irregularities, however, which were formerly attributed to him,

disappear, if we follow the best MSS. He has a remarkable taste for antiquarian (or popular?) forms: *plebes*, *itiner iteris*, *duum; quistis*, *fuat*, *vestibat*, *redimibit*, *hauritura*, *mergier* etc. In his prosody (apart from the free treatment of Biblical proper names peculiar to the Christian poets) he shows many deviations from rule (*inhabitare*, *prōpitius*, *prōfanare*, *prōfessi* and so forth; MAROLD, ed. p. 114), he strictly avoids hiatus and frequently employs alliteration. JTHATFIELD, a study of J., Bonn 1890. Criticism: JHUEMER, Wien. Stud. 2, 81. On the latinity of Juvencus MAROLD's index, also MPETSCHENIG, ArchfLexikogr. 6, 267.—On the metrical version of the Old Testament wrongly attributed to Juvencus see § 491, 3.

6. Manuscripts of the hist. evang.: Cantabrig. corp. Chr. 304 s. VII, Monac. 6402 s. VIII, Britann. 15 A XVI s. VIII, Turicensis c 68 s. IX, Vatic. Reg. 333 s. X, Vatic. Ottob. 35 s. X, Guelferb. s. XI and others (cf. MAROLD introd. to his ed.).—Editions e.g. by THPOELMANN, Bas. 1551. EREUSCH, Frankf. 1710. Special works: Ad vaticanos codd. rec. FAREVALUS, Rome 1792 and CMAROLD (ad. fid. codd. antiquiss.), Lps. 1886. MIGNE XIX. OKORN, die Handschriften der hist. evang. des Iuv. in Danzig, Rom und Wolfenbüttel, Danzig 1870. Critical contributions by JHUEMER, Wiener Stud. 2, 81.—ARGEBSER, de Iuv. vita et scriptis, Jena 1827.

7. Likewise under Constantine (v. 146 *victorem laetumque pares mihi Constantinum*, about a. 320?) was composed a Christian poem *laudes domini cum miraculo quod accidit in Aeduico* (cf. v. 9 *tardus Arar . . . Aedua pubes*), extant in the Paris. 7558 s. VIII, first printed by GMOREL, Par. 1560 (cf. § 464, 6 in fin.), then e.g. MIGNE 61, 1091, lastly WBRANDES, d. frühchristl. Ged. laudes domini, Brunswick 1887. This poem, which is clumsy and rather confused in diction and plan, though the form is scholastically correct, is probably the work of some novice in rhetoric belonging to the school of Augustodunum (cf. § 391, esp. n. 4). BRANDES l.l.—MMANITIUS, WschrfklPh. 1888, 16 (where see also regarding the utilisation of this poem by Juvencus). RPEIPER, ZföG. 41, 106.

404. Jurisprudence still manifested some life in the time of Constantine, but exclusively in the form of compiling and epitomising. We should here mention the last two jurists from whose works excerpts occur in the Digest, Aurelius Arcadius Charisius, known to us as the author of three treatises on public and civil law, and Hermogenianus (or Hermogenes?), the author of the codex Hermogenianus (§ 393, 3) and of an abridgment of the juridical code (epitomae iuris). The collection of legal documents generally entitled Fragmenta vaticana was perhaps also made during the life-time of Constantine. It was probably the work of a private individual, resembling in its contents the one subsequently carried out upon Justinian's order; it reproduces the sources employed with greater fidelity than Justinian's work, and was therefore perhaps even more extensive than the latter; but it was drawn up with less knowledge and accuracy and was also less practical. It included both Imperial constitutions and extracts from the works

of earlier jurists, especially Ulpian, Paulus and Papinian. Of the original composition only a small part has been preserved in a palimpsest in the Vatican Library, and even that is not quite complete.

1. Dig. 1, 11, 1 *Aurelius Arcadius Charisius, magister libellorum, libro singulari de officio praefecti praet.* (in which he was already acquainted with the edict of Constantine a. 331 concerning the powers of that office). This excerpt is given in Greek (Αὐρήλλιος ὁ νομικὸς) in Lyd. magistr. 1, 14; cf. OKarlowa, röm. RGesch. 1, 754. Dig. 50, 4, 18 *Arcadius Charisius libro singulari de muneribus civilibus.* Also four fragments of his *liber sing. de testibus*, Dig. 22, 5, 1. 21. 25 (*Aur. Arc. qui et Charisius*) 48, 18, 10. ChrRau, de Charisio icto, Lps. 1773.

2. The so-called fragmenta Vaticana were first edited by AMai from the cod. (palimps.) Vatic. 5766 (Bobiensis) s. IV/V (iur. civil. anteiust. rell. ineditae, Rome 1823 [=Paris 1823] and Berl. 1824). The MS., to which 6 leaves now at Turin formerly belonged, contains, besides the so-called frag. Vatic., in the first writing parts of the cod. Theod. (§ 461) and of the lex Burgundionum (§ 488, 3): the second writing gives Cassianus' collationes (§ 457, 2). The portion of the collection of juridical sources preserved by the fragm. Vatic. is certainly only a small part of the original whole. There are also in the margin of the Vaticanus short scholia by some very early writer. Later editions: AvBuchholtz, Königsb. 1828. ABethmann-Hollweg, Bonn 1833 (=Corp. iur. civ. anteiust. 1, 229). Special works: Codicis vaticani 5766, in quo insunt iuris anteiust. fragmenta q. d. vaticana, exemplum addita transcriptione notisque critt. edidit ThMommsen, Berl. 1860 (Trans. of the Berl. Acad. of a. 1859, p. 265): also a smaller ed. by Mommsen, Bonn 1861. In Huschke, iurisprud. anteiust.$^5$ 718.—Cf. besides BBorghesi, oeuvr. 3, 99. GBruns, quid conferant fragm. vat. ad melius cognoscendum ius, Tüb. 1842.

3. The work was not divided into books, but (like the cod. Hermog. and the Collatio) into titles (species), e.g. de empto et vendito, de usufructu, de excusatione etc. The sources are given at the beginning of each book (e.g. 2 *Papinianus libro III responsorum*) and are applicable until the next source is mentioned. The principal source is Ulpian, esp. ad Sabinum and de excusationibus=de officio praet. tutel. (§ 376, 2). The work of an anonymous writer de interdictis is more extensively quoted 90–93 (. . . *libro I de interdictis sub titulo in eum qui* etc.) than is usual and is therefore probably an addition by another author (Mommsen p. 396). Cf. Huschke l.l. These excerpts are given in their original form without alteration or revision, and this constitutes their chief value.

4. The Imperial edicts are, just as in the cod. Iust. and its sources (cf. § 393, 2), given together with title and subscription, without mention of the collections from which they are taken. Cod. Theodos. is not employed, but cod. Gregor. and Hermogenianus are used. Besides these there are edicts (esp. of a. 296 and 298) from the Western Empire, promulgated by Maximian, which are not given in the cod. Iust. Lastly there are decrees (in an unabridged version) of the time of Constantine, the titles moreover being on a different plan from those in the cod. Gregor. and Hermog. The latest Imperial decree mentioned (§ 37) is one of Valentinian (a. 369-372), but those immediately preceding belong to the reign of Constantine (a. 312-337). This Valentinian decree therefore also appears (see n. 3) to be a later addition, especially as it differs in its circumstantial and bom-

bastic diction from the rest of the collection, with the exception of the decrees of a. 316 (§ 249), 330 (§ 248), 337 (§ 35), which may also be later additions. Cf. n. 5. —The arrangement is wanting in method. Here too (cf. § 393, 2) the order of the Edict is followed on the whole, but with unaccountable deviations (Mommsen p. 401). Repetitions and contradictions occur frequently. The author must have had only a superficial knowledge of his subject (hence e.g. an incorrect explanation of some of the less frequent abbreviations) and must have done his work hastily (Mommsen l.l. 401). The collection was doubtless intended for judicial use, but there is no trace of its having an official character. It is never quoted. It has not been proved that it was the production of several authors (Huschke [5]712). It is not known whether the work was ever completed.

5. It was certainly composed before cod. Theod. (see n. 4; therefore before a. 438). The omission of the names of Maximianus Herculius and Galerius Maximianus, the addition of *divus* only in the case of Diocletian (and Constantius), but not (if indeed at 288 ȡ.=*dominus*) in that of preceding Emperors, and lastly the designation of Constantine as *d(ominus) Constantinus et Caess.* or as *Augg.(Aug.) et Caess.*, the name itself being omitted, have led Mommsen to the conclusion that the collection originated during the life-time of Constantine (cf. n. 4). The unequal treatment of Licinius (whose name is sometimes mentioned, sometimes suppressed) appears to Mommsen to prove that the work was composed before his downfall (a. 323), but revised (though only partially) after it. Cf. n. 4 ad fin. Against Mommsen's view see Huschke l.l. 713 (who assigns it to the time of Honorius or Theodosius I), and Karlowa RGesch. 1, 971. In support of its having originated in the West (Italy or Gaul) may be adduced the special attention given to enactments relating to the Western portion of the Empire (see n. 4), the locality where the manuscript was discovered (see n. 2), the absence of any acquaintance with Modestinus' Greek work de excusationibus, and probably also the fact that this collection was not used in Justinian's work. Mommsen l.l. 403.—Cf. PKrüger, Quellen u. Lit. d. röm. R. 298.

404[a]. Nonius Marcellus, the author of the extant lexical work (Compendiosa doctrina ad filium) appears to have lived at the beginning of the 4th century. He shows a preference for early Latin and founds himself on the essays and productions of the antiquarians of the preceding centuries. The work is intended to assist in explaining the authors both as regards their diction (cap. 1–12) and their subject-matter (cap. 13–20), and it is invaluable to us on account of its numerous quotations from early Roman literature, in spite of the author's total want of solid information, judgment and accuracy.

1. Nonius Marcellus is in the subscriptions styled *peripateticus tubursicensis*, which indicates him to have been a native either of Thubersicum Bure or of Thubursicum Numidarum, both in Africa (nothing is proved by p. 19, 26 '*vafrum*' *est callidum et quasi valde Afrum et urbanum*). In support of the latter place we have an inscription found there (CIL. 8, 4878), which states that a. 323 Nonius Marcellus Herculius rendered service (to his native town Thubursicum) by the buildings which he erected there. He may very well be identical with the grammarian, but it is also possible that the person named in the inscription was a

son (or the father) of the grammarian. MOMMSEN, Herm. 13, 559. The *grammaticus praetenuis meriti Marcellus* (*Marcelli filius*), to whom *amissam primum Narbo dedit patriam* (AUSON. prof. Burdig. 19), is another person. The latest authors whom N. mentions are (Septimius) Serenus (§ 353, 5) and Apuleius (s. v. *abstemius*), and Gellius likewise is transcribed by N. (n. 4). We hear of a critical edition of Nonius as early as a. 402 (n. 5). Nonius is partly quoted, partly transcribed without acknowledgment (MHERTZ, Phil. 11, 593, cf. on PRISC. GL. 3, 70), by PRISC. GL. 2, 35, 21 (*teste Nonio Marcello de doctorum indagine*=c. 12). 269, 24 (*quod ponit N. M. de doct. ind.*). 499, 20 (*Nonius Marcellus de mutatis coniugationibus*=c. 10). On his having been used by Fulgentius see MÜLLER'S Non. 2, 259.—The heading reads in the MSS. *de compendiosa doctrina per litteras ad filium*. The addition *per litteras* (alphabetical arrangement) applies only to three chapters (2–4). These however comprise three quarters of the extant work.

2. Contents and division (20 sections): c. 1 de proprietate sermonum. 2 de honestis et nove veterum dictis per litteras (HNETTLESHIP, Journ. of phil. 16, 70). 3 de indiscretis generibus per litteras. 4 de varia significatione sermonum per litteras. 5 de differentia similium significationum. 6 de inpropriis. 7 de contrariis generibus verborum. 8 de mutata declinatione. 9 de numeris et casibus. 10 de mutatis coniugationibus. 11 de indiscretis adverbiis. 12 de doctorum indagine. 13 de genere navigiorum (only 17 articles). 14 de genere vestimentorum. 15 de genere vasorum vel poculorum. 16 de genere calciamentorum (this chapter has been lost, but its title is preserved in the list of contents which is prefixed to the work in the MSS. See on the subject ISID. or. 19, 34. Cf. QUICHERAT pref. to his ed. p. XII. 638). 17 de coloribus vestimentorum (13 articles). 18 de genere ciborum vel potionum (16 articles). 19 de genere armorum. 20 de propinquitatum vocabulis (9 very brief articles, without illustrations; concluding *de quibus exempla multa sunt in antiquis auctoribus et maxime in Afranio et iuris vetustissimis scriptoribus*). The last eight chapters appear therefore to be arranged methodically, but are very far from complete.—N. quotes himself in one passage: p. 451, 11 *nos in epistulis quae inscribuntur a doctrinis* (?) *de peregrinando*.

3. The design of the work is so mechanical that in recent times it has proved possible to demonstrate the method followed by Nonius in its compilation, and to unravel the vast web into its component strands. This analysis was first suggested by FWSCHNEIDEWIN (Gött. gel. Anz. 1843, 697), and subsequently applied in reference to the utilisation of Gellius by MHERTZ, JJ. 85, 706. 779= opusc. Gell. 85; it was successively extended by ARIESE in the symbola phil. Bonn 483, ASCHOTTMÜLLER, ib. 809 (üb. d. Bestandteile des ersten Kap. des N. M.) and PSCHMIDT, de Nonii Marcelli auctoribus grammaticis (Lpz. 1868) together with a table of contents. On the quotations from Plautus in Nonius HCAESAR, Strassb. 1886, CREBLIN, Greifsw. 1886, MHENNIG, Königsb. 1884. On the quotations from Terence EBARTELS, see § 109, 2 in fin. It is thus established that Nonius followed in the main the same plan in almost all his chapters. Fixed series of quotations recur constantly and always in the same order; whence it follows that he entered them into his collections and his book in regular order from his sources. He generally begins with Plautus, including almost all the fabulae Varronianae, then come illustrations from Lucretius, Accius, Pomponius, Lucilius (b. 1–20), Pacuvius, Cic. de rep., Varro (22 saturae), Sallust, Afranius; Cic. de off., Hortens., de sen. und de rep.; Vergil, Terence, Cic. Verrinae, Lucilius (b. 20–26), a list of verba (esp. in the dramatists), adverbia, then the philosophical works of Cicero already mentioned; then illustrations from Plaut. Amphitruo, Asin. and Aulul.; then again from Varro (18 saturae); then the excerpts from Gellius; again from 5 saturae of

Varro; Cic. de fin.; Sisenna; Cic. or., de or., Acad. and Tusc.; lastly from Varro de vita pop. rom., de re rust., and from Cato. Deviations from this order are comparatively rare, and are no doubt merely accidental.

4. Nonius is very careful not to mention his real sources, and the name of Gellius, whom he so frequently copies, never occurs in his pages. He even quotes him as *vetus auctoritatis obscurae* 493, 5=Gell. 1, 17, 2 and as *alius auctoritatis incertae* 171, 20=Gell. 18, 13, 6, and only at 188, 4=Gell. 14, 1, 24 he paraphrases with *auctoritas prudentium* the name which he purposely conceals. It is certain that Nonius principally used late and secondary authorities, not the authors themselves from whom he so constantly quotes, but commentaries on them, compilations from their works, dictionaries and grammars. These, however, were excellent in themselves, and were based on earlier authorities, such as Verrius Flaccus. There are many points of correspondence between Nonius and Charisius, but merely because the chief sources of the latter belonged to the same line of scholastic tradition, or because Nonius' authorities also had recourse to Caper, Pliny or Probus. Nonius, however, used his sources in a very superficial manner. All the scholars who have specially studied him speak of him with the utmost contempt. He actually took *M. Tullius* and *Cicero* for two different authors (Schmidt p. 92).

5. Manuscripts: the most important are Harleianus 2719 s. IX (JHOnions, in the Anecdd. Oxon. 1, 2 [1882]; from this is copied Paris. 7667 s. X), Leidensis Voss. F. 73 s. IX, Bamberg. M. V. 18 s. IX/X, Guelferb. Gud. 96 s. X, Genev. 84 s. X, Bern. 83 s. X, Laur. 48, 1 s. XI/XII (JMStowasser, WschrfklPhil. 1888, 1540), Montepess. 212 s. X. Gerlach, Quicherat and Müller introdd. to their editions. LHavet in Meylan l.l. 169, and the same author in Mél. Graux 803. HMeylan, Non. Marc.; collation de plusieurs mss. de Paris, de Genève et de Berne, suivie d'une notice sur les principaux mss. de Non. par LHavet, Par. 1886. On an Oxford MS. Canon. 279 s. XI see Bährens, RhM. 30, 629.—In the cod. Montepess. (see above) there occurs below the work of Nonius the subscription: *Iulius Tryfonianus Sabinus protector domesticus legi meum dominis Arcadio et Honorio V coss.* (a. 402). *prout potui sine magistro emendans adnotavi anno aetatis XXX et militiae quarto in civitate Tolosa*, i.e. the Sabinus who was also known as the editor of Persius (§ 302, 5), see OJahn, Lpz. Ber. 1851, 332.—Editions e.g. by HIunius, Antv. 1565. Then in particular JMercier, Par. 1583 and esp. 1614 (reprinted Lpz. 1825). Also by FDGerlach and CLRoth, Bas. 1842. LQuicherat, Par. 1871. emend. et adnot. Luc. Müller, Lps. 1888 II.

6. RBentley, Emend. of Nonius, RhM. 33, 465. JVahlen, anall. Non. libri II, Lpz. 1859. LMüller, de re metr. 29; JJ. 95, 490. 97, 422; RhM. 24, 239. 27, 286 and elsewhere. Madvig, adv. 2, 651. LQuicherat, introduction à la lecture de N. M., Par. 1872. GLöwe in the commentatt. philol. (1874) 244. For further references see n. 3. HNettleship, Americ. journ. of phil. 3, 1. 170. JHOnions, Journ. of phil. 11, 79. 12, 77. 16, 161. 18, 89. JMStowasser, Noniana, Freistadt 1884.—HRönsch, Non. Marc. u. d. Itala, ZföG. 36, 87.

405. Grammatical studies were more and more narrowed and restricted to the use of the school and gave up all pretension to historical investigation and scholarship. The work of Cominianus seems to have been of this kind; it was one of the chief sources of Charisius and was mixed up with his work at a later time. Metrical art was at this period treated by Albinus

(in a poetical form), Asmonius, and Atilius Fortunatianus. The grammarian Euanthius wrote a commentary on Terence.

1. CHARIS. GL. 1, 147 *ablativus casus singularis, ut ait Cominianus grammaticus* etc. Ib. 1, 175 *de coniugationibus . . . Cominianus disertissimus grammaticus ita disseruit.* 180 *Com. grammaticus ita de participio breviter refert.* 181 *haec quidem (de adverbio) breviter Com. gr. disserit;* 224. 230. 238. 265. 266. In each instance an extensive section is derived from C. Other mentions of C. (e.g. SCHOL. BERN. on Verg. buc. 3, 21. georg. 1, 215. 3, 311) are derived from Charisius or relate to that writer himself. The author of the so-called excerpta Charisii has used Com., chiefly in the section de pronomine, but without mentioning his name. WCHRIST, Phil. 18, 139.—The so-called excerpta Cominiani (AMAI class. auct. 5, 150) are likewise in reality extracts from Charisius; HKEIL on GL. 1, XXII and on p. 180, 27. Hence the mention of Donatus which once occurs in them cannot be used to fix the period of Com.—Cf. HKEIL on GL. 1, XLVIII. FOSANN, Beitr. 2, 317. 324. 340 and in opposition to this KEIL l.l. p. LVI. WCHRIST, Phil. 18, 123. FBÖLTE, de artium scriptoribus, Bonn 1886, 52 and below § 419, 4.

2. CHARIS. GL. 1, 229, 19 after quoting an opinion of Romanus (§ 379, 1): *sed Marcius Salutaris vir perfectissimus . . . rectius sensit.* This title is a sufficient reason for assigning the grammarian M. S., who seems to have commented on Vergil, to the time of Constantine, the quotation itself being either derived from Cominianus or added by Charisius. A different view is taken by AKIESSLING, de person. Horatian. (Greifsw. 1860) 6.

3. Two mutilated hexameters of a certain *Albinus de metris* are quoted by VICTORIN. GL. 6, 211 sq. (cf. ib. 7, 339). It was perhaps a work in the manner of Terentianus (§ 373^a). He may be the same as the Albinus mentioned by RUFIN. GL. 6, 565, 4 and is probably identical with the author mentioned below § 407, 5. Cf. also § 383, 5.

4. PRISC. GL. 2, 516, 16 *Asmonius* (the name is of Semitic origin) *in arte quam ad Constantium* (probably II) *imperatorem scribit.* PRISC. GL. 3, 420 gives a passage of A. on the trimeter of the Latin comic writers. Ibid. l. 24 *idem* (Asmonius or Juba? see § 373^a, 5) in *octavo.* Both passages point to the same authority whom Aphthonius follows (Juba). Cf. HKEIL, quaest. gramm. (Lps. 1860) 16 and Ind. lect. halens. 1871, p. VI. RWESTPHAL, griech. Metrik 1^2, 128. JCÄSAR PRE. 1^2, 1240.

5. Under the title of *Ars Atilii Fortunatiani* we possess a manual on metres (*omnis summa metrorum*, p. 279, 5) dedicated to a young Roman of rank, who was then studying rhetoric and had asked for a work on the metra Horatiana. The author says of his work: *ut Sallustius ait, carptim quae memoria digna videbantur de multis auctoribus excerpta perscripsi.* In reality he followed Caesius Bassus (§ 304, 1) and therefore Juba (§ 373^a, 5), and perhaps a Greek text-book (OHENSE, de Iuba 152. 156). Towards the end (p. 294) the metra Horatiana are treated in detail. So long as the name At. Fort. was applied to the work of Caesius Bassus (§ 304, 1 middle) this Ars was entitled sometimes 'Atilius II,' sometimes 'Pseudo-Atilius.' Caesius Bassus and Atil. Fortun. are now extant only in IParrhasius' copy (now in Naples IV A 11) of a lost cod. Bobiensis. From it are derived the Vatic. 3402. 5216 and the ed. princ. Mil. 1504, prepared by PARRHASIUS. In KEIL's GL. 6, 278, and Atil. Fortun. lib. de metr. ad fid. cod. Neap. rec. HKEIL, Halle 1885. HKEILII et GIUERGENSII obss. in Caes. Bass. et Atil. Fort., Halle 1880, also KEIL on GL. 6, 245. 7, 669. Cf. JCÄSAR, PRE. 1^2, 2025. HWENTZEL, symb. critt. (Bresl. 1858) 11. WESTPHAL, griech. Metrik 1^2, 128. 153.

6. Hieron. ad a. 2375 (according to Bong. and Freh.; Schöne ad 2374)=358 A.D. *Euanthius eruditissimus grammaticorum Constantinopoli diem obit.* Cf. Rufin. GL. 6, 554, 4 *Euanthius in commentario Terentii de fabula . . . sic dicit: 'concinna* etc.' . . . . *et postea sic: 'veteres etsi* etc.' Both these passages are found in the first part (p. 3-8, 3 R.) of the treatise de comedia (p. 5 sq. R) introducing Donatus' scholia on Terence, which is thus proved to be by Euanthius. On the second portion, which belongs to Donatus, see § 409, 3. Cf. Euanthius et Donati commentum de comoedia, ex rec. AReifferscheidii, Bresl. ind. schol. hib. 1874. For other editions see § 109, 7. Cf. § 12, 1. Other productions of Euanthius are to be found in the so-called Donatus-commentary on Terence (§ 409, 3); Usener, RhM. 23, 493. Cf. Dziatzko ib. 25, 538. Rufin. GL. 6, 565, 5. Ritschl, Parerga p. 358. 360. ATeuber, de auctoritate commentorum in Terent. quae sub Aelii Donati nom. feruntur, Eberswalde 1881, 5. FLeo, RhM. 38, 327. EScheidemantel, quaestt. Euanthianae, Lps. 1883, 14. 47.

406. During the life of Constantine, Firmicus Maternus in Sicily commenced his (extant) eight books Matheseos, which were, however, not finished until a. 354. The work is a complete system of astrology, in the neo-Platonic spirit and hostile to Christianity. The author is an honest man, who devoutly believes in his subject, but his intellectual capacities are not very large and his diction is monotonous. About the same time (a. 347) the Christian writer who bears the same name addressed to Constantine's sons Constantius and Constans his work de errore profanarum religionum, in which he exhorts them to stamp out Paganism altogether.

1. In the subscriptio at the end of math. VIII the author is called *Iulius Firmicus Maternus Iunior Siculus v. c(larissmus)*. The allusion to *Iulius Firmicus* in Apoll. Sidon carm. 22, praef. rests only on an interpolation from the corrupt Vatic. 3421. The work is dedicated to the procos. Mavortius Lollianus, who was e.g. proconsul provinciae Africae (CIL. 10, 1695. 1696), a. 342 praef. urbi, 355 cos. ord. (Ammian. 15, 8, 17), 356 praef. praet. Italiae (Ammian. 16, 8, 5 *vir sublimis constantiae.* Cod. Theod. 6, 29, 1. 11, 30, 25. 11, 36, 11). BBorghesi, oeuvr. 4, 519. Firmicus was first a lawyer, but as *ex hoc studio nihil aliud per singulos dies nisi periculorum cumulus et grave onus invidiae conferebatur* he retired from the profession into private life. *in otio itaque constitutus . . . hos ad te, Lolliane, libellos scripsi, ut . . . ad purganda animi vitia quae ex pravorum hominum conversatione contraxeram caelestibus et divinis me disputationibus applicarem* (4, praef. p. 83 ed. a. 1551). According to the preface to b. 1, when his old friend Lollianus visited him in Sicily, he made him the promise (which he immediately regretted and did not for a long time put into execution) to set forth in a work *omnem disciplinam divinae matheseos.* At last after continued exhortations on the part of Lollianus the work which had been repeatedly interrupted was carried out. That the composition of the work extended over a considerable period is proved also, on the one hand, by the fact that Constantine († 337) is mentioned in it as still alive (praef. p. 2 and 1, 4 p. 14 *dominus et Augustus noster ac totius orbis imperator, pius felix ac providus princeps, Constantinus scilicet maximus, divi Constantii filius* etc. ib. p. 15 *Constantinum maximum principem et eius invictissimos liberos, dominos et*

*Caesares nostros*), while on the other hand in b. 8 (15 p. 221 *Lollianus qui . . . etiam ordinarii consulatus insignia consecutus est*) and in the dedication (p. 2 *proconsuli igitur tibi et ordinario consuli designato promissa reddimus . . . Lolliane doctissime*) there are references to a. 354. For a different view see KSittl, Arch flatLex, 4, 610. Cf. also 1, 2 p. 5 *cum sol medio diei tempore fulgida splendoris sui denegat lumina . . . Optatii et Paulini consulatu, ut de recentioribus loquar* (=an eclipse of the sun 17th July 334). Cf. Bursian ed. (n. 11) p. viii.

2. The author himself calls his work *Matheseos libri* in his praef. to b. 2 and 3. In his peroratio 8, 33: *accipe itaque, Mavorti, . . . septem hos libros, ad septem stellarum ordinem numerumque compositos. nam primus liber solum patrocinium defensionis succepit* (the defence of astrology against its assailants), *in ceteris vero libris Romanis hominibus novi operis tradidimus disciplinam.* The second book contains the general principles (*institutionis liber* 8, 5). 4, 19 p. 114 *quia iam expedita prima operis nostri parte ad secundam principalem accedimus, quae etiam in quatuor membra, velut prima, divisa est, . . . singulorum partes summatim enumerabimus.* Book 6 contains the genitura of Paris, Demosthenes and Hermodoros, Homer, Thersites and others; 7 the geniturae adoptivorum, paediconum, cinaedorum, causidicorum, damnatorum, and others. B. 8 treats of the sphaera barbarica. B. 1 gives instances from Roman history.

3. The sources quoted are as fantastic as the whole contents. Cf. 2, praef. *nos omnia quae de ista arte Aegyptii Babyloniique dixerunt docili sermonis institutione transtulimus.* 3, praef. *illi divini viri . . . Petosiris* (Πετόσιρις) *Necepsoque* (Νεχεψώς) *. . . nobis tradiderunt.* 4 praef. p. 84 *omnia quae Aesculapio Mercurius Enichnusque* (read *Anubisque*, cf. 3, 1) *tradiderunt, quae Petosiris explicavit et Necepso, quae Abraham, Orpheus et Critodemus ediderunt ceterique omnes huius artis antiscii perlecta pariter atque collecta . . . in his perscripsimus libris.* 4, 10 p. 98 *quae divinus ille Abraam et prudentissimus Achilles* (cf. HDiels, doxogr. gr. p. 18) *. . . nobis tradidere.* 4, 16 p. 107 *Necepso, Aegypti iustissimus imperator, optimus quoque astronomus.* p. 109 *magnus ille Petosiris hanc partem leviter attigit.* 8, 5 *neque enim . . Petosiris et Necepso, quorum alter imperii gubernacula tenuit, . . . id quod nos edituri sumus invenire potuerunt.* Firmicus omits the name of his predecessor Manilius, although he copies from him extensively, MBechert, Lpz. Stud. 1, 18. Specially noticeable is 3, 15 p. 81 *si fuerit haec domus Mercurius, dabit astronomiam; si Venus, cantilenas et laetitiam; . . . si Iuppiter, divinum cultum scientiamque in lege; si Saturnus, scientiam alchimiae.* This would probably be the earliest mention of alchymy, unless the passage be a later interpolation, which might be inferred from the Christian colouring of the phrase in lege. From this magic literature was also derived the application of astrological symbols to the human body (cf. n. 5), as we have it subsequently in the sect of the Priscillianists; Bernays, d. Chronik des Sulp. p. 14 with n. 24.

4. Firmicus endeavours to give to astrology a moral tendency and a sacerdotal character. Cf. 2, 33 p. 43 *nunc tu, quicunque hos libros legere conaris, . . . ad imaginem te divinitatis similitudinemque forma, ut sis semper praeconio veritatis ornatus. . . . esto pudicus et inter sobrios* etc. *cave ne quando de statu reip. vel de vita rom. imperatoris aliquid interroganti respondeas. . . . sed nec aliquis mathematicus verum aliquid de fato imperatoris definire potuit; solus enim imperator stellarum non subiacet casibus* (!) *. . . etiam ipse in eorum deorum numero constitutus est quem ad facienda et conservanda omnia divinitas statuit principalis. . . . tibi in omni conversatione placeat quieta moderatio. fuge seditiones. . . . nolo te vitia hominum in tractatu geniturarum manifestius explicare, . . . ne quod*

*homini malus stellarum decrevit cursus non dicere, sed exprobrare videaris. secerne te a spectaculorum semper illecebris; . . .* (p. 45) *antistites enim deorum separatos et alienos esse decet a pravis illecebris voluptatum.* Not until a reader has mastered this ethical view, was he to go on *et posteriores libros, quos de apotelesmatis scripsimus* (cf. 4, 6 p. 97 *etiam in aliis apotelesmatis diximus*), *secura mentis animositate perdisce.* Similarly he prays Mavortius (7 praef. p. 193) *ne haec veneranda communia profanis vel imperitis auribus intimentur, sed iis tantum quos animus incorruptus ad rectum vivendi ordinem . . . instituit* etc. Cf. 8, 33 *haec filiis tuis tantum trade, quos a prima aetate ad omne virtutis officium instituisti* etc. JBurckhardt, Constantin [2] 212. LFriedländer, SG. 1[6], 365.

5. Firm. does not seem to have clearly realised that by the *decreta planetarum* the freedom of will and responsibility of man are destroyed, and hence his moral exhortations (see n. 4) are without foundation, though he enforces them very often and earnestly. The perception of the fixed preordainment of our fate should, as he thinks, temper both sorrow and joy (8, praef.). But even the theological inferences from his doctrine are not clearly stated. 1, 3 p. 7 Firm. denies that his doctrine is dangerous to religion and insists that it leads rather to the veneration and fear of the gods. But these gods themselves are hazy and indefinite figures, which sometimes coincide with the sidera, and are sometimes designated as standing at their side, sometimes as unity, sometimes as plurality (cf. 3, praef. p. 45. 5, praef. p. 115. 1, 4 p. 14). The tone of the work is dull like its atmosphere, sometimes drily technical and poor, sometimes solemn and mystical, with numerous repetitions not only of technical formulas but also of particular phrases and expressions. Whenever Firm. hits upon a rhetorical figure, he insists on it to weariness. He therefore asks (1, praef. p. 2): *ne in istis libris pondus et perfectae gratiam orationis requiras. . . . in nobis tenue est ingenium et sermo subtilis, et quod vere confitendum est, mathesis permodica.* Cf. 1, 1 p. 4 *postulante ut . . . veritatis fides, non orationis splendor ac substantia requiratur.* The language is remarkable for some expressions which appear first in this century, e.g. *animositas, quiescentia, mansuetarius, intimare alicui aliquid, concordialis, cardinaliter, partilis* etc. On the diction: HDressel, lexikalische Bemm. zu Firm. Mat., Zwickau 1882. ChrKelber, zu Firm. dem Astrologen, Erl. 1881: Anfang eines Wörterbuchs z. d. libri. math. d. Firm., Erl. 1883.—GNemethy, quaestt. de Firm. astrologo, Budapest 1889.—The earliest mention of the work occurs in Honorius of Autun (c.a. 1300) de philos. mundi 2, 5. Cf. n. 1 init.

6. Other works of the author 4, 14 p. 105 *quae omnia . . . specialiter in singulari libro quem de domino geniturae atque chronocratore ad Murinum nostrum scripsimus . . . comprehensa sunt.* 7, 6 *haec tibi omnia ex eo libro qui de fine vitae a nobis scriptus est . . . manifestius intimantur.* 5, 1 p. 121 *cum hoc opus . . . mediocritas nostra compleverit, tunc tibi* (Lolliane) *aliis XII libris cetera intimabo secreta.* 8, praef. p. 212 *aliud mihi tempus ad explicandam myriogenesin reservavi.* 8, 3 extr. *huius* (of Necepso, see n. 3) *ego libri interpretationem alio tibi tempore, Mavorti decus nostrum, intimare curabo.*

7. Manuscripts: only the first part of the work is extant in early MSS., e.g. in a Vatic. s. X, Montepess. s. XI and XII, Monac. 560 s. XI (on this see Kleber [n. 5], Erl. 1881), Paris. 17867 s. XII and others; the whole work is extant only in late and greatly interpolated MSS. e.g. Monac. 49, Norimberg., Vindob. 3195, Neapol. v A 17, Oxon. Linc. coll. 114, all s. XV–XVI. Cf. MBonnet, rev. de phil. 8, 187. KSittl, ArchflatLex. 4, 610.—Editions: princeps Venet. 1497 (which gives a purer text than the later ones, KSittl, ArchflatLex. 4, 608). In the astronomici

vett. (Venet. Ald. 1499, in which *Firmici libri ex scythicis oris ad nos nuper allati*), and per NPrucknerum astrologum, Basil. 1533 and 1551 (the quotation above is from this edition). There are no more recent editions, but one by KSittl is announced. A few lacunae are filled in by Lessing, 9, 409 Lachm.—Criticism: MHaupt, op. 3, 324. 550. 623. BDombart, JJ. 125, 590.—Cf. AFabricius, bibl. lat. 3, 144 ed. Ernesti.

8. The subscriptio of the Christian work runs: *Iulii Firmici Materni v. c. de errore profanarum religionum.* The Emperors are addressed as *sacratissimi imperatores* (6, 1. 8, 4. 16, 4. 20, 7. 24, 9. 28, 6. 29, 1) or *sacrosancti imp.* (13, 1) or *principes* (17, 1), also *domini imperatores* (25, 1). The following passages are characteristic of the work: 16, 4 *amputanda sunt haec* (Pagan sacrifices), *sacr. imp., penitus atque delenda et severissimis edictorum vestrorum legibus corrigenda. . . . ad hoc vobis deus summus commisit imperium.* 29, 1, *vobis, sacr. imp., . . . hoc dei summi lege praecipitur ut severitas vestra idololatriae facinus omnifariam persequatur.* 20, 7, *vos nunc, Constanti et Constans, sacr. imp., . . . idololatriae excidium et profanarum aedium ruinam . . . Christus . . . vestris manibus reservavit.* 28, 6 *. . . post excidia templorum in maius dei estis virtute provecti. vicistis hostes, . . . et insperatam imperatoris* (i.e. Constans', a. 343) *faciem Britannus expavit.* 29, 3 *. . . missi sunt superbi sub iugum populi et persica vota conlapsa sunt.* This may relate to Sapor's raising the siege of Nisibis a. 246 (*παρεκάθισεν ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα ὁκτὼ καὶ πάλιν αἰσχυνθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν*, Theophanes) and could not be said after the misfortunes that happened to Constantius a. 348 in his war against Sapor. Constans was, moreover, killed a. 350. Hence the work seems to have been composed 346 or 347. The author exhibits (c. 7) an accurate acquaintance with the environs of Henna in Sicily and was possibly a native of this island (like the Pagan writer), or he may have resided there.

9. The arguments are in general the same as in the other Christian apologetic writers, except that the author enters also into the religious notions and usages of the East (Egyptians, Phrygians, Assyrians, Persians). He also quotes the Bible, especially the Old Testament, more extensively than his predecessors. He uses chiefly Cyprian's testimonia and his treatise ad Fortunat. See BDombart, Z. f. wissensch. Theol. 22, 375. Bursian l.l. p. ix. Firm., however, also exhibits knowledge of Greek, e.g. 13, 4 *Porphyrius* (see n. 10) *. . . in libris quos appellat περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας.* The *quinque Minervae* (16, 1) he seems to have borrowed rather from Ampel. 9, 10 or his source than from Cic. nat. deor. 3, 59. See also RFörster, d. Raub d. Perseph. 97. The diction is in keeping with the zealotry which characterises the work and abounds in exclamations and rhetorical questions. c. 8 he introduces Sol speaking (*ethopoeiaco sermone* 8, 4). The language is plebeian in using *suus* instead of *eius*, in the consecutio temporum and in the use of *quod* after *nescientes, persuadetur;* see Halm p. 135.

10. In point of diction the Christian work frequently agrees with the Pagan (Bursian p. vii), but this may be explained on the supposition that both writers received their education in the same school (cf. n. 8 ad fin.). In all other points their views are diametrically different. The Pagan is a peaceable, mild and resigned nature, while the Christian is aggressive and fanatical; the Pagan disapproves of robbing temples (3, 8 p. 70. 3, 13 p. 77), the Christian even urges it. Of the neo-Platonic philosopher Porphyrius the Pagan says (7, praef. p. 193) *apud Pythagoreos noster Porphyrius religiosa epulantem animum nostrum silentio consecravit;* the Christian calls him (13, 4) *hostis dei, veritatis inimicus, sceleratarum artium magister.* These contradictions, which cannot possibly be assumed in the

same individual, even at successive stages, must in fact be contemporaneous, to judge from the chronological relation of the two works. If therefore it is not the identity of the two names which has caused the short treatise to be appended to the important work of the astrologer (Ebert), the authors must have been brothers or cousins (Bursian p. ix). But we have no knowledge of any such connection, which would in itself be very remarkable, and the form of subscription de errore prof. rel. [n. 8 l. 1] does not tend to prove it; see also AReifferscheid, JB. 1880 3, 258.

11. The two outer leaves are missing from the first quaternio of the only extant MS. (Vaticano-Palatinus 165 s. X; cf. AReifferscheid, bibl. patr. 1, 268) first edited by MFlacius, Strassb. 1562. Then frequently with Minucius Felix or Cyprian or Arnobius; separately by Jo. a Wower, Hamb. 1603, FMünter, Copenh. 1826, FOehler, Lps. 1847. Also e.g. in Gallandi bibl. patr. 5, 23; in Migne 12, 971. In particular by CBursian Lps. 1856, and CHalm in his Minucius (§ 368, 5).—JMHertz, de Iul. Firm. Mat. eiusque imprimis de err. prof. rel. libello, Copenh. 1817. JBurckhardt, Constantin[2] 188. 230. 361. AEbert, Lit. d. MA. 1[2], 130.

407. Athens remained the great school of philosophy; it was there studied in its application to spiritual and moral problems, in the enthusiastic fashion of the neo-Platonists. It was intended to counterbalance Christianity and did indeed acquire an unmistakeable influence over the Christian doctrine and its learned defenders. This tendency extended likewise to the West, where it is represented by the astrologer Firmicus Maternus and the translator Chalcidius; here however there prevailed concurrently a sober Aristotelian schematism and an eclectic philosophy in the style of Varro and Cicero.

1. On the neo-Platonism of this time cf. e.g. JBurckhardt, Constantin[2] 205. 216. Mamertin. grat. act. Iuliano 23, 4 *tu philosophiam, paulo ante suspectam ac nedum spoliatam honoribus sed accusatam ac ream, non modo iudicio liberasti sed amictam purpura . . . in regali solio collocasti.* Victor epit. 43, 5 *iuverat philosophos et Graecorum sapientissimos.*

2. Firmicus (§ 406, 1–6) speaks of *Porphyrius noster* (§ 406, 10) and at 1, 2 p. 9 he pronounces a eulogy on Plotinus (*quas ille philosophiae non attgit partes* etc.). Other authors of astrological works see § 52, 5. Augustine contra acad. 3, 18, 41 *os Platonis . . . emicuit maxime in Plotino, quo platonicus philosophus ita eius similis iudicatus est . . . ut in hoc ille revixisse putandus sit.* confess. 8, 3 (see § 408, 2); cf. 7, 9 (13) *quosdam Platonicorum libros ex graeca lingua in latinam versos.* The works referred to are those of Marius Victorinus (§ 408, 2). epist. 1, 1 *academicos ego ne inter iocandum quidem umquam lacessere auderem.* contra acad. 2, 23 *inter quos* (the academici) *et me . . . nihil distat nisi quod illis probabile visum est non posse inveniri veritatem, mihi autem inveniri posse probabile est. nam ignoratio veri est . . . utrisque communis* (cf. Donat. on Ter. Eun. 4, 5, 4 *hoc multum academicos iuvat* etc.). 3, 19, 42 *itaque nunc philosophos non fere videmus nisi aut cynicos aut peripateticos aut platonicos.*

3. Of Chalcidius there is extant a version of Plato's Timaeus, strongly interspersed with popular phraseology, together with a commentary carried by the

author down to p. 53 C (praef. *primas partes Timaei Plat. aggressus non solum transtuli sed etiam partis eiusdem commentarium feci. . . . causa vero in partes dividendi libri operis fuit prolixitas. . . . quod si non displicuisse rescriberetur, faceret audendi maiora fiduciam*) and dedicated to a certain Osius (bishop of Cordova, president of the synod of Sardica a. 347?), whose *ingenium* is praised in the praef. and who originally intended to carry out the work himself. Chalcidius was a Christian. As he was acquainted with the Hexapla of Origen († 254), he cannot have lived earlier than the second half of the third cent. Portions of a mediaeval commentary (written by Guillaume de Conches?) have been edited by VCousin, fragm. philos.[2] (1840) p. 374, and Ouvrages inéd. d'Abelard p. xlix. Haureau, de la philos. scholast. 1, 81.—Manuscripts of Chalc. beginning with s. XI at Bamberg, Cambridge, Cracow, Florence, Milan, Vienna and elsewhere. On Paris. 10195 s. XI see MBonnet, Herm. 14, 158.—Editions per Augustinum Iustinianum (Par. 1520), JMeursius (Leid. 1617) and esp. in JAFabricius' ed. of the Opera Hippolyti 2 (Hamb. 1718), 226 (with Meursii notae p. 408), and in Mullach's fragm. philos. graec. 2 (Paris 1868), 147. Recent: ad fid. librorum mscr. rec. IWrobel, Lps. 1876. —Cf. JAFabricius, bibl. lat. 3, 105. Brucker, hist. crit. philos. 3, 472. ThMartin in his ed. of Theon Smyrn. p. 18. 419. IWrobel (on the diction) ZföG. 26, 178. 258. IwMüller, quaestt. crit. de Chalc. in Tim. Plat. commentario spec. I–III, Erl. 1876/77 (on the diction in particular).

4. The commentum per Chalcidium Neapolitanum super carmine saeculari (of Horace), alluded to by AMai (appendix ad opera ab AMaio edita 1, 19), extant in the Vatic. 2769 s. XV and attributed to the Chalcidius mentioned in n. 3, is the work of an Italian of the time of Pope Paul II. FBücheler, RhM. 35, 401.

5. Boeth. comm. in Aristot. *περὶ ἑρμην.* edit. sec. 1, 1 *Albinus quoque de iisdem rebus scripsisse perhibetur, cuius ego geometricos quidem libros editos scio, de dialectica vero diu multumque quaesitos reperire non potui.* The same (*vir magnificus*) also wrote *compendiosa brevitate* on music (Cassiod. de mus. 70, 1212 Migne). He is probably Caeionius Rufius Albinus (cos. a. 335), who appears as *philosophus* in an honorary inscription (CIL. 6, 1708 Or. 3111 Wilm. 1227). FOsann, Beitr. z. lat. Gramm. 2, 361. JCäsar, PRE. 1[2], 649, 4. KPrantl, Gesch. d. Logik 1, 644. OSeeck, Herm. 19, 186. He can hardly be also the *Rufius* (so he is called Macr. sat. 1, 2, 16 and 1, 4, 1 in the leading MSS., but elsewhere *Furius*) *Albinus*, who is one of the interlocutors in Macrobius' Saturnalia. Cf. also § 405, 3.

408. The grammarian and rhetorician C. Marius Victorinus, about the middle of this century, was a versatile writer. He composed philosophical and rhetorical works, and a manual of prosody (copied chiefly from Aphthonius) in four books, which has come down to us. In his later years Victorinus was converted to Christianity and then wrote commentaries on St. Paul's epistles, and defended the orthodox doctrine against the Arians and Manichaeans. Some poems on Biblical subjects are also assigned to Victorinus, but the authorship of these is doubtful; the same applies to a number of grammatical, metrical and rhetorical works, which are likewise attributed to him. Through his midway position between Paganism and Christianity, through his

rhetorical and grammatical studies on the one hand and his philosophical and theological studies on the other hand, Victorinus acquired for a long time a reputation hardly merited by his contributions to learning, which did not rise above the mediocrity of his period.

1. Hieron. vir. illustr. 101 *Victorinus natione Afer Romae sub Constantio principe rhetoricam docuit et in extrema senectute Christi se tradens fidei* (Augustine confess. 8, 2) *scripsit adversus Arium libros more dialectico valde obscuros, qui nisi ab eruditis non intelleguntur, et commentarios in apostolum.* Praef. comm. in epist. ad Galat. *non quia ignorem C. Marium Victorinum, qui Romae me puero rhetoricam docuit, edidisse commentarios in apostolum, sed quod occupatus ille eruditione saecularium litterarum omnino sanctas ignoraverit.* Chron. ad a. 2370 (Freh. ad a. 2371) =353 a.d. *Victorinus rhetor et Donatus grammaticus, praeceptor meus, Romae insignes habentur. e quibus Victorinus etiam statuam in foro Traiani meruit* (cf. n. 2). Cassiod. de inst. div. *Victorinus ex rhetore episcopus.*—On Victorinus Petabionensis see § 385, 6.

2. Augustin. confess. 8, 2 (3) *legisse me quosdam libros Platonicorum quos Victorinus quondam rhetor urbis Romae, quem christianum defunctum esse audieram, in latinam linguam transtulisset. . . . ille doctissimus senex et omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus quique philosophorum tam multa legerat et diiudicaverat, doctor tot nobilium senatorum, qui etiam ob insigne praeclari magisterii . . . statuam in rom. foro meruerat et acceperat.*—To Victorinus belongs, as has been shown by Hüsener, anecd. Holderi 59 (Bonn 1877), the treatise de definitionibus, which was formerly ascribed to Boethius (a crit. ed. of this—after Monac. 14272 s. XI, 14819 s. XII, Bern. 300 s. XI/XII—by Thstangl in the Tulliana et Mario-Victoriniana, Munich 1888). This work is preserved under the name of Victorinus in a MS. s. XI (*liber definitionum Victorini*) in Mai, class. auct. 3, 315, and the author refers p. 25, 13 Stangl as if it were his own work (*nos quia iam uno libro et de his quinque rebus plenissime disputavimus*) to Victorinus' version of the πέντε φωναί of Porphyrios (see below). An abridgment of the defin. in Isidorus' orig. 2, 29 'de divisione definitionum ex Marii Victorinii libro abbreviata.' Also utilised by Cassiodorus in b. 2 of the instit. div. et saec., where at the close of the dialectic we thus read (see Usener l.l. 66): *isagogen* (Porphyrios' εἰσαγωγὴ περὶ τῶν πέντε φωνῶν) *transtulit Victorinus orator, commentum eius quinque libris vir magnificus Boethius* (who p. 1, 36 Rot. at the same time calls Victorinus *orator sui temporis ferme doctissimus*) *edidit* (cf. Isid. orig. 2, 25, 1. 9). *categorias* (of Aristotle) *idem transtulit Victorinus, cuius commentum octo libris ipse quoque formavit* (cf. Cassiod. expos. in psalm. II p. 28). *peri hermenias* (Aristotle περὶ ἑρμηνείας) *supra memoratus Victorinus transtulit in latinum, cuius commentum sex libris patricius Boethius minutissima disputatione tractavit. Apuleius vero Madaurensis* (the reference is to de dogm. Plat. b. 3, see § 367, 5) *syllogismos categoricos breviter enodavit. Victorinus de syllogismis hypotheticis dixit* (cf. Isid. orig. 2, 28, 25). *quindecim quoque species esse definitionum idem Marius Victorinus diligenter edocuit* (in the book de definitione). *topica Aristotelis Cicero transtulit in latinum, cuius commenta prospector atque amator Latinorum Victorinus quattuor libris exposuit* (Boeth. in Cic. top. p. 270 Or.). Cf. FOsann, Beitr. 2, 373. *Victorini* (*commentarii*) *in dialogos* (Ciceronis, i.e. his philosophical works) are mentioned by Hieron. apol. c. Rufin. 1, 16.

3. The Ars grammatica which bears the name of Marius Victorinus is also twice quoted by Rufinus GL. 6, 556, 22. 557, 19. Its four books deal almost

exclusively with metre. Only b. 1 contains first some grammatical observations from the same sources as Charisius, Diomedes and Dositheus, then a lengthy dissertation on orthography, a careless abridgment from some good old authority (perhaps Verrius Flaccus? WSchady, de Mari Vict. 1, 4 de orthogr., I, Bonn 1869). Excerpts from this (de orthogr.) in four Vatican MSS. (esp. Vat. 2725), edited by HKeil, Haller Ind. lect. 1874. From p. 31, 17 K. to p. 173, 31 Victorinus has incorporated the Prosody of Aphthonius almost word for word in his own work, see § 395, 1. Are there extracts from Aristoxenes in Victorinus? FBlass, JJ. 133, 451.—Manuscripts: Vatic.-Palat. 1753 (Laurissensis), and copied from this Valentianus m. 6. 10, then Paris. 7539, all s. IX.—First complete edition (after the Lauriss.) by JCamerarius, Tüb. 1537. Best given in Keil's GL. 6, 1.—The excerpt from Aphthonius is succeeded by an index metrorum Horatii (GL. 6, 174), which is also by Mar. Vict., then by definitions of ode, melos etc. (from a treatise de partibus carminum), in the Paris. with the subscription: *explicit ars grammatica Victorini Mari de orthogr. et de metrorum ratione.*—HKeil, quaestionum gramm. I: de Marii Victorini arte grammatica, Halle 1871 (Ind. lect. of summer '71). Cf. the same author on GL. 6, xiv. OHense, de Iuba 139. JCaesar, de verb. thesis et arsis ap. . . . Mar. Victorin. significatione, Marb. 1885.

4. It is uncertain what share Marius Victorinus may have had in two schoolbooks in catechetical form (Ars grammatica and De metrica institutione or rather de metris et hexametro, both last printed GL. 6, 187. 206). Both belong, to judge from their diction (e.g. a predilection for *quippe* and *quoties*) and character, to one and the same author and are extant together in several versions. As the author of the first treatise some of the MSS. (Vatic. 1587 s. X, SGall. 877 s. X etc.) give 'Victorinus (grammaticus),' some (Vind. 16 s. VIII) 'Palaemo': Paris. 7559 s. X also gives this name as that of the author of the second work. Audax (§ 482, 4) has in his ars borrowed largely from both these works (see Keil on GL. 7, 317). 'Victorinus' probably means Marius Victorinus, but the text of the extant ars is so confused and imperfect that it cannot be looked upon as anything more than a much abbreviated and altered excerpt from Mar. Vict. The treatise de metr. et hex. professes (see the close) to be a fragment from a more extensive work and was composed in the middle of the fourth cent. (cf. GL. 6, 209 *nostra quoque memoria Lactantius*).—Cf. FOsann, Beitr. 2, 355. HWentzel, symbb. critt. (Bresl. 1858) 55. HKeil, quaestt. gramm. II de Max. Victor. libris de arte grammatica qui feruntur, Halle 1871; on GL. 6, xviii.

5. The MS. tradition (esp. Vindob. 16 [Bobiensis] s. VIII, Monac. 6281 s. X., 19484 s. X and others) attributes not to Marius Victorinus, but to a certain Maximus (or Maximinus), who is otherwise unknown, a trivial treatise De ratione metrorum (quoted by Baeda, GL. 7, 248, 17 under the name of 'Victorinus'). With this we frequently find connected in the MSS. an equally dry school-book De finalibus metrorum, which shows many points of verbal agreement with Servius ad Aquilinum (FOsann, Beitr. 2, 377. Keil on GL. 4. xliii). In the MSS. this work is generally assigned, owing to a misunderstanding of the heading *de finalibus metrorū*, to a certain Metrorius (or Metr. Maximus, Metr. Maximinus). Cf. § 41, 5 l. 7. 11. It is not certain whether this too is the work of Maximus Victorinus. Both treatises were last printed GL. 6, 216. 229. Keil, quaestt. gr. 1 (Halle 1871), i. x; 2 (de Max. Victor.), viii; on GL. 6, xx.

6. Marius Victorinus' commentaries on Cicero's Topica and philosophical treatises (n. 2) have been lost: the explanations to de inventione (last printed in Orelli's Cicero 5, 1, 1 and in Halm's rhett. lat. min. p. 153) are still extant; they are however very diffuse and contain little that is of value. They are mentioned

by Cassiod. rhet. 10 (in Halm. l.l. p. 498, 9 *haec Cicero in arte rhetorica duobus libris videtur amplexus, quorum commenta a Mario Victorino composita in bibliotheca mea vobis reliquisse cognoscor*). The subscriptions in the MSS. of this commentary are remarkable; in the Monac. 6400 s. X the author is called *Victorinus rhetor*, in the Colon. (Darmstad.) s. VII *Q. Fabius Laurentius*, in a Vaticanus (AMai, spicil. rom. 5, xi) *Q. Laurentius Fabius Victorinus Marius*, almost the same in two Laur. *Fabius Laurentius Marius Victorinus*, lastly in the Bamb. s. XI *Marius Fabius Victorinus*. IwMüller, JB. 1874/75 1, 679 is of opinion that a certain Q. Fabius Laurentius remodelled Marius Victorinus' commentary.—Cf. Halm l.l. p. viii, CLKayser, Phil. 6, 706. HUsener, anecd. Hold. 65. ThStangl, Tulliana et Mario-Victoriniana, Munich 1888, 49.

7. The Christian works of M. V., see n. 1. Of the exegetical works on the Bible there are extant the commentaries on the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians (printed in AMai, nova collectio vet. script. 3, 2, 1), and the treatise De verbis scripturae 'factum est vespere et mane dies unus.' We possess besides by this author De trinitate contra Arium libri IV (composed about a. 360) and De ὁμοουσίῳ recipiendo, and De generatione verbi divini. The treatise Ad Iustinum Manichaeum contra duo principia Manichaeorum et de vera carne Christi also passes under his name.—The short treatise de physicis (in Mai l.l. 3, 2) does not belong to Mar. Victor., see Koffmane l.l. 7.—These treatises are given together in the Bibl. patr. max. (Lugd. 1677) vol. 4, in Gallandi vol. 8 and in Migne vol. 8. GKoffmane, de Mario Victorino philosopho christiano, Bresl. 1880. GGeiger, C. Victorinus Afer, e. neuplaton. Philosoph, Metten 1888. 89 II.

8. The Christian poems by a certain Victorinus are a) De fratribus VII Maccabaeis interfectis ab Antiocho Epiphane, 393 hexameters after Maccab. 2, 7 in a forced rhetorical style with strong reminiscences of Vergil, Ebert, Lit. d. M.-A. 1 ², 124. MHertz, anall. Hor. 4, 24. MManitius, RhM. 45, 157; b) three hymns de trinitate (Migne 8, 1139); c) hymnus de pascha domini s. de ligno vitae s. de cruce, 70 hexameters (also printed in Hartel's Cyprian. 3, 305), cf. Ebert l.l. 1 ², 316; d) De Iesu Christo deo et domino, 137 hex. Cf. GFabricius, poetae christ. 443. 761 and ARivinus, sanctae reliquiae duum Victorinorum, Gotha 1652.

409. The grammarian and rhetorician Aelius Donatus taught at Rome about the middle of the century. By him we possess 1) a Grammar (Ars), drawn from the same sources as Charisius and Diomedes, 2) a valuable commentary on Terence, which is not however extant in its original shape. Donatus likewise wrote commentaries on Vergil (Georgics and Aeneid), of which (besides frequent quotations in Servius) the preface and introduction are extant.

1. Hieron. chron. ad a. 353 a.d. see § 408, 1. Comm. in Eccles. c. 1 (3, 390 Vall.) *praeceptor meus Donatus*. Apol. adv. Rufin. 1, 16 (2, 472): (*puer legeris*) *in Terentii comoedias praeceptoris mei Donati* (*commentarios*), *aeque in Vergilium et aliorum in alios*. The commentary on Terence bears in the MSS. the title: *Aelii Donati v. c. oratoris urbis Romae*. All further statements concerning his life are mediaeval inventions; in particular the silly vita Donati by Flaccus Rebius in HHagen's Anecd. Helvet. p. cclx.

2. The 'Ars Donati grammatici urbis Romae' is extant in a twofold text, a

brief one (Ars minor) which treats only of the eight parts of speech (GL. 4, 355–366), and a longer one in three books (GL. 4, 367–402.) On the MSS. containing it see KEIL, GL. 4, XXXI. The agreement with Charisius and especially with Diomedes may be explained from their using the same sources. In general Diomedes contains more information (KEIL l.l. XL). Later readers preferred Donatus and he was both commented on and epitomised. Thus we have Servii commentarius in artem Donati (GL. 4, 405–448), by the so-called Servius or Sergius two books explanationum in artem Donati (ib. 4, 486–565, cf. HHAGEN, anecd. Helvet. p. 143 together with p. LXXXIX); Pompeius' commentum artis Donati (GL. 5, 95–312) bishop Julianus' commentarius in Donatum (see § 495, 7) and the commenta Einsiedlensia in Donati artem maiorem, minorem, barbarismum (HAGEN, anecd Helv. p. 202–274, with p. CVII). GRÄFENHAN, Gesch. d. class. Philol. 4, 107.

3. HIERON. adv. Rufin. 1, 16 (cf. n. 1 l. 2). PRISC. GL. 3, 281 *Terentius in Andria . . . nec enim aliter stat iambus . . . quod etiam Donati commentum approbat.* 320 *Ter. in Andria . . . sic enim habent antiqui codices teste Donato commentatore eius* (which does not read thus in the extant commentary). [SERG.] explan. GL. 4, 486 *hic Donatus v(ir) c(larissimus) d(octissimus?) Vergilianum carmen et Terentii comoedias mirifice commentavit.* The commentary on Terence (§ 109, 3) is an uncritical compilation from two or three commentaries, one of which was by Donatus, another by Euanthius (§ 405, 6). The rhetorical and philosophical notes are no doubt by Donatus. HUSENER, RhM. 23, 493; cf. also FLEO, l.l. 330.—Ed. princeps Rome 1472, then in most of the earlier editions of Terence, cf. § 109, 7. A critical edition of the introductions to the several pieces by AREIFFERSCHEID (Donati in commenta Terentiana praefationes, ind. schol. hibern. Bresl. 1875/6). Cf. also § 405, 6.—RBENTLEY's emendations to Don. ad Ter., JJ. Suppl. 10, 662. LSCHOPEN, de Terentio et Donato eius interprete, Bonn 1821; spec. emend. in Ael. Donati comm. Ter., Bonn 1826. ARICHTER, de Donati comm. Ter., Bonn 1854. WHAHN, zu den Scholien des D. z. Ter., I Halberstadt 1870; II Strals. 1872. JABECKER, de Don. in Ter. comm., I Mayence 1870. KDZIATZKO, RhM. 29, 445. 511. ATEUBER, de auctoritate commentorum in Ter. quae sub nom. Ael. Donati circumferuntur, Eberswalde 1881, FLEO, RhM. 38, 328. PROSENSTOCK, de Donato, Ter. et Servio Vergilii explicatore syntaxeos Latinae interpretibus, Königsb. 1886. Of the introductory treatise De comoedia only the second half (beginning: *Comoedia est fabula diversa* p. 8, 4 Reiffersch.) is taken from Donatus' introduction (see § 12, 1. 405, 6. ESCHEIDEMANTEL, quaestt. Euanth. 14); so is the excellent vita Terentii (§ 108, 1), which Donatus transcribed from Suetonius, merely adding a short postscript.—The best MS. of the commentary on Terence is Paris. 7920 s. XI, which however contains hardly a fourth of the whole work; the others (mostly complete but frequently interpolated) are of s. XV and are probably all derived from a codex which JAURISPA discovered at Mayence in 1433 and took to Italy (HKEIL, Io. Aurispae epistula, Halle 1870 p. VIII; AREIFFERSCHEID, Euanth. et Don. de com. p. 1); among these and remarkable for not being interpolated is a Bodleianus (Canonicianus) at Oxford, see KDZIATZKO, JJ. Suppl. 10, 675.—Cf. also FUMPFENBACH, Herm. 2, 335. Phil. 32, 443.

4. Of the commentary on Vergil frequently mentioned by SERVIUS (e.g. Aen. 2, 557, 798. ecl. 3, 38 and elsewhere) and PRISCIAN (GL. 3, 61 *Donatus in commento Aeneidos;* cf. ib. 266) there is now extant only the introductory preface with the heading *FL.* (instead of *EL.* = *Ael.*) *Donatus L. Munatio suo salutem* in Paris. suppl. lat. 1011 s. IX, printed by EWÖLFFLIN, Phil. 24, 154, then, immediately following, the very valuable vita of Vergil (see § 224, 1) borrowed chiefly from Suetonius, and lastly the introduction to the bucolica (best given by HHAGEN, JJ. Suppl. 4, 740).

See concerning this AReifferscheid on Suet. p. 400. Ribbeck, Proleg. in Verg. p. 178. DComparetti, Virgilio nel medio evo 1, 181. LValmaggi, riv. di fil. 14 (1885), 1. Was this commentary still extant during the Middle Ages? Thilo on Serv. 1, p. xv. xvi. lxxv.—Pupils of Donatus: see § 41, 5 l. 11.—On Ti. Claudius Donatus, whose Interpretationes of the Aeneid are extant, see § 431, 5.

410. It was probably at this time that Palladius wrote his 14 books on husbandry. He collected in a short summary the views of his predecessors and his own experience without any pretension to erudition. The principal part is (b. II–XIII) the enumeration of rural occupations, arranged according to months. Book XIV, which treats of the cultivation of trees, is dedicated to a certain Pasiphilus and consists of 85 elegiac distichs.

1. The title: *Palladii Rutilii Tauri Aemiliani, viri ill., de re rustica liber I* etc. There is no doubt that Palladius belongs to the fourth century, but we do not know to what part of it. The specification of Pasiphilus (n. 2) does not decide anything, as we cannot fix on any one of the different persons of that name, whether it be the praef. urbi of a. 355 (CIL. 6, 1656. Borghesi, oeuvr. 3, 486) or the philosopher who saved the life of a certain Eutropius a. 371 (Ammian. 29, 1, 36) or the one mentioned in the Cod. Theod. 2, 1, 8 (a. 395). It is therefore improbable that the Palladius praised by Rutil. Nam. 1, 207 sqq., son of Exuperantius, a *facundus iuvenis* of Gaul, who was related to Nam., is the writer in question. JRHarris, Americ. journ. of phil. 3, 411, believes indeed that it may be proved by calculation from the length of the shadows on the sun-dial noted in Palladius, that this writer lived about 45° latitude North, or a little further to the North (therefore perhaps in Gaul). As Palladius shares the confused monotheism of the fourth century (1, 1 *si divina faverint;* 14, 21 *ipse poli rector* etc.), but at the same time freely names Apollo, Bacchus, the Nymphs and other deities of the old creed, we are inclined to consider him as a contemporary of the astrologer Firmicus Maternus, and the praef. urbi a. 355 as the person addressed by him in b. XIV (see n. 2). If however Palladius, as is probable, actually made use of the compilation on husbandry of Anatolios of Berytus († 364), we should have to assign him to about the end of the century. WGemoll, Unterss. üb. d. Geoponica, Berl. 1883, 221. The name of Palladius is frequently borne by high officials in saec. IV and V; Hänel, ind. leg. p. 123. RhM. 28, 581. Borghesi's Taurus is calculated to mislead: the designation of the chapters by *tituli* was probably not introduced, but rather adopted by the cod. Theod.

2. Book I contains a survey of *quae pertinent ad generale praeceptum* (1, 43, 4). Style is renounced: *neque enim formator agricolae debet artibus et eloquentia rhetores aemulari, quod a plerisque factum est* (1, 1, 1). The sources are rarely mentioned, most frequently Columella, then Gargilius Martialis, Mago, once also Apuleius. P. generally appeals vaguely to *Graeci;* cf. WGemoll l.l. 198. He uses Vitruvius in Faventinus' abridgment (see § 264, 5), see HNohl, commentat. Mommsen. 64. For his own experience cf. 4, 10, 16 *quod ego in Sardinia (et in) territorio Neapolitano in fundis meis comperi.* ib. 24 *ego . . . in Italia . . . plantas grandes ficorum . . . disposui.* There is a strong intermixture of superstition. The sentences are generally brief. B. XIV (*ad Pasiphilum, virum doctissimum*) is an imitation of Colum. X, though not successful. The choice of elegiac metre is in itself unsuitable. The diction betrays the great pains bestowed upon it; it is monotonous and

heavy, full of misplaced pathos. The prosody is correct.—Cassiod. div. lectt. 28 *Aemilianus explanatos duodecim* (he is probably thinking only of the rural almanac) *libros de hortis vel pecoribus aliisque rebus planissima lucidatione disseruit.* In the Middle Ages Palladius was much used on account of the practical arrangement and also the conciseness of the work.

3. The best manuscripts are Paris. 6842 s. X, 6830 s. X, Laudunensis s. IX. The last book is preserved in a separate text, and is extant only in late MSS. (s. XV). On one of these see HJMoule, Athenaeum 1888 p. 664.—Text in the Scriptores rei rusticae, see § 54, 7. Separate edition Paris 1536. Palladii liber primus rec. JCSchmitt, Würzb. 1876. b. 14 (de insitione) also in Wernsdorf, PLM. 6, 135 and ad codd. nunc primum conlatos ed. JCSchmitt, Münnerstadt 1877.—On Pall. see esp. EHFMeyer, Gesch. d. Botanik 2, 328.

411. Likewise in the first half of the fourth century an anonymous writer compiled a manual of medicine from the books (20–32) of Pliny's Natural History on this subject (Medicina Plinii or Breviarium Plinii). This was much used during the succeeding centuries, appendices were added to it and it was finally remodelled.

1. This work bears in the MSS. the title *Plinii Secundi* (*iunioris*) *de medicina libri III* and was probably compiled at the beginning of the fourth cent. (a. 300–350); it is used already by Marcellus (§ 446), who takes the author to be a different person from the elder Pliny (*uterque Plinius*), and again by Pseudo-Apuleius (§ 367, 8, b). The compiler prefixes a preface, in which he introduces himself as a much-travelled layman, who is anxious that his labours should prove a protection against the swindling and greed of professional doctors: *quapropter necessarium mihi visum est ut undique* (whereas he gives, with very scanty additions from other sources or from his own experience, merely what he has extracted from Pliny!) *valitudinis auxilia contraherem et velut breviario colligerem.* As he writes principally for travellers, prescriptions for the diseases of women and children are wanting. The order in b. 1 and 2 is the usual one (§ 55, 4), proceeding from the head to the feet. In b. 3 we have the remedies against the diseases of the whole body and against poisons. The style is dry and technical, and but rarely rises to a sort of moralising pathos (1, 7. 3, 32). Here and there the original text has been misunderstood (Rose, Herm. 8, 29). In the small portion which is peculiar to the author the latinity shows vulgarisms (*de* for gen., *intellectum est quod*), and the participial connections of the original are resolved into short independent sentences. Plinii Secundi quae fertur una cum Gargilii Martialis medicina nunc primum edita a VRose, Lpz. 1875; cf. the same in the Herm. 8, 18.—On Vatic.-Regin. 1004 s. X/XI AKöhler, Herm. 18, 382.

2. Excerpts from Gargilius Martialis (*medicinae ex oleribus et pomis*, see § 380, 2) are given in connection with the main body of the medicina Plinii b. 1–3, sometimes as a separate appendix, sometimes reckoned expressly as b. 4. Then to the collection thus enlarged is added a *liber diaetarum diversorum medicorum h.e. Alexandri et aliorum.* It is with few exceptions (c. 14 and 22 *Sorani diaeta*, 37 sq. *diaeta Galeni*) borrowed word for word from the Latin of Alexander of Tralles (§ 498, 6), hence it must date from s. VII at earliest. This *liber diaetarum* is enumerated as b. 5 in the ed. of the C. Plinii Secundi medicina by ThPighinucci, Rome 1509

(cf. DDetlefsen, Jen. LZ, 1876, 104); also in the collection de re medica by ATorinus (Basle 1528, containing fol. 13–98 C. Plinii Secundi de re medica libri V), which is rendered useless by the jumbling together of the various abridgments of Pliny. A facsimile of the Basle text in the Medici antiqui, Ven. Ald. 1547. The name 'Plinius Valerianus' formerly given to these 5 books owes its origin to an invention of PJovius (at Como), de piscibus romanis, Rome 1524, cap. 35. Moreover in the editions of Pighinucci (and correspondingly in those of Torino) the genuine text (n. 1) of the medicina Plinii is not reproduced in b. 1–3, but rather a later version (s. VI?) of the work. In it is contained the medicina Plinii, complete, but gratuitously broken up and disarranged; at the same time it is enlarged by additions from Caelius Aurelianus (§ 463), Pseudo-Apuleius de herbis (§ 367, 8, b) and Vindicianus (§ 432, 12) and others. The diction is already strongly romancised (*focus=feu; de* for the gen.; *amarizare*, *malaxare* and so forth). Was the author a German (he uses *more* [Möhre=carrot] for *siser* and *aneta* for *anas*)? For all further details see VRose, Herm. 8, 18; anecd. gr.-lat. 2, 105. Also EMeyer, Gesch. d. Botanik 2, 398.—CPaucker, emendatt. in Plin. Valeriano, Bull. d. Petersb. Akad. 19, 76=Mélanges gr.-rom. 3, 589.

412. Lastly, to the fourth century belong various Itineraria which have come down to us. To its commencement should probably be assigned the two so-called Itineraria Antonini, official posting-books, i.e. lists of the halting places on the roads of the Roman Empire, together with a statement of the distances both by land and sea. To the year 333 belongs the account of a pilgrimage from Burdigala to Jerusalem (Itinerarium Burdigalense or Hierosolymitanum) and back by Rome to Milan. The Itinerarium Alexandri, a sketch of the Persian expedition of Alexander the Great, was composed on the occasion of Constantius' campaign against Persia (hence a. 340–345) and dedicated to that emperor. No absolute certainty has yet been arrived at as regards the date of the so-called tabula Peutingerana, which is by far the most important and renowned of the few maps which have come down to us from ancient times. Of the two extant lists of the Regions of the city of Rome, one version belongs to the middle of the century, the other to its latter half.

1. Vetera Romanorum itineraria (Antonini, Hierosol. and Hieroclis synecdemus) cum notis varr. ed. PWesseling, Amsterd. 1735. Fortia d'Urban, recueil des itinéraires anciens, avec dix cartes, Paris 1845.

2. Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Aug. (p. 1 Parthey) and Imp. Antonini Aug. itinerarium maritimum (p. 235 P.). According to Parthey (Itinerarium Antonini et Hierosol. ex libris MSS. edd. GParthey et MPinder, Berl. 1848) p. VI the groundwork is of the age of Caracalla (cf. ARiese, geogr. min. XLI. 1); to this however additions were continually made. The extant recension of the better class of MSS. (Scorial. s. VIII and others) dates only from the time of Diocletian. Cf. n. 8. On the statements concerning distances see ThBergk, z. Gesch. u. Topographie der Rheinlande, Lpz. 1882, 178.

3. LRenier, Itin. romains de la Gaule, Par. 1850. MPinder, das It. Burd. u. die Veron. Hs. desselben, Berl. SBer. 1860, 316. Cf. AdeBarthélémy, rev. archéol. 1864 2, 98. ABertrand, les voies rom. en Gaule, Par. 1863. Aurès, concordance des voies apollinaires (n. 5) et de l'itin. de Bordeaux etc., Nismes 1868.

4. Itinerarium Alexandri ad Constantium Aug. ed. nunc primum (from Ambros. P. 49 sup. s. IX/X, cf. § 399, 1. 3). . . . AMai, Mediol. 1817. 4. (Frankf. a. M. 1818); also in his Classici auct. t. 7 init., and by CMüller in FDübner's ed. of Arrianos (Par. 1846), p. 155. Ed. DVolkmann, Naumburg 1871. Cf. Letronne, journ. des savants 1818, 401. FHaase, miscell. philol. 2 (Bresl. 1858), 20. It begins: *dextrum admodum sciens et omini tibi et magisterio futurorum, domine Constanti, bonis melior imperator, si orso feliciter iam accinctoque persicam expeditionem itinerarium principum eodem opere gloriosorum, Alexandri scilicet Magni Traianique, componerem, libens sane et laboris cum amore succubui.* The end (after c. 120), being the part concerning Trajan, which was perhaps derived from Arrianos' Parthika, is lost. The work is chiefly derived from Arrianos' Anabasis (CKluge, de itinerario Alexandri M., Berl. 1861, 4) and likewise from Pseudo-Kallisthenes (ib. 20) in Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius' translation (§ 399). To this same author has been assigned, not without probability on account of the remarkable similarity of diction, the itinerarium which in the only MS. (above l. 2) follows the history of Alexander (§ 399, 1). On the diction (imitation of Sallust, Graecisms, antiquated and popular expressions) see Kluge l.l. 46. 54. Contributions to textual criticism ib. 56, EBährens, JJ. 107, 68, JGrion (riv. di fil. 1873), RPeiper (Phil. 33, 742), HRönsch, JJ. 127, 653.

5. At Vicarello (Aquae Apollinares) in Etruria were found four silver travelling-cups in the shape of mile-stones, inscribed with a list of the stations and distances on the route from Gades to Rome; they date from about the 3rd cent. CIL. 11, 3281-3284 Cf. WHenzen, RhM. 9, 20. RGarrucci, dissert. archeologiche, Rome 1864, 160. AJacob, les itin. des Aq. Ap., Par. 1859. Rev. archéol. 1862 1, 254. 1870 2, 124.

6. In addition to the itineraria adnotata (the posting-books) there were also itineraria picta (travelling-maps, see Veget. 3, 6). One of these is preserved in the so-called tabula Peutingerana. It is thus named after the Augsburg recorder Konrad Peutinger, who obtained it in a. 1508 from its discoverer Konr. Celtes; it was made in the 13th century and is now (having formed part of the library of Prince Eugene) in the Vienna court-library. This itinerary at one time consisted of 12 strips of parchment stuck together; of these the first (which related to the extreme West) is not extant. It is a copy of an early original, whose notices concerning the natural features and ethnological conditions of the Roman Empire, as well as its division into provinces, are probably derived in the main from Agrippa's map (§ 220, 12); the most important portion, the net-work of roads, having been subsequently inserted into the already existing frame. It is not possible to ascertain with certainty at what time (the 4th or as early as the 3rd century?) and by whom this addition was made. Miller l.l., relying on the fictitious names of authors given by the geogr. Rav., supposes Castorius to be the author, cf. § 497, 4. It is a road and travelling map, which—even now contained in a scroll 0·34 metre in breadth and 6·82 in length—depicted the world as known to the Romans, much compressed in the direction from North to South, but extended, in proportion to the materials to be incorporated in it, from East to West. The shape adopted for practical convenience of course entirely excludes mathematical accuracy. The map does not furnish even an approximately correct representation of the configuration, superficial area and situation of the countries;

it only enables us by the figures subjoined to tell the distances and the relative position of the various places in all directions. Editions: the first, fragm. tab. antiq. etc. (by M. Welser), Ven. 1591 (CRuelens, la première édition de la table de Peut., Bull. de la soc. Belge de géogr. 1884, no. 3), first complete edition (also by Welser), Antwerp 1598. Then by CFvScheyb, Vienna 1753; CMannert, Lips. 1824; esp. (a coloured facsimile, the size of the original) by EDesjardins, Paris 1868-74 (incomplete text). KMiller, die Weltkarte des Castorius, gen. die Peutingersche Tafel in den Farben des Originals (verkleinert) herausgg. u. eingeleitet, Ravensb. 1888 (on this GHirschfeld, BerlphilWschr. 1888, 624. JPartsch, deutsche LZ. 1888, 1532). Cf. EDesjardins, les onze régions d'Auguste, Par. 1875. FPhilippi, de tab. Peut.; acced. fragm. Agrippae geogr., Bonn 1876. RHotz, z. Erkl. u. Gesch. d. Peut. T., Mitt. d. Inst. f. österr. Gesch. 7, 209.

7. The two lists of the Regions are derived from a document of the time of Constantine (published perhaps between 312-315 ?), which contained an official survey of the 14 regions (quarters) into which Augustus had divided Rome, the buildings erected on them etc., together with a notice as to their extent. The earlier recension, the so-called Notitia (written between a. 334 and 357), is found in the MSS. of the Notitia dignitatum (§ 453, 6) and in the Vienna Historical Handbook (§ 413); the later one (composed subsequently to a. 357, probably earlier than 403) bears the title Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIV cum breviariis suis (on supplements to this AKlügmann, Herm. 15, 211). By additions to the Curiosum from the basis capitolina (CIL. 6, 975) and literary sources, Italian scholars of the 15th century composed a kind of topographical manual, which was represented as the work of a newly discovered author P. Victor (Urlichs l.l. p. 29). The name of Sex. Rufus was probably given to the Curiosum because it was found in MSS. behind his Breviarium (§ 416, 1).—See on the whole subject HJordan, Topographie der Stadt Rom, vol. 2, Berl. 1871, and by the same author Forma Urbis Romae regionum XIIII, Berl. 1874. A collection of the texts also in CLUrlichs codex urbis Romae topographicus, Würzb. 1871.

8. Palaestinae descriptiones ex saec. IV V VI, edited by TTobler, St. Gallen 1869. Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones terrae sanctae bellis sacris anteriora et latina lingua exarata . . . edd. TTobler et AMolinier I, Geneva 1879. These collections contain it. Burdig. (n. 3), Hieronymi peregrinatio Paulae (c. a. 404), Paulae et Eustochii epist. ad Marcellam de locis sanctis (a. 386), Eucherius de locis aliquibus sanctis (c. a. 440), descriptio parochiae Jerusalem (a. 460), breviarius de Hierosolyma (c. a. 530), Theodosius de terra sancta (c. a. 530, the two latter completed and published by JGildemeister, Bonn 1882), de situ terrae sanctae sec. Theodosium, Antonini martyris perambulatio locorum sanctorum (c. a. 570, recently re-edited by JGildemeister, Berl. 1889) and others.—S. Silviae Aquitanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta, dating from the end of the 4th century (c. a. 390), important alike as regards subject-matter and language (on account of its popular Latin), preserved in an incomplete form and without the name of the author, but from internal evidence rightly attributed by Gamurrini l.l. p. xxxiv to Silvia, the sister of Rufinus (cos. 392, praef. or., † 395; see § 439, 3. 4 and Palladius, hist. Laus. 143 = Migne, ser. graeca 34, 1246). Palladius praises extravagantly her enthusiasm and her learning, of which however the peregrinatio conveys a lower estimate. Ed. princeps: S. Hilarii tractatus de mysteriis et hymni et S. Silviae peregrinatio etc. ed. (from cod. Arret. s. XI, at one time in Monte Cassino) JFGamurrini (Bibl. dell' acad. storico-giuridica, vol. IV), Rome 1887. A corrected edition (after a fresh revision of the MS.) of the peregrinatio by Gamurrini, studj e documenti di storia e diritto 9, 97.—EWölfflin, ArchfLexikogr. 4, 259.

PGeyer ib. 4, 611. KWeyman, Tüb. theol. Quartalschr. 70, 34. Mommsen, Berl. SBer. 1887, 357. AEbert, LdMA. 1², 345.—A short list of the localities of the Holy Land with statement of distances (from a cod. Voss.) belonging perhaps to the beginning of the 5th cent. in JBPitra, anall. sacra et class., Par. 1888, 118. Peregrinatio ad loca sancta, ed. JPomialowsky, St. Petersb. 1889. PGeyer, Krit. Beitr. zu Silviae peregr., Augsb. 1890.

## 2. THE SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

### *a*) The Time before Theodosius I.

413. In the beginning of the second half of the century we possess an important historical source in the extensive historical Handbook for the City of Rome, a. 354, to which a Vienna MS. adds a general and a town chronicle, together with the Notitia regionum (§ 412, 7) and continuations down to A.D. 559.

1. This handbook, extant on the one hand in the Bruxell. 7542/48 s. XVII and Vatican. 9135 s. XVII (both copies of a Peirescianus s. VIII/IX now lost), on the other hand, and most completely, in the Vindobon. 3416 s. XV (a copy of a cod. s. IX which is now lost, all except a few leaves at Berne), has been edited and commented upon by Mommsen, über den Chronographen vom J. 354, Abh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1 (1850), 549.

2. In the Brussels MS. and the first half of the Vienna MS. (see n. 4), the Handbook consists of the following parts:—I A calendar by Furius Philocalus, see § 74, 8.—III Fasti consulares (the so-called Anonymus Norisianus, from the edition by Norisius, Flor. 1689) the most complete and trustworthy of all extant in MS., from the beginning of the Consulate until A.D. 354. The fasti capitolini e.g. are utilised in this. Mommsen, CIL. 1, p. 483; Herm. 9, 279. OHirschfeld, Herm. 9, 96.—IV An Easter-table (cyclus paschalis), carried down to a. 358, with later and worthless additions until a. 410 sq.—V A list of the Roman prefects, a. 258–354 *ex temporibus Gallieni quis quantum temporis praefecturam urbis administraverit*).—VI *Depositio episcoporum. item depositio martyrum,* a list of the burial and memorial days of the Roman bishops and of the martyrs from a. 255 (235) down to 335, composed 336, supplemented 352–369; a precursor of the Christian calendar. JBde Rossi, Roma sotterranea 1, 116. The Martyrologium is the earliest extant and forms the basis of the one ascribed to St. Jerome. A review of the later martyrologies in Wattenbach, Deutschl. Geschichtsquellen 1⁵, 58 sq. ELeBlant, les acta martyrum et leurs sources, Nouv. rev. histor. du droit 3 (1879) 463.—VII Lists of the Roman bishops (*quis episcopus quot annis praefuit vel quo imperante*) down to Liberius (a. 352–369) according to the years of the Consuls, begun about 230 and completed under Liberius; the first half (down to a. 230) is an attempt to fix the earliest reminiscences of the Church of Rome, the second (231–352) bears an official character. This forms the basis of the Pontificale Romanum (liber pontificalis), see Wattenbach, Deutschl. Geschichtsq. 1⁵, 57. GWaitz, NArch. f. ält. deutsche Gesch. 4, 217. 9, 459. 10, 455. 11, 217. LDuchesne, le liber pontificalis, texte, introduct., commentaire. Par. 1884. 85 II. Cf. RALipsius, Chronologie der röm. Bischöfe, Kiel 1869, 40.

3. In the Vienna MS. these parts are augmented by:—IX A chronicle of the world, in agreement with the Bible, being a later redaction of the text extant in

the liber generationis (ed. Riese, geogr. lat. 160, cf. ib. xxxiv), two versions of the same Greek original (a. 235), probably by the Roman (anti-) bishop Hippolytus of Portus. BKrusch, NArch. f. ält. deutsche Gesch. 7, 249. 423. 456. HGelzer, Africanus 2, 2. Mommsen, Herm. 21, 142. Cf. § 499, 1.—X A chronicle of the City, entitled Origo gentis Romanorum, a general survey of Roman History down to Licinius, the earliest parts being treated in the manner of Euhemeros and the curiosities of the City being noticed throughout.—XI The so-called Notitia regionum; see § 412, 7. Additions of a later time, but not connected with the rest, contain Annals in a twofold text, a brief and meagre one (II), carried down from B.C. 47 (with gaps) to A.D. 539, and a longer one (VIII) from 47 B.C. to A.D. 403 and again (especially valuable for this period) from A.D. 455–496. This chronicon Cuspiniani (so called after the first editor JCuspinianus in his Cassiodorus, Bas. 1552, now best given by Mommsen l.l. 656) was written at Ravenna (whence it is also called consularia Ravennatia), is thoroughly official in character and has been used by many later writers. Pallman, Gesch. d. Völkerwander. 2, 196. GWaitz, Gött. Nachr. 1865, 81. GKaufmann, Phil. 34, 398. 729. 42, 473. 505. OSeeck, JJ. 139, 601. The excerptum Sangallense (from a. 390–573), printed (by JBRossi) bull. archeol. crist. 1867, 17 and Philol. 42, 484 (where see also Kaufmann) is valuable towards the completion of the chron. Cuspin. . . . An attempt to reconstruct the Ravenna Annals by OHolder-Egger, NArch. f. ält-deutsche Gesch. 1, 215. Against this Kaufmann, Phil. 42, l.l.

4. To the 4th (or 5th cent.) most probably belongs the passio sanctorum Simproniani (Simforiani), Claudii, Nicostrati, Castorii et Simplicii; which (showing remarkable acquaintance with the state of things in Pannonia) treats of the martyrdom (a. 307?) of five Pannonian quarriers who were Christians, and which purports to have been recorded at the time by a certain *Porphyrius censualis a gleba actuarius*. This legend was formerly connected with the Roman one concerning the IV coronati (see on this term OHirschfeld, archäol. epigraph. Mitteil. aus Österr. 9, 21) and underwent much alteration. Cf. WWattenbach, Wiener SBer. 10, 115, Deutschl. Geschichtsqu. $1^5$, 42 and esp. in MBüdinger's Unters. z. röm. Kaisergesch. 3, 323; cf. OHunziker, ib. 3; OBenndorf, ib. 339; MBüdinger; ib. 357. ADuncker, RhM. 31, 440. EMeyer, Forschungen z. deutsch. Gesch. 18 (1878), 577; d. Pass. ss. IV coron., Berl. 1886, and esp. JBdeRossi, Bull. di arch. crist. 3, 4 (1879), 45.—MPetschenig, z. Krit. u. Würdigung der passio IV coronat., Wien. SBer.'97, 761. CErbes, ZfKirchengesch. 5 (1882), 466.

414. The historical literature of this time consists in the short abridgments of Aurelius Victor, Eutropius and Festus. We possess under the name of Aurelius Victor a brief history of the Emperors (the so-called Caesares, written a. 360) down to nearly the end of Constantius, compiled from good authorities, and a second entirely different one (the so-called Epitome), which is brought down to the death of Theodosius I. There is nothing to preclude us from regarding the Caesares as an original work of Aurelius Victor. In order to get a complete account of Roman history, an unknown writer of a later period combined with the Caesares two treatises, of which the first (origo gentis romanae, dating from perhaps the 5th or 6th century) treats of the earliest

history of Rome, while the second (de viris illustribus), which is older and far more valuable, gives in a biographical form the history of Rome during the Regal and Republican periods.

1. HIERON. ep. 10, 3 (1, 24 Vall.) *ne putes modica esse quae deprecor: . . . scilicet commentarios Fortunatiani et, propter notitiam persecutorum, Aurelii Victoris historiam.* This shows that he means the Imperial History which was, therefore, the work of Victor. AMMIAN. 21, 10, 6 (a. 361) *ubi* (in Naissus) *Victorem, apud Sirmium visum scriptorem historicum exindeque venire praeceptum, Pannoniae secundae consularem praefecit (Iulianus) et honoravit aenea statua, virum sobrietatis gratia aemulandum, multo post* (a. 389) *urbi praefectum.* Therefore he is probably the Aurelius Victor, XVvir sacr. fac., leg. Augg. propr. prov. Pannoniae inf. in ORELLI 3715 (from Ameria). Cf. CIL. 6, 1186 *Theodosio Pio Victori semper Augusto Sex. Aur. Victor v. c., urbi praef., iudex sacrarum cognitionum.* LYD. de mag. 3, 7 *σιτῶναι, οὓς Οὐίκτωρ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῶν ἐμφυλίων φρουμενταρίους οἶδε* (=Caes. 39, 44). PAUL. DIAC. gest. Langob. 2, 18 (*Victoris historia*=Caes. 5, 2). VICTOR Caes. 20, 5 *mihi . . . qui rure ortus tenuique et indocto patre in haec tempora vitam praestiti, studiis tantum honestiorem.* Further on (6 sq.) he alludes to himself as a fellow-countryman of Septimius Severus, and therefore an African.

2. The short treatise (Caesares) bears in the Brussels MS. (see n. 6) the title: *Aurelii Victoris historiae abbreviatae, ab Augusto Octaviano, i.e. a fine T. Livi, usque ad consulatum X Constantii Aug. et Iuliani Caesaris III* (=a. 360), cf. Caes. 42, 19 *Iulius Constantius annos XXIII augustum imperium regens* etc. Suetonius is much employed. The work becomes more detailed as the author approaches his own time. Constantius († 361) is called *noster princeps* 42, 5; cf. 34, 7 and 41, 9. *nostra aetate* 28, 2 (*consule Philippo*=a. 348) and 16, 10 (*Cereali consule*=a. 358); *nostra memoria* 39, 6. 40, 14. 13, 6 *his annis suffectae vires Illyrico sunt, praefecto medente Anatolio* (a. 359). The work was composed a. 360, see above l. 3. The author is a Pagan (cf. e.g. 40, 15. 41, 20) and attaches much importance to portents. The reflections which he intersperses concerning the value of litterae and relating to morals (esp. 20, 2 sqq. and 13. 28, 7 sqq. 39, 5 and 7. 40, 13 sq. 41, 21. 42, 2 sqq.) show him to have been a practical man of the old stamp and frequently remind us of Ammianus. He often imitates Sallust (WÖLFFLIN l.l. 285. THOPITZ, JJ. 127, 217) and makes use of Tac. (WÖLFFLIN, ib. 302). According to THOPITZ (de Sex. Aur. Vict., in Acta soc. phil. Lips. 2, 199) the short treatise extant is not the original work of Victor, but only an abridgment of it. EWÖLFFLIN (RhM. 29, 282, see also JB. 1874/75 1, 790) attempts to support this on linguistic grounds. Another view is that of LJEEP, A. V. de Caess. hist. e l' epitome de Caess., in the Turin Rivista di filologia 1 (1873), 505. The tone of the whole suggests an original work.—Criticism: JFREUDENBERG, Herm. 11, 489. THOPITZ, JJ. 117, 650.

3. The Epitome bears in two Gudiani s. IX/X and XI the heading: *Libellus de vita et moribus imperatorum breviatus ex libris Sex. Aurelii Victoris* (the name is exactly the same as in the inscription CIL. 6, 1186; see above n. 1), *a Caesare Aug. usque ad Theodosium.* Close approximation to the Caess. occurs only at c. 1–11, but in such a way that the Epitome even here is frequently (e.g. c. 1. 10) fuller than the Caess., whether it be that the Epitome at first made use of the Caess., but for some reason or other set it aside after Domitian, or whether they both in common had recourse to an Epitome of Suetonius. ACOHN, quibus ex fontibus S. Aur. Victoris et libri de Caess. et epitomes undecim capita priora fluxerint, Berl. 1884. RARMSTEDT, quae ratio intercedat inter XI capp. priora etc., Bückeb. 1885.—No

agreement is to be shown, at least with certainty, further on (this view is adopted by Jeep l.l. 515), and the two versions, being derived from different sources, are in the main entirely divergent. Epit. 12-23 indeed on account of their marked attention to personal details suggest Marius Maximus as an (indirect) authority; the theory that it is on an abridgment of Ammianus Marc. made about a. 400, commencing with Nerva and brought down to the death of Theodosius (cf. c. 48, 8), that the authority for the Epitome founds himself, has in any case no colour of probability until the time of Constantine (c. 42). The last chapters, of which the subject is a description of actual events in the life of the (original) author, are unbiassed in substance but paltry in style. Cf. Opitz l.l. 208. 260. LJeep l.l. 512. EWölfflin l.l. 292.

4. The short anonymous treatise *de viris illustribus urbis Romae* (generally attributed to Pliny in the separate MSS.) reaches in 86 chaps. from the Alban king Procas down to M. Antonius and treats also of non-Romans who played a part in Roman history (e.g. Pyrrhos, Hannibal, Kleopatra). It contains much valuable information, and its precise diction compares advantageously with the verbosity of Victor (Caess.). The chief source of the little book appears to be an older work de viris illustribus, probably that of Hyginus (§ 262, 2), the medium through whom he appears to have drawn from Valerius Antias, Livy (who is however directly employed), Varro, Nepos, Ampelius, (Florus?) and others. EWölfflin, de Ampelii libro mem. p. 25; JB. 1874/75 1, 791. Mommsen, röm. Forsch. 2, 430. CAldenhoven, Herm. 5, 150. HHaupt, de auctoris de vir. illustr. libro quaestt., Würzb. 1876; Phil. Anz. 10, 402. HHildesheimer, de libro de vir. ill. urb. Rom. quaestt. histor., Berl. 1880. AEnmann, eine verlorene Gesch. d. röm. Kaiser u. das Buch de vir. illustr. U. R., Phil. Suppl. 4, 337. CJVinkesteyn, de fontt. ex quibus scriptor libri de vir. illustr. U. R. hausisse videtur, Leiden 1886. JRosenhauer, symb. ad quaestt. de fontt. libri de vir. ill. U. R., Kempten 1882.—Collations of the Bruxell. 9755, Laur. 47, 32 and Vatic. 4498, all s. XV, in Hildesheimer l.l. 81; that of an Augsburg MS. by GHelmreich, Phil. 39, 161. 549. 40, 167.—Separate editions by KFABrohm (for schools, Lpz.[3] 1860) and EKeil (with a commentary, Bresl.[2] 1872).

5. The origo gentis romanae also extant in the Bruxell. and Oxoniensis (n. 6), is an insipid little book, which gets in 23 chapters from Saturn to Romulus, this lore being first derived from Vergil, or from Vergilian scholia, and then dressed up with all kinds of spurious erudition, e.g. such quotations as: *Alexander Ephesius libro I belli Marsici* (9); *Vulcatius et Acilius Piso* (10); *M. Octavius libro I, Domitius libro I* (12); *Lutatius libro III* (13); *Lucius Caesar lib. I itemque A. Postumius in eo volumine quod de adventu Aeneae conscripsit atque edidit* (15; from Serv. Aen. 9, 707 [§ 127, 1 ad fin.]); *C. Caesar et Sex. Gellius in origine g. rom.* (16; Bährens makes of this *Sextius Gallus* and compares the Sextius who wrote on Tibur in Solin. p. 35, 10 Momms.); *annalis pontificum IV, lib. Cincii et Caesaris II, Tuberonis I* (17); *annalium libro IV et epitomarum Pisonis II; Aufidius in epitomis et Domitius libro I* (18); *Valerius Antias lib. I* (19); . . . *Fabius Pictor lib. I et Vennonius* (20); *Veratius l. II. pontificalium* (22); *Licinius Macer lib. I* . . . *Egnatius lib. I* (23). Such curious erudition would incline us to assign the compilation to the 15th century (Niebuhr, Orelli, WABecker, Hulleman, Rotter, WHarless), but internal reasons and the fact that there were in existence older MSS. oblige us to ascribe it rather to some schoolman of the 5th or 6th century (JMähly, HJordan), i.e. to the time of Fulgentius (cf. § 466, 17), with whom it worthily compares. BSepp, however, (pref. to his edd.) even traces it back to Verrius Flaccus (§ 261), and EBährens, JJ. 135, 769 takes it to be an abridgment of an unknown work by

this author. Paulus Diaconus and his continuator Landolfus Sagax (see § 39, 5) already made use of an authority very similar to, but more complete than this origo; Mommsen, Herm. 12, 401; NArch. f. ält. deutsche Gesch. 5, 59. Was this the historia latina used by Hieronymus (434, 10)? Mommsen l.l. 401. Cf. besides 1, 6 *quare* (Verg. Aen. 1, 243) *addiderit tutus suo loco plenissime adnotavimus in commentatione quam occepimus scribere, cognita ex eo libro qui inscriptus est de origine patavina.* JMähly, de auctore libelli qui inscrib. de or. g. r., Jahn's Archiv. 18, 132; cf. 19, 315; JJ. 71, 264. CLRoth, Jahn's Arch. 19, 314. Reiffenberg, bull. de l'acad. de Bruxelles 11, no. 5; 10, 468. HRotter, de auctore libelli de or. g. r., Cottbus 1858. HJordan, RhM. 18, 589; Caton. reliqq. p. xxix and Herm. 3, 389. ThOpitz, RhM. 29, 186. Criticism also in Bährens l.l.—Separate editions: by ASchott, Douay 1577. Incerti auctoris liber de or. g. r., edited with an introduction by BSepp, Munich 1879; ad fid. cod. Brux. denuo rec. BSepp, Eichstädt 1885.

6. The origo, the viri illustres and the Caesares are extant together in the Bruxell. 9757/62 s. XV and in the Oxon. Canonic. 131 s. XIV/XV (these are collated by ACohn [n. 3] and Mommsen, Berl. SBer. 1884, 951, and discussed also by EHaverfield, Journ. of phil. 15, 161. ThOpitz, JJ. 133, 140). For the viri illustres only, there are other and more complete MSS. (n. 4 in fin.). From these three treatises in the above-mentioned MSS. (with abridgments, e.g. c. 1 of the viri ill. has become blended with the end of the origo) a Corpus of Roman history was compiled at a late date. On a more complete origo see n. 5 in fin. The compiler gave to his collection the following heading: *Origo gentis romanae a Iano et Saturno conditoribus per succedentes sibimet reges usque ad consulatum X Constantii digesta ex auctoribus Verrio Flacco, Antiate (ut quidem idem Verrius maluit dicere quam Antia* [§ 155, 2]), *tum ex annalibus pontificum, Cincio* (§ 117), *Egnatio* (cf. § 192, 1), *Veratio* (n. 5; cf. § 199, 4), *Fabio Pictore, Licinio Macro, Varrone, Caesare, Tuberone* (§ 208, 1) *atque ex omni priscorum historia. proinde ut quisque neotericorum asseveravit, hoc est et Livius et Victor Afer* (n. 1 ad fin.). The three component parts of the Corpus can be clearly distinguished: 1) the origo: to the exaggerated enumeration of authorities which he found in the little book (n. 5) the compiler adds in the heading *ex Verrio* and *Varrone* (the Oxon. however at 7, 4 reads *uaro* for *Maro*); 2) the viri illustres and 3) the Caesares, the former as though derived from Livy, the latter from Victor, from *neoterici* in contrast to the *prisci*. In passing from the origo to the viri ill. the compiler of the Corpus designates the v. ill. as *historia Liviana*. After the viri ill. we read: *finit prima pars huius operis* (=origo+viri ill.), *incipit secunda Aurelii Victoris.*

7. Editions of the four short treatises in particular by ASchott (from the Brussels MS. See above n. 2. 6, Antwerp 1579), SPitiscus (cum notis, Utr. 1696), JArntzen (Amstelod. 1733), JFGruner (Coburg 1757), FSchröter (Lps. 1829–31 II). Also in histor. rom. scriptores minores, Bipont. 1789, and elsewhere.

415. Under Valens, Eutropius wrote his brief account of the entire history of Rome (breviarum ab urbe condita) in ten books, from the ordinary sources, with good judgment, skill and impartiality, and in a simple style. The brevity and practical arrangement of the work soon recommended it to a large class of readers and it was both translated (into Greek) and continued.

1. Suid. s. v.: Εὐτρόπιος, Ἰταλός, σοφιστής. τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπιτομικῶς τῇ Ἰταλῶν φωνῇ ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα. Eutrop. 10, 16, 1 *Iulianus . . . Parthis intulit*

*bellum, cui expeditioni* (a. 363) *ego quoque interfui.* Cf. NIKEPH. GREG. in Lambec. comm. de bibl. Vindob. 8, 136 *μνησθήσομαι* (as a witness for Constantine) *ἑνὸς τοὔνομα Εὐτροπίου βραχυλογίᾳ χρωμένου τὰ μάλιστα . . . καὶ ταῦτα ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντος πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον διά τε τὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἀκοινώνητον καὶ πρός γε διὰ τὸ ἡλικιώτην ὁμοῦ καὶ αἱρεσιώτην Ἰουλιανοῦ γεγενῆσθαι.* Previously: *ὁ σοφὸς Εὐτρόπιος, ὃς Οὐάλεντι μὲν σύγχρονος γεγονώς, Ἕλλην δ' ὢν τὴν θρησκείαν* etc. GEORG. CODIN. de orig. Const. p. 18 Bonn. *Εὐτρ. ὁ σοφιστὴς ὁ τῷ παραβάτῃ Ἰουλιανῷ συμπαρὼν ἐν Περσίδι καὶ ὁ ἐπιστολογράφος Κωνσταντίνου* (where there is an error only in the name of Constantine). Dedication: *Domino Valenti Gothico Maximo Perpetuo Augusto Eutropius v. c. magister memoriae* (MOMMSEN in Droysen's ed. mai. p. II. v). *Res rom. ex voluntate mansuetudinis tuae ab urbe condita ad nostram memoriam, quae in negotiis vel bellicis vel civilibus eminebant, per ordinem temporum brevi narratione collegi strictim, additis etiam his quae in principum vita egregia extiterunt* etc. It is uncertain with which of the various Eutropii of the 4th cent. the author is identical; possibly he was the friend of Libanios (see LIBAN. epp.) and a nephew of the orator Akakios of Antioch, cf. EUTR. 6. 14), and likewise the person to whom are addressed SYMMACH. ep. 3, 46–53 (cf. ib. 3, 47 *cui pollet Minerva*).

2. SUID. s. v. *Καπίτων Λύκιος μετάφρασιν τῆς ἐπιτομῆς Εὐτροπίου ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐπιτεμόντος Λίβιον τὸν Ῥωμαῖον.* This also does not apply literally to the earlier period. For this portion it is probable that Eutropius chiefly used an (enlarged) abridgment of Livy; UKÖHLER, qua rat. Liv. ann. (1860) p. 38. PIROGOFF l.l. 39. RJACOBI, de Festi fontt. 35. DROYSEN, proleg. ed. mai. p. XXXVII. Cf. § 455, 4. CWAGENER, Phil. 45, 510. AENMANN (§ 414, 4). For the Imperial history, Suetonius (cf. WAGENER l.l. 520), the Chronicle of a. 354 (MOMMSEN, der Chronograph p. 601) and the scriptores h. a. are employed. Besides the facts Eutropius generally gives a brief characterisation, of the impartiality of which the judgments on Constantine and Julian (10, 6. 10, 16) may be quoted as instances. The work ends with the death of Jovianus (a. 364): *quia ad inclitos principes venerandosque* (the existing rulers) *perventum est interim operi modum dabimus. nam reliqua stilo maiore dicenda sunt. quae nunc non tam praetermittimus quam ad maiorem scribendi diligentiam reservamus.* WPIROGOFF, de Eutr. brev. indole ac fontibus I, Berl. 1873.

3. Other works of Eutropius are indicated by SUIDAS' (n. 1) *καὶ ἄλλα.* There are no traces of them extant, except perhaps the quotation in PRISC. GL. 2, 8 *id etiam Eutropius confirmat, dicens* (on *x*).

4. The breviarium of Eutr. was used already by Festus (brev.? § 486, 2 l. 5), Hieronymus, Orosius, Vict. epit. (§ 414, 3), Jordanis, Isidorus and others. CWAGENER, Phil. 42, 521. In particular the brev. of Eutropius forms the nucleus of the Historia Romana of Paulus Diaconus (see § 500, 6), hence also that of the historia miscella (see § 39, 5). Cf. DROYSEN, ed. mai. p. XXXIX. WHARTEL, Eutrop. u. Paulus, Wien. SBer. 71 (1872) 227.

5. There is extant in an almost complete version (e.g. in the Laur. 70, 5 s. XV) the Greek translation of the Breviarium by Paianios (probably Paianios of Syria, the pupil of Libanios, and frequently mentioned in his letters; ESCHULTZE l.l. 286), composed c. a. 380, cf. 9, 24 *cum Narseo Hormisdae et Saporis avo*, which Paianios thus translates: *πάππος δὲ ἦν οὗτος Σάπωρί* [† a. 379] *τε καὶ Ὀρμίσδᾳ τοῖς εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἡλικίαν ἀφικομένοις.* On the importance of the translation for the criticism of E. see RDUNCKER, JJ. 119, 646; de Paeanio Eutropii interprete, Greiffenb. 1880. First edited by FSYLBURG, hist. graec. script. min. (Frankf. 1590) 3, 62; then in the edd. of Eutr., the best being DROYSEN's large ed.; specially by CFSCHMID (Lauenb. 1736), JFSKALTWASSER (Gotha 1870). Cf. WEBER, de lat. script.

quae Graeci transtulerunt 2 (Cassel 1848), 16. ESchultze, de Paeanio Eutropii interprete, Phil. 29, 285.—The fragments of a second Greek translation, very probably that of Capito (n. 2), dating from the 6th century A.D. in Io. Antioch. (AKöcher, de Io. Ant. 1871, 17), Suidas, Planudes have been collected by Hartel (n. 4) p. 14 sqq. and esp. in Droysen's ed. maior.

6. The MSS. of Eutropius himself are divisible into two classes: to the first belongs the Gothanus 101 s. IX and the 'Fuldensis pervetustus' of Sylburg (FLüdecke, JJ. 111, 874) now lost, which was closely related to it; also the MS. used by Paulus Diaconus (n. 4), with which Vatic. 1860 s. XIV is in close agreement; to the second class, which shows evidence of a very corrupt text, belong Leidensis s. X and Bertinianus (at St. Omer) s. IX/X.

7. Editions especially that of ASchoonhoven (Bas. 1552) and EVinetus (Burdig. 1553; these two editions are the earliest of Eutropius himself. HDroysen, Herm. 12, 386), SHavercamp (Leid. 1729), HVerheyk (Leid. 1762. 1793), CHTzschucke (Lps. 1796; smaller ed. Lps. 1804). Smaller editions by WHartel (with short critical notes), Berl. 1872, HDroysen, Berl. 1878, CWagener, Prague 1884 (cf. his Jahresberichte Phil. 42, 379. 511. 44, 300. 45, 509), FRühl, Lps. 1887. In particular Eutropii breviarum ab urbe condita cum versionibus graecis et Pauli Landolfique additamentis, rec. et adnot. HDroysen Berl. 1879.—A school edition by OEichert (Hanover 1871). A lexicon to Eutr. by OEichert, Bresl. 1850.—Criticism: RDuncker, JJ. 119, 641; de Paeanio (see n. 5) p. 18. CSchrader, JJ. 129, 216.—PEbeling, quaestt. Eutropianae, Halle 1881.—JSorn, d. Sprachgebrauch d. Eutr. I, Halle in Austria 1888; cf. § 348, 7. II, Laibach 1889.

## 416. In the year 669 was composed the similar but much more scanty work of (Rufius) Festus. To the same period may possibly belong Julius Obsequens' list of prodigies in the years 505/249–742/12 B.C. after an abridgment of Livy.

1. Festus commences thus: *Brevem fieri clementia tua praecepit. parebo libens, quippe cui desit facultas latius eloquendi. . . . res gestas signabo, non eloquar. accipe ergo quod breviter dictis brevius computetur.* c. 2 *ab urbe cond. in ortum perennitatis vestrae . . .* (a. 364) *anni numerantur MCXVII.* Conclusion (c. 29): *quam magno deinceps ore tua, princeps invicte, facta sunt personanda! quibus me, licet imparem dicendi nisu et aevo graviorem parabo. maneat modo concessa . . . felicitas ut ad hanc ingentem de Gothis* (defeated a. 369 by Valens at Neviodunum in lower Moesia) *etiam Babyloniae tibi palma pacis acedat.* From this conclusion and from c. 10 (*eoas partes totumque orientem ac positas sub vicino sole provincias qui auctores sceptris tuis paraverint explicabo, quo studium clementiae tuae quod in isdem propagandis habes amplius incitetur*) it is evident that the work is addressed to Valens. The address preceding the opening words: *Pio perpetuo domino Valentiniano imp. et semper aug. Rufus Festus v. c.* is spurious; it is wanting in the best MSS. (Goth. Par. Bamb. Escor.) and is contained, as far as the earlier MSS. are concerned, only in Vindob. 89 s. IX. Equally spurious and even less accredited by MSS. are the words added at the end of the Vulgate (after *accedat*): *gloriosissime principum, Valentiniane auguste.*—Title in the Bamb.: *breviarium* (*ab urbe condita* is added in the subscriptio) *Festi v. c. magistri memoriae*, in the Par.: *breviarium Festi*, in the Goth.: (the author not being named) *de breviario rerum gestarum pop. rom.*, in the Escor.: *breviarium Rufi Festi vic. de breviario rerum gestarum pop. rom.* (at the close: *breviarium Rufi Festi vic. Augusto Valenti scriptum*).

*Rufus* (or *Rufius?*, as the nominative *Rufus* in the address being open to suspicion proves nothing) *Festus* is the name also given to the author in the Vindob. 89 s. IX (see above), 451 s. XII and elsewhere. Titles such as *S. Rufi v. c. rerum gestarum pop. rom. epitome* and so forth are unauthenticated. It is worthy of notice that in the best MSS. (in the upper margin also of some leaves of the Goth. is found *breviar. Festi*) the author is only called *Festus*, to which in the Bamb. is added *magister memoriae*. VALESIUS on Ammianus 29, 2, 22 and CWAGENER, Phil. 38, 375. 42, 521 (cf. phil. Anz. 5, 104. 8, 242) take him for Festus of Trent (magister memoriae between a. 365–372, † when proconsul of Asia a. 380). If we accept the name *Ruf(i)us*, he might be identified with the procos. Achaiae (and Africae) Ῥούφιος Φῆστος (a. 366 sqq.; cf. § 420, 1). So MOMMSEN, who in CIL. 6, 537 suggests that the author of the breviarium and the poet Rufius Festus (Avienus, § 420) are identical, which appears far from probable. It is more likely that the poet. Ruf. Festus Avienus is either the son or the father of the historian. (Cf. also MOMMSEN, Herm. 16, 605.)

2. The first half (c. 3–14) is geographical in plan, the second (15–29) historical. F. is not yet acquainted with the province of Valentia as constituted a. 369. On the sources see esp. RJACOBI, de Festi breviarii fontibus, Bonn 1874. Festus used Livy (in an abridgment), Florus (cf. AEUSSNER, Phil. 37, 154; also CWAGENER, Phil. Anz. 7, 51), Eutropius (or his source? MOMMSEN in Droysen's Eutrop. ed. mai. p. XXVI), lastly (c. 25–29) he adds the conclusion from his own recollection. On Ammianus' relation to Festus see MOMMSEN, Herm. 16, 605.

3. The manuscripts of Festus divide into two classes, the first represented in particular by Goth. 101 s. IX (§ 415, 6), Bamberg. E III 22 s. XI, Par. 6113[a] s. X, Vind. 451 s. XII, the second (with omissions and frequently corrupt) esp. by Escorialensis s. VII (collated in WFÖRSTER, Wiener Studd. 1, 303) and by Vind. 89 s. IX. WFÖRSTER, de Rufi breviario eiusque codicibus, pref. to his ed.—Editions e.g. by CHRCELLARIUS (Zeiz 1673. Hal. 1698), in the editions of Eutropius by HAVERCAMP and VERHEYK; also by CHTZSCHUCKE (Lps. 1793), CMÜNNICH (Hanover 1815), RMECENATE, Rome 1819 (see Phil. 33, 371), WFÖRSTER (Vienna 1874), CWAGENER, Prague 1886.

4. *Iulii Obsequentis ab a. u. c. DV* (JBERNAYS, RhM. 12, 436) *prodigiorum liber*. Of this no MS. is now extant: the editio princeps is by ALDUS, Venet. 1508 (with Pliny the Younger). Later editions esp. by JSCHEFFER (Amstelod. 1679), FOUDENDORP (Leid. 1720; cf. Acta phil. Monac. 2, 291), JKAPP (Hof 1772) and esp. rec. et emend. OJAHN (Lps. 1863, in the periochae of Livy p. 109, cf. p. XIII). Also in the Livy of WEISSENBORN-MÜLLER, vol. 10[2], Berl. 1881. The short treatise is derived entirely from Livy, and that not directly but from an epitome, in which the consular names were placed at the commencement in the ablative, probably the same used by Cassiodorus (MOMMSEN, Cassiod. 552). This limited scholarship, on the one hand, and on the other hand the superstitious and heathen attention to portents enable us to determine the date of composition approximately. HHAUPT, animadvv. in Iulii Obseq. prodig. lib., Bautzen 1881.

417. Oratory was practised by many during this period, especially in Gaul, e.g. by Gennadius, Minervius, Alcimus, Delphidius, Arborius and soon afterwards by Ausonius; while the Sophists Himerios, Libanios and others declaimed in Greek. The only extant Latin speech of this period is Claudius Mamertinus' gratiarum actio for the consulate conferred upon him by Julian,

delivered at Constantinople on 1 January 362. It gives, in its way, a faithful portrait of Julian's individuality and character as a ruler.

1. HIERON. chron. a. 2369=352 A.D. *Gennadius forensis orator Romae insignis habetur.*

2. HIERON. chron. a. 2369=352 A.D. *Minervius Burdigalensis rhetor Romae florentissime docet.* This *Ti. Victor Minervius orator* taught first at Constantinople, then at Rome, and lastly at Burdigala, his native town; see AUSON. prof. Burd. 1. Is it to him that SYMMACH. epp. 9, 88 refers as his teacher and *Garumnae alumnus* (§ 391, 8)? SEECK pref. to his Symmachus p. XLIV.

3. HIERON. chron. a. 2371=354 *Alchimus et Delfidius rhetores in Aquitanica florentissime docent.* On Delphidius cf. § 401, 7. Latinus Alcimus Alethius was, according to AUSON. prof. Burd. 2, 21, tutor to (the Emperor) Julian and to Sallust (Fl. Sallustius cos. a. 362); cf. APOLL. SIDON. ep. 2, 7 (*Alethius*). 5, 10 (*abundantia Delphidii, Agroecii disciplina, fortitudo Alcimi*). 8, 11 (*si a te instructio rhetorica poscatur, hi Paulinum, illi Alcimum non requirunt*). To the same author (whom AUSONIUS l.l. calls *palmae forensis et camenarum decus*) probably belong a few epigrams which are extant under the name of Alcimus, AL. 713–715. 740. PLM. 4, 105. 187. Cf. HMEYER on the AL. 254. ARIESE, ZföG. 18, 398.—In a library catalogue s. IX (GBECKER p. 42) the following are set down as *Libri Alchimi*: *In adulescentem qui in publico patre cadente risit* etc. and a *controversia fullonis vel* (=et) *calvi.* MHAUPT, op. 3, 426.—His son was Alethius Minervius filius rhetor, to whom is addressed AUSON. profess. 7; cf. ibid. v. 12 and 3, v. 26.

4. SULPIC. SEV. chron. 2, 46, 3 *huius* (i.e. Marcus, who brought Gnosticism from Egypt to Spain) *auditores fuere Agape quaedam . . . et rhetor Helpidius* (Elp.). *ab his Priscillianus est institutus* (§ 418, 12). 47, 2 *damnati* (a. 380) . . . *Helpidius et Priscillianus laici* (at the Synod of Caesaraugusta). Another head of that sect (the Priscillianists) was Latronianus, see § 422, 7.

5. Aemilius Magnus Arborius, uncle by the mother's side and tutor to Ausonius (AUSON. parent. 3), a rhetorician at Tolosa, in Spain and at Constantinople, whither he had been called, after having made at Tolosa the acquaintance of *Constantini fratres* (i.e. Annaballianus, Constantius and Constans) *exilii specie sepositos*, and where he died (AUSON. prof. Burd. 17). Cf. AP. SIDON. ep. 5, 10 (*rigor Magni*).—ARIVINUS attributed to him without any definite reason a diffuse erotic poem, awkward in expression and modern in tone, fairly correct and careful in form, but monotonous; it was first edited from an unknown MS. in the ed. of Petronius by PATISSON, Par. 1587; now extant only in the Remensis 743 s. XV among poems which are for the most part mediaeval and of still later date, RELLIS, Journ. of phil. 9, 186; printed e.g. AL. 897 PLM. 5, 391.

6. On Symmachus the Elder see § 425, 1.

7. Claudius Mamertinus (grat. act. 17), appointed by Julian in the same year (21. 22, 361–362) praef. aerarii (1. 22; comes sacrarum largitionum, AMMIAN. 21, 8, 1), praef. praet. Illyrici et Italiae (1, cf. SYMMACH. ep. 10, 60. AMMIAN. 21, 12, 25. 26, 5, 5) and consul (cf. AMMIAN. 21, 10, 8. 21, 12, 25. 22, 3, 1), returned thanks to the Emperor in this speech, which is extant among the Panegyrici, see § 391, 1, and printed as no. 11 in BÄHRENS, also in MIGNE's patrol. 18, 409. Servility being of less value under this prince (21. 26) than sincerity (*libertas*, see 32), the orator merely praises rhetorically his real qualities, his strictness with bad officials (4),

his parsimony towards himself and liberality towards others (10), his simplicity (11), incessant activity (13 sq.), love of truth (26), thirst for glory (31), and these qualities he contrasts with the bad reigns of the preceding princes (11. 19 sq. 25). He does not forget to bring himself into prominence. He seems, however, like most of his fellow officials, to have failed to justify the confidence reposed in him by Julian; see Ammian. 27, 7, 1 (a. 368): *vix dies intercessere pauci cum Mamertinum praefectum praet. ab urbe regressum . . . Avitianus ex vicario peculatus detulerat reum. cui ideo Vulcacius successit Rufinus* etc. At the time of this speech Mam. is already advanced in years (17. 18). Peculiarities of diction: *participare consilium* 1. *pati ut* 2. *dent recordari* 19. *nedum* (23) and *universi* (9) not rightly used; *arcana vacuare* (18). *et vere* (20. 26). Poetical constructions such as *lata camporum* (10 cf. 12). Archaisms such as *voltu satagente* (28), *adulare*, *autumo*, *sublimare* etc.

8. Julian himself (reigned a. 360–363) was well versed both in speaking and composing; but his writings were all in Greek. Eutrop. 10, 16 *liberalibus disciplinis apprime eruditus, graecis doctior atque adeo ut latina eruditio nequaquam cum graeca scientia conveniret; facundia ingenti et prompta.*—Himerios about a. 315–385, Libanios about 315–393.

9. The services rendered by Valentinian I (reigned a. 364–375) to the restoration of public oratory are praised by Symmach. in Valent. 2, 22: *sonet apud te libertas forensis eloquii, quam dudum exulem tribunalibus reddidisti. ruri emeritus torpebat orator; . . . nusquam maius silentium quam in sacrariis litterarum. . . . solvisti vincla linguarum.* (23) *. . . par fuit ut eloquentiae usum redderes. . . . ingenia liberasti* etc.

418. In theology the struggle, conducted with frantic zeal, between the Arians and Athanasians, brought all forces into the arena: among the most valiant assailants of the Arians in the West were Hilarius, Ambrosius (§ 433) and Lucifer. Hilarius, bishop of Poitiers, who as a writer was distinguished for the philosophic depth of his theology and for the correctness of his style, composed in addition to his numerous controversial works a number of commentaries on books of both the Old and the New Testament. He was surpassed in unbridled vehemence by the fiery bishop Lucifer of Sardinia, a zealous dogmatist, but exceedingly careless as to literary style. Works by the Spanish bishop Priscillianus, the first heretic put to death by the Church († 385), have recently been discovered.

1. Hieron. viri ill. 100 *Hilarius, urbis Pictavorum Aquitaniae episcopus, factione Saturnini Arelatensis episcopi de synodo Biterrensi* (a. 356) *in Phrygiam relegatus* (being pardoned a. 359 he returned to Poitiers), *XII adversus Arianos confecit libros* (generally entitled de trinitate, probably more correctly de fide; cf. Hieron. 1, 430 Vall. *Hilarius . . . XII Quintiliani libros et stilo imitatus est et numero*) *et alium librum De synodis* (after the Council of Nicaea) *quem ad Galliarum episcopos scripsit* (also a vindication of this treatise, Apologetica, against Lucifer, n. 4), *et in Psalmos* (on Ps. I et II. LI–LXII. CXVIII–CL after Hieron.; cf. Pitra l.l. 141) *commentarios, in quo opere imitatus Origenem nonnulla etiam de suo addidit. est eius et ad Constantium libellus, quem viventi Constantinopoli porrexerat* (i.e. a petition for an audience preferred at Constantinople a. 360, but which was not

granted), *et alius* (very violent) *in Constantium quem post mortem eius* (a. 361) *scripsit* (rather he wrote it a. 359, but did not venture to publish it until a. 361) *et liber adversus Valentem et Ursacium* (of this only 15 very doubtful fragments are extant) *historiam Ariminensis et Seleuciensis* (a. 359) *synodi continens; et ad praefectum Sallustium sive contra Dioscorum* (lost; HIERON. 1, 430 Vall. *Hil. . . . brevi libello quem scripsit contra Dioscorum medicum quid litteris posset ostendit); et liber hymnorum* (Hil. is the first writer who is mentioned as an author of Christian hymns, cf. § 30, 2; no hymns which can be proved to be by him are extant, those published in GAMURRINI l.l. and JBPITRA, anall. sacra et class., Par. 1888, 138 are not genuine. HÖLSCHER, de Damasi et Hilarii qui feruntur hymnis, Münster 1858. JKAYSER, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Kirchenhymn. 1, 52. 2, 248) *et mysteriorum alius* (perhaps partially extant in a cod. Arret. s. XI and recently edited by JFGAMURRINI; cf. § 412, 8 and AEBERT, LdMA. 1 [2], 142); *et commentarii in Matthaeum* (c. a. 355) *et tractatus in Iob* (lost), *quos de graeco Origenis ad sensum transtulit; et alius elegans libellus contra Auxentium* (the Arian bishop of Milan, § 433, 1), *et nonnullae ad diversos Epistolae* (also to Constantius, a. 355). *aiunt quidam scripsisse eum et in Cantica canticorum, sed a nobis hoc opus ignoratur. mortuus est Pictavis Valentiniano et Valente regnantibus (sexto anno postquam redierat,* SULPIC. SEV. chron. 2, 45, 9). Cf. besides HIERON. chron. a. 2372 = 355 (banishment), 2375 = 358 (return). 2376 = 359: *Gallia per Hilarium Arminiensis* (rather Ariminensis, cf. ad a. 2375, u) *perfidiae dolos damnat.* 2384 = 367 (death). A vita Hilarii (by Venantius Fortunatus?) in the editions of the works of Hil.: a poem addressed to him, VENANT. carm. 2, 15 (see however FLEO ad loc.), who elsewhere also frequently praises him, e.g. carm. 6, 5, 217. 8, 1, 113.

2. A manuscript s. VI (a. 509 sq.) in the library of the chapter-house at St. Peter's in Rome (a specimen of the writing in ZANGEMEISTER and WATTENBACH, exempla codd. lat. t. 52). On its subscriptio see § 477, 11.—Editions: Par. 1510. DERASMUS, Bas. 1523. 1526. 1535. JGILLOT, Par. 1572. 1605. A Benedictine ed. (by PCOUSTANT) Par. 1693 and corrected by SMAFFEI, Veron. 1730 II. FOBERTHÜR, Würzb. 1785 III. MIGNE 9 and 10 (Par. 1844 sq.). Criticism: AZINGERLE, Wien. Studd. 8, 331. 11, 314; kl. philol. Abhh., Innsbr. 1887, 4 (the Biblical quotations in Hilarius), 15.—The commentaries on the lesser Pauline epistles edited by JBPITRA, spicil. Solesm. (Par. 1851) 1, 49, from a cod. Corbeiensis and at first attributed to Hilarius (cf. PITRA l.l. p. XXVI and recently anall. sacra et class., Par. 1888, 145) are rather a translation of the Greek commentaries of Theodoros of Mopsuhestia, made in Africa about the 6th century; on this see JLJACOBI in 6 Halle progr. 1855–72 and Theodori Mopsuest. in epistolas Pauli comm., the Latin version with the Greek fragments by HBSWETE, Cambr. 1880. 82 II. Cf. HKIHN, Theod. v. Mops. . . . als Exeget, Freib. 1880. Neither is Hil. the author of the fragment from a commentary on Genesis in PITRA l.l. 159, nor of the homilies on the opening chapters of the gospels of Matthew and John, published by AMAI (nova bibl. patr. I), nor of the 114 hexameters on the birth of Christ, with loose prosody (v. 15. 17. 18. 38. 80. 88), and specially frequent lengthening of short syllables (26. 29. 31. 34. 50. 82. 109. 113), published by PITRA l.l. 166 from a SGallen MS. s. VII.

3. Hilarius attached much importance to style; on behalf of his work de fide (1, 38) he prays God to enlighten him even as regards the meaning of words and dignity of expression (*honor dictorum*); he insists (tract. in psalm. 13) that the Christian, when publishing the word of God, should manifest by his careful diction the veneration due to it. Accordingly he himself, full of holy zeal, struggles to adapt the language to convey his abstract thought, his bold allegories and his impetuous diatribes. Clearness of expression, ease and grace of style are not to

be expected of him, but their absence is compensated by his native strength and vigour and his warmth of feeling. It is only rarely that H. reverts to the empty verbosity of Gallic oratory, (§ 391) which he had studied in his youth. A prejudiced view is expressed by HIERON. ep. 58, 10 (1, 326 Vall.) *Hilarius gallicano cothurno attollitur et cum Graeciae floribus* (graeco-Christian speculation) *adornetur longis interdum periodis involvitur et a lectione simpliciorum fratrum procul est.*—In general see on Hilarius RCEILLIER, hist. gén. 5, 1. Hist. lit. de la France 1, 2, 139. JDORNER, Lehre von der Person Christi 1, 2², 900. 1037. JHREINKENS, Hilarius von Poitiers, Schaffhausen 1864 (cf. JWAGENMANN, Gött. gel. Anz. 1865, 1641). EBERT, Lit. d. Mittelalters 1², 134.

4. HIERON. vir. ill. 95 *Lucifer, Caralitanus* (of Cagliari in Sardinia) *episcopus, cum Pancratio et Hilario rom. ecclesiae clericis ad Constantium imp. a Liberio episcopo pro fide legatus missus* (a. 354), *cum nollet sub nomine Athanasii Nicaenam damnare fidem* (at the council of Milan a. 355), *in Palaestinam relegatus . . . contra Constantium imp. scripsit librum eique legendum misit ac non multo post, sub Iuliano principe, reversus* (a. 363) *Caralis Valentiniano regnante obiit* (a. 371). Cf. HIERON. chron. ad a. 2371. 2378=354. 361 A.D. Lucifer was the most obstinate opponent of the Arians, and thereby even came into antagonism with the rest of the champions of orthodoxy (schisma Luciferianum; cf. also above n. 1). Treatises: de non conveniendo cum haereticis, de regibus apostaticis, pro S. Athanasio ll. II, de non parcendo in deum delinquentibus, moriendum esse pro filio dei—exaggerated in its violence, especially against the Emperor Constantius. Lucifer's diction is lively, incisive, full of asyndeta, of anacoluthiae and anaphorae, but careless as to form and indiscriminately borrowing from the popular parlance. Hence quite unrestrained freedom in the declensions and conjugations, and in the use of the cases, tenses and moods. WHARTEL, Lucifer v. Cagliari und sein Latein, ArchflatLexikogr. 3, 1 and in his ed. p. 351.—Sole MS. of the Vatic.-Regin. 133 s. IX/X. First edited according to this by ITILIUS, Par. 1568. In the Bibl. patr. max. (Lugd. 1677) 4, 181, GALLANDI bibl. patr. 6, 155. D. et JCOLETI, Ven. 1778, from this MIGNE 13, 692. Recently esp. rec. WHARTEL (=Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. vol. 14), Vienna 1886.—In general GKRÜGER, Lucifer . . . u. das Schisma der Luciferianer, Lpz. 1886.

5. Hilarius the Deacon, who was Lucifer's companion in the embassy to the Emperor Constantius (n. 4 l. 2), wrote libelli de haereticis rebaptizandis (HIERON. c. Lucif. 21. 26. 27), and is by some (esp. by RSIMON, hist. des comment. 133) held to be the author of the commentary on the Pauline epistles (by the so-called Ambrosiaster) which is to be found among the works of Ambrose, and of the Quaestiones in V. et N. Test. in the appendix of the Opera Augustini; see however § 435, 4.

6. HIERON. vir. ill. 108 *Phoebadius, Agenni Galliarum episcopus, edidit contra Arianos librum* (about a. 358; ed. THBEZA, Geneva 1570; PPITHOEUS, Paris 1586; CBARTH, Frankf. 1623; GALLANDI, 5, 250, the bibl. patr. max. 3, 300, MIGNE b. 20) *dicuntur et alia eius esse opuscula, quae necdum legi. vivit usque hodie* (a. 392) *decrepita senectute.* Hist. lit. de la France 1, 2, 266.

7. By Potamius, bishop of Lisbon, we possess an Epistola ad Athanasium de consubstantialitate filii dei, written about 355, and other works; GALLANDI 5, 96. MIGNE 8, 1411. GAMS, span. Kirchengesch. 2, 220.

8. Zeno, from a. 362 bishop of Verona, † 380, not mentioned by HIERON. and GENNAD. de vir. ill., the author of tractatus (technical term for episcopal orations, FESSLER, Patrol. 1, 740). The works which are extant under his name are open to grave doubts. The BALLERINI consider 16 of the longer and 87 of the shorter pieces

to be genuine. JAZDZEWSKI, Zeno Veron. episcopus, Regensb. 1862. Also JDORNER, Lehre von der Person Christi 1[5], 754.—Zenonis sermones, rec. et ill. P. et H BALLERINI, Verona 1739. rec. commentario ill. JBGIULIARI, Verona 1883. GALLANDI 5, 109. MIGNE 11, 253. On the diction GIULIARI in his ed. and SABBADINI, riv. di fil. 12, 139.

9. Eusebius of Vercelli, an active champion of orthodoxy in the Arian controversies: HIERON. de vir. ill. 96 *natione Sardus, ex lectore urbis Romae Vercellensis episcopus, . . . edidit in psalmos commentarios Eusebii Caesariensis, quos de graeco in latinum verterat, et mortuus est Valentiano et Valente regnantibus* (a. 364–375). Cf. HIERON. ep. 62, 2. The work has been lost, only a few letters being preserved (GALLANDI 5, 78). The cod. Vercellensis of the N.T. s. IV (§ 373, 9, l. 26) is supposed to have been written by Eusebius.

10. Arian fragments of a commentary on Luke and of a dogmatic Tractate from Bobbio palimpsests s. IV now at Milan and Rome (AREIFFERSCHEID, bibl. patr. 1, 444. 2, 22. 35) have been edited by AMAI, scrr. vett. nova coll. 3, 2, 208, and after him by MIGNE 13, 593. The commentary on Luke was probably composed a. 370 by the Gothic bishop Ulfila, the dogmatic Tractate by one of his pupils, perhaps Auxentius, bishop of Durostorum (Silistria). Cf. WLKRAFFT, de fontibus Ulfilae Arianismi ex fragm. Bob. erutis, Bonn 1860. A short vita of Ulfila by Auxentius was edited by GWAITZ (Leben und Lehre des Ulf., Hanover 1840).

11. GENNAD. vir. ill. 4: *Vitellius Afer Donatianorum schisma defendens scripsit de eo quod odio sint mundo servi dei. . . . scripsit et adversum gentes* etc. . . . *et ad regulam ecclesiasticam pertinentia multa disseruit. claruit sub Constante filio Constantini principis.*

12. HIERON. vir. ill. 121 *Priscillianus Abilae* (in Spain) *episcopus qui factione Hydatii et Ithacii* (bishops of Emerita and Ossonoba) *Treveris a Maximo tyranno caesus est* (a. 385), *edidit multa opuscula, de quibus ad nos aliqua pervenerunt.* SULPIC. SEV. chron. 2, 46, 3 *ab his* (§ 417, 4) *Priscillianus est institutus familia nobilis, praedives opibus, acer, inquies, facundus, multa lectione eruditus, disserendi ac disputandi promptissimus.* 47, 2 *damnati* (a. 380 on account of Gnostic-Manichean symptoms) . . . *Helpidius et Priscillianus* (at the synod of Caesaraugusta). In 1885 GSCHEPSS discovered in the Wirceburg Mp. th. q. 3 saec. V/VI eleven pamphlets which had formed part of these *opuscula*, and which he published as Priscilliani quae supersunt, Vienna 1888 (=Corp. eccl. lat. vol. XVIII). The MS. does not give the name of the heretic (and hence its preservation), which however is quite evident from the contents of the work. These *tractatus* are partly sermons or of the nature of sermons, partly vindications of the heresies of which the author is accused; thus in particular 1 (a defence *apud beatissimos sacerdotes*). 2 (*ad Damasum*, § 422). 3 (*de fide et apocryfis*).—Of his works there are extant in addition 'canones epistularum apostoli Pauli' (containing the Pauline articles of faith analysed from various points of view, together with quotations in support), revised (*sanae doctrinae redditi*) by a certain Peregrinus, in SCHEPSS' ed. p. 110.—Cf. besides GSCHEPSS, Priscillian ein neu aufgefundener Schriftsteller etc., Würzb. 1886; die Latinität des Priscillian, Arch. f. lat. Lexikogr. 3, 308. HHAUPT, Korresp. Bl. d. Westdeutsch. Z. f. Gesch. u. Kunst 8 (1889), 4.

419. The two grammarians Flavius Sosipater Charisius and Diomedes wrote about the same time and independently of each other, but as they employed the same sources, their works

are often in verbal agreement. Both are of importance as they preserved a large part of the earlier grammatical literature. Considerable portions, however, of the five books of Charisius' grammar are lost. Of the three books of the Ars grammatica of Diomedes, the third is of especial value, as it has preserved many valuable notices, probably from Suetonius' work de poetis.

1. Preface: *Fl. Sosipater Charisius* (his name is thus given in full also by Rufinus GL. 6, 572, 18) *v. p. magister* [*urbis Romae filio karissimo s. d.*]. *Amore latini sermonis obligare te cupiens, f. k., artem grammaticam* (which would thus appear to be the title) *sollertia doctissimorum virorum politam et a me digestam in libris V dono tibi misi. . . . erit iam tuae diligentiae frequenti recitatione studia mea ex variis artibus inrigata memoriae . . . mandare, ut quod originalis patriae natura denegavit virtute animi adfectasse videaris.* That the author was a native of Campania does not follow from p. 215, 23 (*hodieque nostri per Campaniam sic loquuntur*), nor is it credible after the originalis patriae above. There is on the other hand much plausibility in the conjecture of HUsener, RhM. 23, 492, that in Hieron. chron. 2375 = 358 (see § 405, 6): *Euanthius . . . Constantinopoli diem obit, in cuius locum ex Africa Charistus* (so Bongarsianus; but Freh. and others give *Chrestus*) *adducitur*, we should read: *Charisius.* The grammarian Flavianus is perhaps identical (HKeil, Herm. 1, 333. HHagen, anecd. Helv. p. clxiii) with Charisius, as all the passages in which Flav. is quoted recur verbally or nearly so in Char. ARiese (Heidelb. Jahrb. 1871, 585) attempts to explain from this Charisius' praenomen of Flavius (Flav.). Cf. also § 41, 5 l. 13. LMüller, JJ. 93, 561.

2. The only manuscript of Charisius: Neapolitanus iv a 8 (Bobiensis) s. VII/VIII (§ 355, 6 ad fin.).—Editions by JPierius Cyminius (Naples 1532), G Fabricius (Bas. 1551; text largely interpolated) etc., best by HKeil (GL. 1, 1). The section de versu saturnio (in Keil p. 288 sq.) was separately edited by FW Schneidewin, Gött. 1841; HKeil, Phil. 3, 90.

3. The work of Diomedes is entitled Ars grammatica by Rufinus GL. 6, 568, 12 and in the subscriptions, and is dedicated to a certain Athanasius. The preface states: *artem merae latinitatis puraeque eloquentiae magistram . . . summo studio . . . trino digestam libello . . . censui esse mittendam* etc. . . . *prima pars universi sermonis membra continet; altera non solum observationes quae arti grammaticae accidere solent, sed etiam structuram pedestris orationis . . . demonstrat; tertia pedum qualitatem, poematum genera metrorumque tractatus . . . docet.* B. 1 thus corresponds to b. 1–3 of Charisius, but it is more uniform and systematic.—The period of D. is determined by that of his contemporary and counterpart Charisius (n. 1). If he wrote after the middle of s. IV, he was far enough removed from Sacerdos (§ 394) not to know anything of him (WChrist, Phil. 18, 130).

4. The best manuscripts: two Paris. 7494 and 7493 and a Monacensis 14467, all s. IX; see Keil, GL. 1, xxix. Also excerpts, the earliest being Par. 7530 s. VIII (Keil, l.l. xxxiv). Editions (see Keil, GL, 1, xliv): Ven. 1476 and others; especially HKeil, GL. 1, 298. Cf. WChrist, Phil. 18, 127.—CPaucker, kleinere Studien I: die Latinität des Diom., Berl. 1883.

5. The age of Charisius and Diomedes (n. 1 ad fin. 3 ad fin.) is fixed on the one hand by the sources they employed, the latest of which seems to be Cominianus and Marcius Salutaris (§ 405, l. 2), on the other hand by the writers who quote

them, e.g. SERVIUS (? Aen. 9, 329 and on this MHAUPT in Thilo), RUFINUS (GL. 6, 555 and elsewhere), PRISCIAN (frequently) and CASSIODORUS (GL. 7, 213, 1). Charisius and Diomedes are important only as transcribers of early lost works; the numerous and serious slips and confusions which they perpetrate in copying (cf. e.g. REIFFERSCHEID, Suetonius 372. 373. 375. RWESTPHAL, gr. Metr. $1^2$, 131. MHERTZ, RhM. 20, 320) lead one to form a poor opinion of their judgment and learning. In the work of Charisius (the more voluminous of the two) the excerpts from his sources are given seriatim without any co-ordination and placed side by side promiscuously, whereas Diomedes gives the excerpts from his authorities (whom he rarely names) more connectedly, and on the whole has arranged his work more suitably. The two frequently agree even verbally, though the one does not mention the other; in reality neither copied from the other (for instances of Diomedes having availed himself of Charisius see LJEEP l.l. 51), the points of agreement are rather due to the use of common authorities. Such appear to have been (directly or indirectly ?) Palaemo (§ 282, 3) and Cominianus (§ 405, 1). Also, and especially, Charisius has borrowed from Romanus (§ 379, 1), whilst Diomedes has used Terentius Scaurus (§ 352, 1), whom Charisius knows only through the medium of Romanus (KUMMROW l.l. 9. 37), and probably also Suetonius, in his b. 3, which is important on account of the literary notices therein contained (OJAHN, RhM. 9, 629. AREIFFERSCHEID, Sueton p. 370; to the contrary STEUB de Prob. p. 190) and others. Did he also make use of Greek technical writers (WCHRIST l.l. 18, 129; see also OHENSE, de Iuba 103. 121)? The marked correspondence with Dositheus (§ 431, 7), Donatus and Marius Victorinus (§ 408, 3) is also due to the use of the same authorities.—The work of Diomedes has been preserved in its entirety, but the beginning of b. 1 of Charisius, the last part of b. 4 and the greater part of b. 5 has been lost (a summary of the contents of the whole follows after the preface).—In general cf. FOSANN, Beitr. 2, 319. LSPENGEL, Münch. Gel. Anz. 1840, 502. HKEIL, GL. 1, XLV. ASCHOTTMÜLLER, de Plinii libr. gramm. (1858) 7. WCHRIST, Phil. 18, 127. FCLAUSEN, üb. einen Abschnitt (concerning the verb) aus Charisius, Berl. 1873. CVMORAWSKI, Herm. 11, 339. HKUMMROW, symb. crit. in grammaticos lat. (Greifsw. 1880), 9. HNEUMANN, de Plinii dubii sermonis libris Charisii et Prisciani fontibus (Kiel 1881), 5. FBÖLTE, de artium scrr. lat., Bonn 1886; die Quellen v. Char. 1, 15. 17, JJ. 137, 401. GSCHULTZ, das Kapitel de versuum generibus bei Diom. p. 506, Herm. 22, 260. FLEO, Herm. 24, 281. PEMEYER (§ 352, 1). LJEEP, RhM. 44, 41. JWBECK, Phil, 48, 255.

6. In the same category with Charisius (and Diomedes) are the important excerpta Bobiensia s. VII/VIII (anonymus Bobiensis), now in Vienna, published first by EICHENFELD and ENDLICHER, anall. gramm. (Vienna 1837) p. 75, last by KEIL, GL. 1, 533, cf. ib. p. XVII. They are not, as used to be supposed, taken from Charisius himself, but are based on the same authorities. WCHRIST, Phil. 18, 136. KEIL, GL. 7, 369. FBÖLTE, de artium scrr. lat., Bonn 1886. LJEEP, RhM. 44, 41. HNETTLESHIP, Journ. of phil. 15, 27 and writings referred to in n. 5. Cf. besides § 405, 1. 431, 7.—Also excerpta Parisina GL. 1, XVIII. On those taken from a cod. Bernensis, Leidensis and Sanctamandinus see ib. p. XIX.

7. On the Ars vaticana of the so-called Probus, belonging perhaps to this period, see § 300, 7 b.—Carminius wrote de elocutionibus (SERV. Aen. 5 233) and appears also to have annotated Vergil (cf. SERV. Aen. 6, 638. 862. 8, 406). *Carmini curiosissimi et docti verba, qui in libro de Italia secundo ait*, MACROB. p. 5, 19, 13.—*Statius Tullianus de vocabulis rerum libro I ait* etc. MACROB. 3, 8, 6 cf. SERV. Aen. 11, 543.

420. In Rufius Festus Avienus, an aristocratic Roman, this

period possesses a poet of considerable artistic talent. In his subject-matter indeed he is not original; he was content to translate and elaborate foreign models with more or less freedom. Thus he produced in epic metre a translation of the *Φαινόμενα* of Aratos, and a geography after the Periegesis of Dionysios; in iambic trimeters he wrote what is for us the most important of his works, a description of the shores of the Mediterranean, of the Black Sea and of the Caspian (ora maritima), in several books, of which however only the greater part of the first is extant. He likewise composed in iambics an abridged version of Livy's history and of Vergil's Aeneid; the two latter productions are lost. In addition he wrote two smaller poems, epigrams in hexameters. Avienus' poems manifest throughout laudable aims and purity of form, in imitation of the best models, chiefly Vergil, but they also exhibit a rhetorical wordiness, which lays the chief stress on the ornamental details.

1. An inscription from Rome CIL. 6, 537 (e.g. also in Meyer's Anth. lat. 278) *R. Festus v. c. de se ad deam Nortiam: Festus, Musoni suboles prolesque* (cf. Av. phaen. 370) *Avieni, unde tui latices traxerunt, Caesia, nomen, Nortia, te veneror, lare cretus Volsiniensi, Romam habitans, gemino proconsulis auctus honore, carmina multa serens, vitam insons, integer aevum, coniugio laetus Placidae numeroque frequenti natorum exultans* etc. The poet was, therefore, a descendant of Musonius Rufus (§ 299, 3), like him a native of Volsinii in Etruria and therefore attached to Nortia, who was worshipped there, and to the aqua Caesia (otherwise unknown), the father of a numerous family, one of whose members was the Placidus who added two distichs to the above inscription: *sancto patri filius Placidus. Ibis in optatas sedes, nam Iuppiter aethram* (cf. Avien. phaen. 2) *pandit, Feste, tibi, candidus ut venias. iamque venis, tendit dextras chorus inde deorum et toto tibi iam plauditur ecce polo.* In the Cod. Iust. 3, 16, 1 (a. 366) and Cod. Theod. 9, 19, 3 (a. 367) a certain Festus is mentioned as proconsul Africae: this however is C. Iulius Festus Hymetius (CIL. 6, 1736. 8, 5336. 10609). The procos. Achaiae Ῥούφιος Φῆστος who is mentioned in the CIA. 3, 635 (= CIG. 372) is more probably identical with the poet. Rossi, Ann. d. Inst. 21, 345. PMonceaux, rev. archéol. 1887 1, 191. A Festus, consularis Syriae, is mentioned in the Cod. Iust. 12, 58, 3 (a. 365). A prolonged sojourn of the poet in Africa is indicated by orb. terr. 329–363. or. mar. 273 sq., in Greece by orb. terr. 603 sq. On the possibility that this proconsul of Achaia may be, not the poet Rufius Festus, but rather the author of the historical sketch (§ 416), and on the theory that the two were identical, or father and son, see § 416, 1.

2. Hieron. comm. on the epist. to Titus (c. a. 387) c. 1, 12 (7, 1, 706 Vall.) *Arati, quem Cicero in latinum sermonem transtulit et Germanicus Caesar* (§ 275, 6) *et nuper Avienus et multi quos enumerare perlongum est.* But Lactantius knows the Aratea only in the version of Cicero (inst. 5, 5. p. 238 Fr.) and Caesar (1, 11. p. 30) Germanicus (1, 21. p. 54 sq. 5, 5).—The title is in the Gudianus 132 s. X. (the text itself is wanting in the Gud., Herm. 11, 251): *Rufi Festi Avieni v. c. Arati Phaenomena*, in the Vindob. (n. 7): *Rufi Festi Arati incipit liber I de positione siderum*, and the Ambros. gives it almost identically (n. 7): this MS. concludes

with: *Rufi Festi Aratus explicit.* Accordingly in the pref. to his ed. BREYSIG gives to the poem the name of Aratus.—The *Φαινόμενα* number 1325, the Prognostica or *διοσημεῖα* 553 hexameters. Av. endeavours to surpass his predecessors by a faithful rendering of the Greek original, poetical eloquence and the insertion of various information from the works of philosophers and astronomers (e.g. Eratosthenes, see CROBERT in his Catasterism., Berl. 1878, 26), even from mystical sources. Av. follows Germanicus most closely. Editions in the majority of the collections of the Aratea, e.g. by JTHBUHLE (Lps. 1793–1801 II) and FCHMATTHIAE, Frankf. 1817. Separately: ed. ABREYSIG, Lps. 1882 (Avieni prognostica ed. ABREYSIG, Erfurt 1882). JCSCHAUBACH (§ 275, 7), novae edit. Av. spec. (Mein. 1817 sqq.); in Jahn's Arch. 12, 197.—Criticism: MHAUPT, op. 3, 475. 533. 573. ABREYSIG, Herm. 11, 247. 12, 152. 13, 357. 15, 180. 16, 122; phil. Abhh. f. MHertz, Berl. 1888, 44.—Cf. GSIEG, de Cicerone, Germanico, Avieno Arati interpretibus, Halle 1886.

3. Orbis terrae (descriptio orbis terrae) in 1393 hexameters according to the *Περιήγησις* of Dionysios (of Alexandria, under Hadrian, cf. GLEUE, Phil. 42, 175. See also § 481, 7), who is not mentioned (in ora marit. 331 Dionysios is however quoted). Avienus himself mentions this poem ora marit. 71 *reliqua porro scripta sunt nobis in illo plenius volumine quod de orbis partibusque fecimus.* The original is sometimes altered, sometimes abridged, and throughout amplified with learned flourishes, while the diction is enriched by poetical colouring. EKOSTEN, de Avieno Dionysii interprete, Tüb. 1888.—Editions: Cum notis NHeinsii all. cur. HFRIESEMANN, Amst. 1786. In WERNSDORF's PLM. 5, 719, in FCHMATTHIAE (see n. 2 in fin.) p. 177. In Dionysios' Perieg. ed. GBERNHARDY (Lps. 1828) 1, 427; in CMÜLLER's geographi graeci min. (Par. 1861) 2, 176. Explanatory writings: (IWASSII) animadvv. in Av. descr., in Miscellan. observ. 1, 2, 273 (OUDENDORP). 1, 3, 373. 5, 1, 64. 5, 2, 165. Symbolae litterar. 2, 3 (Brem. 1745), 569.

4. *Orae maritimae liber primus* (ed. princ.). The complete work extended (v. 51 sqq.) to the whole of the Western and Southern coasts of Europe. We possess only a fragment of over 700 senarii, which contains the description of the coast of the Atlantic as far as Massilia, and even this part is in a fragmentary and corrupt state. The work is dedicated to a certain Probus, who is *liberum loco . . . amore sanguinisque vinculo* (14 sq.) and eager for information (16 sqq.): perhaps Anicius Probus cos. 406? On his sources the author states v. 37 sqq. in a somewhat boastful manner (see below): *ad eius* (i.e. Sallust) *inclitam descriptionem . . . multa rerum iunximus ex plurimorum sumpta commentariis*, viz. Hekataios, Hellanikos, Phileas, Skylax, Pausimachos, Damastes (cf. v. 372), Bakoris, Euktemon (cf. v. 350), Kleon, Herodotos and Thukydides. To these he adds in other passages Dionysios (v. 331 cf. n. 3), Juba (v. 280), Himilco (v. 117. 383. 412) and others. Avienus however made use of only one main source. MÜLLENHOFF holds that this was a Punic Periplus, which had been revised by a Massaliot of the time of Hekataios and interpolated at a later date. AVGUTSCHMID supposes that a Periplus originally Greek, of the beginning of the 5th cent., was augmented at a later period by a Greek who did not live at Massilia. The notices regarding the West point to Eratosthenes and further to Pytheas, WCHRIST l.l. 154. On the other hand UNGER l.l. holds, what is not improbable, that this main source was integral and not altered by later revisions; he assigns its composition to the beginning of the 4th cent. B.C. and believes that the 11 authorities (above l. 10) were actually mentioned in it. The diction is fluent. Besides such archaisms as *ducier*, *duello*, the poet uses such words as *intimare*, *intimatio*. Greek proper names are often treated in an arbitrary manner as regards prosody. The work is printed e.g. in WERNSDORF's PLM. 5, 1165.—FAUKERT, des A. Ora maritima, in his Geogr.

d. Griechen u. Römer 2, 1 (Weimar 1821), 473. WChrist, Avien etc. 1865, Abhh. d. Münch. Ak. 11, 1, 113. FdeSaulcy, sur l'Ora mar. de R. F. Av., Rev. archéol. 15 (1867), 54. 81. KMüllenhoff, deutsche Altertumskunde 1 (Berlin 1870), 73–210, together with AvGutschmid in the Lit. Centralbl. 1871, 523, WChrist, JJ. 103, 710 and CMüller, phil. Anz. 3, 456; Phil. 32, 106. GFUnger, d. Periplus des Avienus, Phil. Suppl. 4, 191. ASonny, de Massil. rebus, Dorp. 1887, 21.

5. *Rufus Festus Avienus v. c. Flaviano Myrmecio v. c.* This is the heading (in the ed. princ., see n. 7) of a jocular poem in 31 hexameters, containing a request to send pomegranates, printed in Wernsdorf, PLM. 5, 1296 and elsewhere, also AL. 876. The person addressed is perhaps the Flavianus who was procos. Africae a. 358–361 (Cod. Theod. 8, 5, 10. 11, 36, 14) or the vicarius Africae a. 377 (ib. 16, 6, 2) 382 sq. praef. praet. Illyrici et Italiae (ib. 7, 18, 8. 9, 29, 2. 9, 40, 13).—On the other hand only a part of the MSS. ascribe to Avienus AL. 26 PLM. 4, 116 (*Avienus* $\overline{vc}$ *ad amicos de agro*); and he has no claim to AL. 637 PLM. 4, 154 (*de Sirenis*).

6. Serv. Aen. 10, 272 *stoici dicunt has stellas* (cometas) *esse ultra XXXII, quarum nomina et effectus Avienus, qui iambis scripsit Vergilii fabulas, memorat. . . . sane Avienus cometarum has differentias dicit* etc. On georg. 1, 488 *diri cometae*] *crinitae, pessimae, quia sunt et bonae . . . quam rem plenissime Avienus exsequitur.* On Aen. 10, 388 *haec fabula in latinis nusquam invenitur auctoribus. Avienus tamen, qui totum Livium iambis scripsit, hanc commemorat dicens graecam esse.* The latter would appear to be a work in the manner of Alfius Avitus (§ 353, 6).

7. Manuscripts of Avienus are rare. The Aratea are extant in Vindob. 117 s. X and Ambros. D 52 inf. s. XV, the orbis terrae in the same Ambros. and in the collation of a cod. Ortelianus (now lost) preserved in the Leid. Burm. 21. No MS. is extant of the ora maritima, for which the ed. princ. and the collation of Ortelianus are the sole textual authority, and the poem mentioned in n. 5 l. 1 is extant only in the ed. princ., which also takes the place of a MS. for the Aratea and orbis terrae. AHolder pref. to his ed.—Complete editions: ed. princeps (by GValla, Ven. 1488), by PMelian (Madrid 1634; cf. ABreysig, Herm. 16, 135). Avieni quae exstant omnia cum nott. varr. ed. JAGiles, Oxf. 1835. rec. AHolder, Innsbr. 1886 (here too ind. verbb.)—On Avienus cf. Wernsdorf, PLM. 5, 621. AHolder, PRE. $1^2$, 2149.

421. The life of the rhetorician D. Magnus Ausonius of Burdigala embraces nearly the whole of the 4th century (c. 310–395). Being appointed tutor to the prince Gratianus, he was promoted to political offices and (a. 379) even to the consulate, after his pupil's accession to the throne; his literary skill and influential friendships and family connections enabling him to maintain himself in an honourable position. After the death of Gratianus he withdrew from official business and lived in his native town occupied with literary labours. Almost all the extant works date from the author's mature years. The only considerable specimen of his prose-style is his Gratiarum actio to Gratianus for the consulate; but we have very many of his poetical compositions. They have indeed little value, viewed as poetry, but in point of contents and diction they are of much interest. His

varied knowledge, trusty memory, and great literary facility stand Ausonius in good stead in any task he may impose upon himself, though the subject be dry, or even when he merely sets himself to reproduce some curious metre. His poems furnish a vivid picture of the persons and circumstances of his age and country, and in particular of the rhetorician's relatives and colleagues (professores Burdigalenses). His happiest performance is the Mosella, a description of a journey down the Rhine and up the Moselle from Bingen to Trèves, in the epic style.

1. D. Magnus Ausonius is the name repeatedly given to the poet in the superscriptions or subscriptions of the MSS. The name Ausonius seems to be of Gallic origin. On the surname Aeonius (after his mother Aemilia Aeonia) see BRANDES and SEECK l.l. Ausonius lectori sal. p. 2 Schenkl p. 1 Peiper: *Ausonius genitor nobis; ego nomine eodem qui sim, qua secta, stirpe, lare et patria, adscripsi. . . . Vasates patria est patri; gens Haedua matri de patre, Tarbellis sed genetrix ab Aquis.* (7) *ipse ego Burdigalae genitus* (c. a. 310) . . . *genitor studuit medicinae* (cf. epiced. in patrem l. 11 p. 33 Sch. 21 P., below § 446, 1. . . . (15) *nos ad grammaticen studium convertimus et mox rhetorices etiam quod satis attigimus. nec fora non celebrata mihi, sed cura docendi cultior, et nomen grammatici merui* (a. 334 at Bordeaux) . . . (23) *exactisque dehinc per trina decennia fatis deserui* (so BRANDES: the Voss. reads *adserui*) *doctor municipalem operam aurea et Augusti* (Valentinian I) *palatia* (at Trèves) *iussus adire augustam subolem* (Gratianus) *grammaticus docui* (c. a. 364), *mox etiam rhetor. . . .* (35) *cuius* (i.e. Gratianus) *ego comes* (a. 370) *et quaestor* (sacri palatii, a. 375–378) *et, culmen honorum, praefectus Gallis et Libyae et Latio* (praef. Galliarum a. 378, his son Hesperius was after a. 377 praef. praet. Italiae, Illyrici, Africae, subsequently the father and son filled these offices as colleagues under the title of praefecti Occidentis. SEECK l.l. p. LXXX), *et prior indeptus fasces latiamque curulem consul* (a. 379), *collega* (Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius) *posteriore fui.* The vain rhetorician speaks of his consulate over and over again, but at the greatest length in his gratiarum actio. Cf. OCLASON, Heidelb. Jahrbb. 1872, 461. When Ausonius accompanied his Imperial pupil on an expedition against the Alamanni, he, being then a widower, had received as his share of the booty a young Swabian girl, Bissula; cf. on this (*versus habes lusimus quos in Suebae gratiam virgunculae*) six poems in various metres with many apologies for the risky subject (*incipit Bissula*, p. 125 Sch. 114 P.). ABACMEISTER, alemann. Wanderungen 1 (Stuttg. 1867), 76. On his relation to Symmachus see his Ep. 1, 13–43, esp. 32 (Auson. to Symm.): *expertus es fidem meae mentis atque dictorum cum in comitatu degimus ambo aevo dispari, ubi tu veteris militiae praemia tiro meruisti, ego tirocinium iam veteranus exercui.* After the death of Gratianus (a. 383) Auson. retired to his native town, where he lived in much comfort. RDEZEIMERIS, note sur l'emplacement de la villula d'Ausone, Bordeaux 1869. The year of his death is not known, but it was no doubt in the last ten years of the century. EBÖCKING, pref. to his edd. of the Mosella, most recently in the Jahrbb. der rhein. Alt. Fr. 7 (Bonn 1845), 60. TEUFFEL, PRE. $1^2$, 2186. WBRANDES, Auson. quaestt. spec. I (Brunswick 1876), 1–32. SCHENKL pref. to his ed. p. I, PEIPER p. LXXXX. OSEECK pref. to his ed. of Symmach. p. LXXV.

2. On account of the character of the tradition (n. 6) the editions cannot simply reproduce the poems (the collective title in the Voss. runs *Ausonii opuscula;*

cf. p. 368 ad fin., p. 370, 3 lines from the end) in the order in which they occur in the MSS. The most recent editions by SCHENKL and PEIPER also differ from this and one from the other and likewise from the earlier editions. In these (e.g. SOUCHAY and BIPONTINA) the order was the following (for all details cf. the prefaces of PEIPER and SCHENKL and their references):

a. Epigrammata de diversis rebus (such is the title in the Voss. 111, the contents in the two classes of MSS. differ widely) about 120 pieces. On a preface to these see below p. Concerning different collections conjectures see in WBRANDES JJ. 123, 73. The epigrams vary in length and are mostly in elegiac metre, but occasionally in epic, iambic and other metres. Greek specimens also occur (no. 31. 32. 90 Sch.=49. 50. 21 P.), and Graeco-latin ones (29. 33. 37 Sch.=47. 51. 57 P. cf. below m). The contents are very various, including a very large number of free translations from the Greek Anthology, e.g. epigr. 11 Sch. 33 P.=Anth. Pal. 16, 275; 13 Sch. 35 P.=AP. 9, 18; 20 Sch. 42 P.=AP. 16, 263; 21 Sch. 14 P.=AP. 9, 44; 22 Sch. 43 P.=AP. 7, 229 etc. The personal attacks on a (pseudonymous) rhetorician Rufus (no. 41–48 Sch.=9. 12. 13. 8. 60. 61. 10. 11 P.) are nearly all founded on Greek originals. There are besides anecdotes, descriptions of works of art (e.g. Myron's cow), demonstrations of attachment; much of this is of a trivial character. The pieces belong to very different periods, e.g. to the fourth as well as to the eighth decade of the century. Among the earliest are the epigrams on the wife of the poet, Attusia Lucana Sabina, who died early (no. 17. 18. 25–27 Sch.=39. 40. 53–55 P.). On the source of the Danube p. 196 Sch. 321. 322 P. of a. 368 sq.— Among the genuine epigrams have been inserted since the editions of HAVANTIUS, Ven. 1496, and of THUGOLETUS, Parma 1499, about thirty (in the editions of SCHENKL p. 252, of PEIPER p. 419; in BÄHRENS PLM. 5, 97), which are not referred to in any MS., are suspicious both as regards style and substance, and are probably the work of an Italian of the 15th cent. RPEIFER, JJ. suppl. 11, 226.—See also below e.

b. Ephemeris, a description of the occupations of the day from morning till evening, in various metres, composed before a. 367. Only the commencement and end are extant.

c. Parentalia, 30 poems of different extent and mostly in elegiac metre, on deceased relations, some of them exhibiting much affection, composed after his consulate (4 [6], 32) and when he had already been a widower for 36 years (9 [11], 8).

d. Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium, so far as Ausonius knew them personally and had been in intercourse with them (8 [9], 7 sq. 12 [13], 7), a kind of continuation and pendant of his Parentalia (cf. 11 [12], 7. 16 [17], 1. 25 [26], 9 and praef. [1], treating likewise only of such as were deceased, some being men of no note (8 [9], 7 sq. 10 [11], 5 sqq. 48 sqq. 12 [13]), all natives of Burdigala down to 19 [20], from 20 [21] also such as merely resided there; this work was formed gradually after a. 385 (see 14 [15], 1 sqq.) and is in varying metres (eleg., iamb., troch. tetr., anapaests, sapph.).—On the older profess. Burdigalenses see § 401, 7. Among his contemporaries and juniors Ausonius mentions Luciolus (4), Leontius and his brother Jucundus (8. 10), Sedatus (20), Crispus and Urbicus (22), Victorius the antiquarian (23), Dynamius (24), Censorius Atticus Agri(oe)cius (15; cf. § 457, 11), Acilius Glabrio (25) and his (Ausonius') sister's son Pomponius Maximus Herculanus (12).

e. *Ad rem pertinere existimavi ut . . . libello* (the professores) *. . . Epitaphia subnecterem, scilicet titulos sepulcrales heroum* (26 pieces) *qui bello troico*

*interfuerunt* (p. 72 Sch. P.); found *apud philologum quendam* and translated by Ausonius into Latin. The original, with which here too Ausonius dealt very freely, was similar to the extant ps.-Aristotelian Peplos. PEIPER l.l. 235.—As a small pendant to this:

f. Epitaphs e.g. on Niobe, Diogenes the Cynic (=Anth. Pal. 7, 64), de sepulcro vacuo (=AP. 7, 228), but also special ones, such as that on a certain Anicia, and *iussu Augusti equo admirabili* and others.

g. Caesares, on the twelve Emperors described by Suetonius, addressed to his son Hesperius (versus memoriales), at first monostichic, 12 hexameters on the succession, time of reign, and death of each; then tetrastichic, each Emperor filling two distichs, and the series is carried down to Elagabalus, the writer intending to bring it down to his own time.

h. Ordo nobilium urbium, 14 pieces, dealing with 17 towns (Rome to Burdigala), in hexameters, and composed subsequently to the downfall of Maximus (a. 388); see 7, 5 sqq.

i. Ludus VII sapientum with the heading *Ausonius cos. Latino Drepanio Pacato procos.* (a 390) and a dedication in elegiac metre; the rest in senarii, a kind of puppet-play in which after a prologue and a Ludius the seven wise men appear successively and say their say, Solon being the lengthiest; at the end an appeal for applause.—In the earlier editions (also p. 246 Sch. 406 P.) there are appended *sententiae septem sapientum septenis versibus* (in different metres) *explicatae;* these and the 9 hexameters following translated from the Greek (Anth. Pal. 9, 366), in which, after an introduction of two lines, each maxim is expressed in a monostic, are not the work of Ausonius. WÖLFFLIN, Publil. Syr. p. 149. RPEIPER l.l. 208. PLM. 3, 159. WBRUNCO, zwei lat. Spruchsammlungen, Bayr. 1885, 19.

k. The so-called 'Idyllia': no title has been transmitted, twenty pieces having been arbitrarily collected under this title. Of his griphus Ausonius says p. 128 Sch. 199 P.: *eius modi epyllia, nisi vel obscura sint nihil futura,* and in the concluding address of the cento (p. 146 Sch. 218 P.) we read: *Platonis symposion composita in ephebos epyllia continere* (see PEIPER JJ. Suppl. 11, 211). These, which are mostly in epic or elegiac metre and frequently have introductions in prose, are partly scholarly trifles, e.g. on the number three (*griphus ternarii numeri,* composed c. a. 368, subsequently sent to Symmachus), *de aetatibus Hesiodion* (cf. HES. ap. Plut. de def. oracul. 11=HES. fragm. 163 Göttl.). *monosticha de aerumnis Herculis* and on the nine Muses and their offices; *de ambiguitate eligendae vitae, de viro bono* (quoted in Radbertus vita Walae, 9th cent., BSIMSON, RhM. 41, 638), and *EST ET NON* are professedly Pythagorean and translations. The two last and de rosis nascentibus, a graceful poem concerning roses, are also extant among the pseudo-Vergiliana. Whereas we have the authority of the Voss. in support of Ausonius being the author of the first two poems, the poem de rosis is not given in either of the two extant versions of the Ausonian poems: its attribution to Aus. is based only on a MS. which is lost (see § 229, 2).—Worthy of note are the versus paschales (a. 368), cf. n. 4; the epicedium on his father († 378); the Technopaegnion, verbal and metrical trifling with monosyllabic words (Ausonius himself p. 132 Sch. 156 P. calls it *inertis otii mei inutile opusculum*), arranged according to subjects (de membris, de diis, cibis, the alphabet and so forth); the poem is extant in both the MS. collections (n. 6), in a twofold version; in the Voss. 111 it is preceded by a preface addressed to Pacatus, in the Tilianus and others by one addressed to Paulinus (cf. also EBÄHRENS, JJ. 113, 152); cento nuptialis, consisting exclusively of lines and portions of lines from Vergil, composed in deference to the Emperor

Valentinian I (about a. 368) and addressed both to him and to Gratianus, with a prose preface (later) addressed to Paulus (see below, m); the concluding section, which contains the consummatio matrimonii and is as indelicate as possible, is excused by the author in a special preface, where he deprecates any inferences that might be drawn as to his own way of thought and life. On the Bissula see n. 1. Protrepticus (c. a. 380, WBrandes, JJ. 123, 60). Genethliacon (a. 390) addressed to his grandson Ausonius. The most famous piece in this collection is however the Mosella (483 hex.), composed at Trèves towards the close of a. 370 (Böcking l.l. 69. 97). On the MSS. see n. 6. The subject-matter is very pleasing, and the poem is not wanting in passages which are fine from an aesthetic point of view, e.g. 50–77 (manifesting feeling for the beauties of nature), 230–237, 259 sqq. It is arranged in the usual epic manner, with invocations to Heaven, and numerous digressions, e.g. on the fish of the Moselle (77–151), on fishing (240 sqq.), on architects and fine buildings (298 sqq. in reference to the villas on the banks, 283 sqq. 318 sqq.), and on sundry mythological subjects (170 sqq. 208 sqq.). A more minute account of the famous men and town of the Moselle is deferred by the author until his return to his native town, 382 sqq. 448 sqq. Symmach. 1, 14 *volitat tuus Mosella per manus sinusque multorum, divinis a te versibus consecratus.* The poem is also printed e.g. in Wernsdorf's PLM. 1, 192. Separate editions e.g. by LTross (Hamm 1821 and 1824). EBöcking (Lat. and German, Berl. 1828: recogn. [Bonn 1842]; poems on the Moselle by Ausonius and Venantius, Lat. and German with crit. and expl. notes, Jahrbb. der rhein. Alt. Fr. VII, Bonn 1845). Translated and explained by vOppeln, Cologne 1837. H de La Ville de Mirmont, Bord. 1889. Critical works etc.: CCCVölker. symb. phil. Bonn. (1864) 447. The Mosella used by Ermanrich of Ellwangen (AEbert, Lit. d. MA. 2, 179) about a. 850: see MHaupt, op. 3, 358.

l. Eglogarum liber. This consists of a collection of all kinds of astronomical and astrological versifications in epic and elegiac metre: de ratione librae, de ratione puerperii maturi, de mensibus, de feriis romanis. Ecl. 3 de XII signis (p. 412 Peip.) is not by Auson., see § 481, 8.

m. Epistolarum liber, 25 pieces in different metres (no. 17 [according to the old numeration] entirely in prose, others partly so); 13 two Greek hexameters as a heading to 14; 12 in a jocular mixture of Greek and Latin words and forms (on this see UvWilamowitz, Herm. 19, 461; cf. also RKöhler, Ausonius und die macaronische Poesie, RhM. 12, 434.) The collection is arranged (in the Voss. 111) according to the persons addressed and consists of real letters (some occasional poems) mostly in a cheerful tone and composed subsequently to the author's consulate (6, tit. 13, 1. 15, 30. 20, 5) and during his last stay at Burdigala (cf. 9, 11. 12, 31 in fin. 20, 7); but no. 1 ad patrem de suscepto filio (a. 335–340), 2 (fragments dating from a. 383 with the heading in the Voss. 111: *hoc incohatum neque inpletum sic de liturariis scriptum*, whence it appears that the literary remains of Ausonius were made use of in publishing his works) and 3 addressed to his son Hesperius, 4 and 16 (a. 376–378) belong to the time when A. was tutor to the prince and to his campaigns (4, 81. 16, 75). To Symmachus is addressed 17, in which Ausonius answers Symm. ep. 1. 31 Seeck (25 Jur.). To the same is also addressed the lengthy dedication of the griphus (letters to Ausonius written by Symmachus in his epist. 1, 13–43, among them in particular 14 on Ausonius' Mosella). 4–7 are addressed to Theon and 8–14 to Axius Paulus. The latter called Bigerritanus (a native of le Bigorre) was a rhetorician of Bordeaux. He was also a poet and wrote a Delirus (a comedy? Auson. p. 169 Sch. 231 P. *ergo nisi Delirus tuus in re tenui non tenuiter laboratus opuscula mea, quae promi studueras, retardasset*). RDezeimeris,

note sur l'auteur du Querolus, Bord. 1873, accordingly took him for the author of the Querolus (§ 421a, 1). Ausonius sends letter 15 to his pupil Tetradius, a grammarian of Iculisma (Angoulême), who had written satires (p. 173 Sch. 237 P. *rudes camenas qui Suessae praevenis aevoque cedis, non stilo*). Specially attractive are the letters of Aus. (ep. 19–25) to Pontius Paulinus (§ 437, 2), dating perhaps from the years 389–393, the answers to which are still partly extant (printed in Peiper's ed. of Auson. p. 289; in Paulin. ed. Migne carm. 10 and 11). This correspondence exhibits, on the one hand, the devotion and gratitude of Paulinus towards his aged teacher and friend, and on the other hand the radical estrangement between Paulinus as an earnest Christian and Ausonius, who in spite of his professed Christianity remained rooted in Paganism. Several MSS. of Ausonius also contain the letters of Symmachus and Paulinus, while conversely the MSS. of Symmachus and especially those of Paulinus contain the corresponding pieces of Ausonius, though sometimes with variations. SUID. s. v. *Αὐσόνιος σοφιστὴς γεγραφὼς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ πρὸς Νόννον* (*Νωλανόν* SCHENKL, cf. above l. 5).

n. Ad Gratianum gratiarum actio pro consulatu, delivered at Trèves a. 379, an anthology of rhetorical tropes and compliments to the Emperor, in which however the orator never demeans himself, p. 19 Sch. 353 P.—Criticism: MHAUPT, op. 3, 503.

o. Periochae Homeri Iliadis et Odyssiae, also in prose, with a metrical translation of the opening lines of the several books, p. 227 Sch. 377 P. It is however quite uncertain whether these really belong to Ausonius. THUGOLETUS first incorporated them in his ed., Parma 1499, from a MS. of ABernerius, now lost, but at present they are to be found only in the Paris. 8500, where they are indeed placed among the Ausoniana, but themselves contain no allusion to Ausonius as their author; RPEIPER l.l. 222. 314.

p. 'Praefatiunculae,' i.e. an answer (about a. 390 together with a collection of his poems) to a letter of the Emperor Theodosius, in which he begs Ausonius to send him his poems (p. 1 Sch. 4 P., cf. below § 424, 2), next the poet's personal introduction of himself to his readers (about a. 383, by way of preface to a former edition of his poems p. 2 Sch. 1 P.), two distichs addressed to Syagrius (p. 3 Sch. P. see § 427, 2), lastly the dedication to Pacatus (§ 426, 5) of a book of poems (p. 120 Sch. 86 P.). This last work was probably intended for the epigrammatum liber (WBRANDES, JJ. 123, 65).

3. To Ausonius must also be attributed in accordance with the Voss. 111 the *oratio* (prayer) *consulis Ausonii versibus rhopalicis*, which had been omitted in the earlier editions (p. 31 Sch. 19 P.). On the other hand, in consequence of their having been omitted from the first collective edition, we do not possess the fasti consulares which were compiled by Ausonius, continued down to a. 382 (his own name was *quartus ab imo*) and which had as their introduction and conclusion epigrams addressed to his son Hesperius (that is, Gregorius) and to Proculus, which are still extant, p. 119 Sch. 194 P.—In the way of indications of lost works we have, besides the above, only three fragments (p. 226 Sch. 309 P.) in the small book de dubiis nominibus GL. 5, 579, 3. 582, 27. 589, 6.

4. Ausonius became a convert to Christianity. He repeatedly professes his respect for the Christian religion; thus Ephem. 3 in a verbose prayer to Christ, and again in the versus paschales (n. 2 k l. 17), an Easter prayer, the oratio vv. rhopal. (n. 3) and elsewhere by the frequent use of Christian phraseology. Ausonius' Christianity however does not go very deep. His knowledge of the Bible is very slight compared with his knowledge of Vergil, next to whom he

is most familiar with Terence, Horace, Ovid, Statius and even Plautus. See the numerous references in Schenkl's and Peiper's editions, also MManitius, ZföG. 37, 241. FStahl, de Ausonianis studd. poetarum graecorum, Kiel 1886. When he does speak in the tone of a Christian, it is frequently to please others, e.g. in his speech before the pious Gratianus (p. 284. 300. 301), in his letter to the severely orthodox Paulinus (ep. 25. 123 sq.), but his Pagan mode of thought asserts itself almost unconsciously in a far greater number of passages. E.g. when vers. pasch. 24 sqq. he compares the division of the throne between three rulers (Valentinian, Valens and Gratianus) with the Trinity (cf. ephem. 2, 15 sqq. griph. 88), or in frequently calling the Emperor deus, or in speaking of Nemesis and the invidia fati (HSpeck, quaestt. Auson., Berl. 1874, 19). He is not even quite convinced of the Christian doctrine of individual immortality, see par. 15, 9 sq. 22, 15. prof. Burd. 1, 39 sqq. 22, 22. 23, 13. 26, 7. But nothing is easier to understand in a time of transition than this vacillation. Cf. Böcking, Jahrbb. d. rheinl. Alt. Fr. 7, 66.

5. Symmach. ep. 1, 21 praises A. for *morum gravitas et disciplinarum vetustas;* cf. ib. 1, 30 *es ingenio placabili inter reliqua virtutum.* epiced. 2, 43 Ausonius describes himself as *tranquillus, clemens, oculis voce ore serenus.* What he says protrept., praef. of one of his works, that it was *fugatius concinnata quam verius et plus coloris quam suci habens* (and *venustula magis quam forticula*), may be said of all. But that his character was good at the bottom, may be inferred from the affection with which he speaks of his relations, especially of his father (though here also much vanity comes in) and from the attachment of his pupils. His memory was inexhaustible and furnished him with facts, notices and reminiscences in abundance, frequently even where they were quite out of place and were substituted for original thought. He often mentions in how short a time he wrote off a poem. The consequence was that his productions often lack polish. He imitates the various metrical forms with much versatility, but without any fine perception of the nuances and of the ethical character of each. His dactylic lines are generally correct with regard to caesura, and in his sapphics he observes the strict rules of Horace, but in his iambic lines he admits spondees in the even feet and is often arbitrary with regard to the shortening of long and the lengthening of short syllables. ThRähse, de re metr. Ausonii, Berl. 1868.—AMeurer, de Aus. genere dicendi quaestiones, Münster 1873. LKöppel, Grammatisches aus Auson., Aschaffenb. 1879. Schenkl's ed. p. 286.

6. Owing to the various separate and collective editions which Ausonius prepared during his life-time (n. 2 p), or which were commenced after his death (n. 2 m. l. 11), and to the circumstances of their preservation, which were in many respects unfavourable, it is difficult to gain a clear view of the very complicated history of the text of Ausonius. There are no manuscripts containing the whole of Ausonius' works. Apart from various fragmentary texts of particular pieces in miscellaneous MSS., there are two corpora Ausoniana, each of which has in common with the other a series of poems (though with wide variations in part [cf. above n. 2, g. k] and in a different order), but comprises in addition a number of poems peculiar to itself. The principal MS. for the first and most important collection is the Leidensis Voss. 111 s. VIII/IX (in West-Gothic writing, FRühl, JJ. 137, 338), which however gives this collection only in a mutilated form and has to be completed from MS. excerpts. This applies in particular to the Mosella, which is wanting in the Voss. The best MS. for it is SGall. 899 s. X/XI, and next Bruxell. 5370 (with the heading: *incipiunt excerpta de opusculis D. Magni Ausonii*) and others. The second collection has been transmitted chiefly by the MS. (now lost) which forms the basis of the ed. princ. Ven. 1472, and by the Leidensis Voss. 107

(Tilianus) s. XIV. and others. On this subject and for all further details cf. RPeiper, die handschriftl. Überlieferung des Aus., JJ. Suppl. 11, 191 and Peiper and Schenkl in the introductions to their editions. EBährens, JJ. 113, 151. WBrandes, JJ. 123, 59. OSeeck, Gött. GA. 1887, 497.

7. On Ausonius in gen. see PBayle, dictionnaire s. v. Hist. lit. de la France 1, 2, 281. CGHeyne, censura ingenii et morum Ausonii, op. ac. 6, 22. JCDemogeot, études hist. et litt. sur Aus., Bord. 1838. PGDeydou, Ausone, Bordeaux 1868. GKaufmann in FRaumer's hist. Taschenb. 1869, 90.—EEverat, de Ausonii operibus et genere dicendi, Par. 1885.—Editions (see Böcking, Jahrbb. d. rheinl. Alt. Fr. 7, 3): ed. princ. (Ven. 1472), then by Pulmannus (Antw. 1568), JScaliger (together with his lectt. Auson., Lugd. 1575. Heidelb. 1588 and subsequently), EVinetus (Bord. 1580. 1590), JTollius (Amst. 1669), JFloridus and JBSouchay (Par. 1730), ed. Bipontina (1785). Recently esp. the editions by KSchenkl, Berl. 1883 (=Monum. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiquiss. 5, 2) and RPeiper, Lpz. 1886.—Contributions to textual criticism by COAxt, quaestt. Auson. maxime ad cod. Voss. 111 spectantes (Lps. 1873) 16. RDezeimeris, leçons nouvelles et remarques sur le texte de divers auteurs, Bord. 1876. 1879. 1883, correctiones d'Ausone, rev. crit. 1879, 127. ann. de Bord. 1882, 313, à propos d'un msc. d'Aus., Bord. 1884. MHaupt, op. 3, 503. WBrandes, quaestt. Aus. (Brunsw. 1876) 32; JJ. 119, 318. HJMüller, symb. ad emend. scriptt. lat. (Berl. 1876) 24. EBährens, JJ. 113, 151. MMertens, quaestt. Auson., Lps. 1880. KSchenkl, Wiener Studien 2, 275; ZföG. 31, 895. 32, 16. 102. 176. 260. REllis, Hermath. 1886 no. 12.

8. In the style of Ausonius is also the Tetrasticon authenticum de singulis mensibus, in the cod. Voss. 86, printed AL. 395 PLM. 1, 206.—In the cod. Voss. 111 (see n. 6) are also extant, the work of a schoolman Sulpicius Lupercus Servasius Iunior, three sapphic strophes on the transitoriness of all earthly things, and an elegiac lament on the neglect of studies for the sake of money-making. The mode of expression and the verse-construction are laboured and prosaic. The inevitable archaisms *mage* and *fundier* are not wanting. Printed e.g. AL. 648 PLM. 4, 107.—Aldhelm. 239 Giles *Paulus Quaestor in gratiarum actione*, quoted also ib. 231. 238 without a specification of the poem. Three hexameters on a subject from the Pagan mythology are preserved (FPR. 407).

9. *Versus duodecim sapientium de diversis causis* (transmitted in Turic. 78 s. IX, Leid. Voss. Q. 86 s. IX, Brux. 5657 s. X/XI, Par. 8069 s. XI, printed e.g. in AL. 495–638 PLM. 4, 119. In this work twelve of his pupils (*iuvenes*, namely Asclepiadius, Asmenius, Basilius, Euphorbius, Eusthenius, Hilasius Iulianus, Maximinus, Palladius, Pompilianus, Vitalis and Vomanius) organised a poetical tournament in honour of the birthday of their master Asmenius (hence the pupils are called *Asmenidae;* the Asmenius mentioned among the pupils may be a son or relation of the master) in twelve stages. First 11 themes (the subject and form of which are fixed) are set in succession, each competitor being obliged to try his skill on them. In the first stage the order of the contest is decided for all by lot: the first thus selected begins at stage one, the second at the second, the third at the third, etc. At the twelfth stage both form and subject are optional. The last speaker offers to the master the congratulations of all the twelve. The themes consists of the common-places of the schools of rhetoric (Cicero, Vergil; the seasons, the rainbow, sunrise etc.). The nationality of the versifiers cannot be determined; the description of winter in the fourth and seventh theme does not necessarily imply a Northern country, since the description is determined by the prescribed theme. The form is on the whole skilful and careful (only AL.

628, 7 we find a stop-gap or perhaps an unsuccessful conceit?). A slight trace of Christian colouring occurs only AL. 559 (*hic meruit perpetuam requiem*). According to this we must not assign to the collection a later date than s. IV/V and it shows a decided affinity to Ausonius' method.

421[a]. To this period perhaps belongs the Querolus (the discontented man), a curious imitation of the Aulularia of Plautus in a peculiar half-metrical, half-prose form.

1. The comedy is adapted with the greatest freedom, even as regards its subject-matter, and is intended *fabellis atque mensis* (p. 3, 16 Peip.). The author is unknown. praef. p. 5, 9 *Aululariam hodie sumus acturi, non veterem, at rudem, investigatam Plauti per vestigia.* ib. p. 5, 22 *Querolus an Aululuria haec dicatur fabula vestrum* (spectatores) *iudicium erit.* The heading in the MSS.: *Plauti aululuria* (cf. MHaupt, op. 3, 587). It is dedicated to a certain Rutilius, who at p. 5, 2 is called *inlustris*, and is usually (Wernsdorf in Peiper p. xxx and Havet l.l. 5) supposed without sufficient reason to be Rutilius Namatianus (§ 454). The reference to the Liger (Loire) p. 16, 22 appears indeed to point to Gaul as the abode of the poet. The piece, to judge by the quaint style of the dialogue, by the vocabulary (cf. e.g. *praestigium, ambitor, debacchatio, discretio, transfusio, impostor, incipientes mei, compaginare, antelucandum est, mi sodes, ipsud?*), and the semi-metrical form etc., probably dates from s. IV/V. The assumption that Serv. on the Aen. 3, 226 already quotes a passage from the Querolus (p. 30, 16) rests on an error; see Thilo ad loc.—The metre: praef. 5, 4 *noster sermo poeticus . . . qui Graecorum disciplinas ore narrat barbaro et Latinorum vestusta vestro recolit tempore,* ib. 5, 23 *prodire autem in agendum non auderemus cum clodo pede, nisi magnos praeclarosque in hac parte sequeremur duces.* Thus the periods begun in prose end in metrical (iambic and trochaic) tags (cf. the rhyming prose of German jocular poems). On this see Wernsdorf in Peiper p. xxxvi. WStudemund, Jen. LZ. 1875, 622; compare the same author in CIL. 8, 646-648 (African inscriptions composed according to similar rules). See also FBücheler, RhM. 27, 474 (African origin of the poem). LHavet, le Querolus . . . texte en vers restitué (tetram. troch. catal. and iamb. acatal.) d'après un principe nouveau (not a sound one), précédé d'un examen littéraire etc., Paris 1880. Besides Plautus and Terence other authors (especially Vergil) are used.—Manuscripts: esp. Vatican. 4929 s. IX/X, Leid. Voss. Q. 83 s. X, Palat.-Vatic. 1615 (cf. § 99, 7); Havet l.l. 22. Editions: ed. princ. by PDaniel, Par. 1564, SCKlinkhamer, Leid. 1829, RPeiper, Lps. 1875.—Cf. besides RDezeimeris, sur l'auteur de Quer. (namely Axius Paulus? see § 421, 2 m), Bord. 1876; études sur le Quer., Bord. 1881. LQuicherat, mélanges en phil. (Par. 1879) 158.—On the lex convivalis appended to the Q. (p. 59, 12) see § 49, 1 ad fin.—This Querolus was during the Middle Ages recast by a certain Vitalis in elegiac metre (Hist. litt. de la France 15, 428. 22, 39. Peiper on the Querol. p. xxi); published first by HCommelinus in the ed. of the Querolus by KRittershaus, Heidelb. 1595; then Vitalis Blesensis Amphitryo et Aulul., ed. FOsann, Darmst. 1836.—Vitalis also treated the subject-matter of the Plautine Amphitruo in elegiac metre, not however immediately after Plautus, but after a later (now lost) version, which bore the name of Geta. The Amphitruo (or Geta) was first edited by AMai, class. auctt. 5, 463; then by Osann l.l., GEMüller, anall. Bernensia 2, 10. Recently Vitalis' Aulul. and Geta have appeared in: Comoediae elegiacae ed. comm. crit. instr., prolegg. scrips. EMüllenbach, Bonn 1885.—AdeMontaiglon, bibl. de l'école des chartes 1848 4, 476. 5, 463. FBücheler, lat. Declin.[2] 20.

422. Among the earliest Christian poets are Pope Damasus (lived a. 305-384), of whom we have in particular epitaphs on tombs, monuments etc., also longer poems in honour of saints and martyrs, and Proba, the wife of Clodius Celsinus Adelphius praef. urbi a. 351; she kept at first to the ordinary literary grooves and wrote an epic poem on the civil war between Constantius and Magnentius, but subsequently transferred her attention to Christian poetry and sought to glorify God by presenting sacred history in a work pieced together from Vergilian scraps. Dogmatic works are extant by Pacianus, Optatus and Philastrius. As Christian writers of this period are also mentioned Aquilius Severus, Latronianus and others.

1. HIERON. de vir. ill. 103 *Damasus, romanae urbis episcopus* (from a. 366, cf. AMMIAN. 27, 3, 12 sq.), *elegans in versibus componendis ingenium habuit multaque et brevia metro* (*μέτρῳ ἡρωϊκῷ* the transl.) *edidit et prope octogenarius sub Theodosio principe* (a. 384) *mortuus est.* Cf. chron. ad a. 2382=365. SUID. v. Δάμασος. HIERON. epist. 22, 22 (*legas . . . de virginitate papae Damasi . . . versu prosaque composita volumina*) and elsewhere. He stimulated Hieronymus to translate the Bible: § 434, 6.

2. Verses by Damasus are extant partly in MSS., partly in epitaphs (at Rome). The latter are given especially in JBDEROSSI, inscriptt. christ. 1, 329; i carmi di S. Damaso, bull. di archeol. crist. 4, 3 (1885), 7; elogio Damasiano del Ippolito martire, ib. 3, 6 (1881), 26; cf. also ib. 4, 2 (1883), concerning an elogium on Pope Liberius I († a. 366? against this date FXFUNK, histor. Jahrb. d. Görresges. 5, 424). CSTORNAIOLO, osservv. lett. e filol. sugli epigr. Damas. in the studj e documenti di storia e diritto 7, 13. Cf. also FXKRAUS, Roma sotterranea (Freib. 1873) 23. 99 and elsewhere. They were written out very finely and elegantly by Damasus' *cultor atque amator*, Furius Dionysius Philocalus (§ 74, 8); DEROSSI, inscr. christ. 1, LVI. Most of Damasus' poems are in hexameters, some in elegiac metre. In the verses in epic metre irregularities of prosody occur especially at the beginning (e.g. *sordibus depositis, impium maledicum, prophetam Christi*) and at the end (*precēs, frātremque, īrenen*) of the line (cf. § 403, 5). 3, 1 *haec verbă cecinit;* 4, 1 *trinā coniunctio mundi;* he has also synaloephe of the long vowel and hiatus. The subjects are apostles, martyrs, popes, departed Christians (e.g. the mother and sister of D.); c. 2 is an Easter congratulation addressed to the Emperor. In 37 poems D. mentions his own name 27 times. The two hymns to St. Andrew (c. 8) in iambic dimeters and to St. Agatha (c. 30) in catalectic dactylic tetrameters cannot well belong to Damasus, and c. 6 (appellations of Christ) is more probably by a certain Silvius (§ 468, 1), see RIESE, AL. 689 a. Cf. LMÜLLER, RhM. 22, 500. On the other hand AL. 768 according to the evidence of the single MS. is genuine (*Versus Damasi pp.*); ROSSI, bull. crist, 4, 3, 9. In the way of prose works a few letters by Damasus are extant. *Damasi papae liber de vitiis* (LDELISLE, Ashburnham MSS. 87) has been lost. See also § 464, 2.—Damasi papae opp. . . . cum notis ed. FUBALDIN, Rome 1638. Par. 1672. Damasi carmina sacra . . . ill. ab ARIVINO, Lps. 1652. Aucta et ill. ab AMMERENDA, Rome 1754. In GALLANDI 6, 345. MIGNE 13, 347.—In gen. see e.g. the prolegg. of MERENDA (MIGNE 13, 109, cf. ib. 417). RCEILLIER, hist. gén. 6. 454.

Hölscher, see § 418, 1. JKayser, z. Gesch. der Kirchenhymnen 2 (1868), 167. MRade, Damasus, Freib. 1882.—ACouret, de Dam. . . . carminibus, Grenoble 1869. MManitius, RhM. 45, 316.

3. Isidor. origg. 1, 38, 25 (cf. de. script. eccl. 5): *Proba, uxor Adelphi (proconsulis), centonem ex Vergilio . . . expressit* (cf. § 26, 2). In the decree of Gelasius (§ 469, 5; in Migne 59, 162) is mentioned *centimetrum de Christo Virgilianis compaginatum versibus apocryphum.* On this Isid. de scriptt. eccles. 5 (from the cento of Proba) *quod opusculum legitur inter apocryphas scripturas insertum.* The MSS. give the name as *Proba* and the poetess calls herself thus v. 12. According to Montfaucon, diar. ital. p. 36 a MS. s. X, which has now disappeared, bore the subscription *Proba, uxor Adelphi* (Clodius Celsinus Adelphius praef. urbi a. 351), *mater Olybrii et Alypii* (=Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius cos. a. 379 and Faltonius Probus Alypius praef. urbi a. 391), *cum Constantii* (Seeck pref. to his Symm. p. xcv) *bellum adversus Magnentium conscripsisset, conscripsit et hunc librum.* Cf. OSeeck pref. to his Symmach. l.l. The poetess is also mentioned CIL. 6, 1712 *Clodius Adelfius v. c. ex praefectis urbis uxori inconparabili et sibi fecit.* Cf. also the superscription in the Vatic. Palat., 1753 s. IX/X: *cento Probae inlustris Romanae, Aniciorum mater* (rather her great-grandmother; a confusion with Anicia Faltonia Proba, wife of Sex. Petronius Probus cos. a. 371, who CIL. 6, 1751 is called *litterarum et eloquentiae lumen:* AKiessling, in Seeck's Symmach. p. xcv takes him to be the author of the epigram (mentioned above § 198, 7, l. 6), the dedication of a collection of poems by Probus, his father and grandfather) . . . *uxor Adelphii ex praef. urbis.* The praef. of the cento points to such publications as those mentioned in the subscription in Montfaucon: *iamdudum temerasse ducis pia foedera pacis, . . . diversasque neces regum, crudelia bella, . . . confiteor, scripsi; satis est meminisse malorum. nunc, deus omnipotens, sacrum, precor, accipe carmen, . . . arcana ut possim vatis Proba cuncta referre. . . . Vergilium cecinisse loquar pia munera Christi.* From the Old Testament only the Creation, the Fall and the Deluge are related at all fully. *Cetera facta patrum pugnataque in ordine bella praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo.* Upon this she turns to the Nativity of Christ and proceeds with His history down to the Ascension. A copyist who transcribed this cento for the Emperor Arcadius added a dedication to him (which is in the MSS. often combined with the cento itself) in bad verse (also given AL. 735): *Romulidum ductor, . . . spes orbis fratrisque decus, dignare Maronem mutatum in melius divino agnoscere sensu, scribendum famulo quem iusseras. . . . haec relegas servesque diu tradasque minori Arcadio, haec ille suo generi, haec tua semper accipiat doceatque suos augusta propago.* Cf. § 473, 5. Cf. in gen. on this foolish poem Schenkl pref. to his ed. JAschbach, die Anicier und die römische Dichterin Proba, Wien. SBer. 64, 369. Ebert, LdMA. $1^2$, 125.—Manuscripts: Paris 13048 s. VIII/IX, 7701 s. IX, Laudun. 279. 273 s. IX, Vatic.-Palat. 1753 s. IX/X etc. Editions e.g. by HMeibom (cum notis variorum, Helmst. 1597), JHKromayer (Halle 1719), again in Migne 19, 803 and recently esp. by KSchenkl in his poett. lat. christ. min. 1 (Vienna 1887), 511 (=corp. scrr. eccles. lat. XVI).

4. Hieron. vir. ill. 106 *Pacianus, in Pyrenaei iugis Barcilonae episcopus castitate et eloquentia et tam vita quam sermone clarus, scripsit varia opuscula, de quibus est Cervus* (? according to Tillemont, mémoires 8, 539 against certain amusements and self-indulgences, the words *cervus et* are missing in the Paris. 12161 s. VII) *et Contra Novatianos. sub Theodosio principe* (a. 391) *iam ultima senectute mortuus est.* He was father to Flavius Dexter (§ 434, 11. 435, 6). Contra Novatianos (3 letters to the Novatian Sempronius), paraenesis s. adhorta-

torius libellus ad poenitentiam and sermo de baptismo are still extant. Paciani opera studio JTilii, Paris 1538, in the Bibl. patr. max. 4, 305, in Gallandi 7, 257, Migne 13, 1051. On P. cf. RCeillier 6, 713.

5. Hieron. vir. ill. 110 *Optatus Afer, episcopus Milevitanus, ex parte catholica, scripsit Valentiniano et Valente principibus adversum Donatianae partis calumniam libros VI* (var.: *VII*). To the 6 books de schismate Donatistarum, composed about a. 370, he made 15 years later various supplements, and added a seventh book. In this Optatus controverts the treatise (now lost) of Parmenianus, who was bishop of Carthage after Donatus.—Editions e.g. by FBalduinus, Par. 1563 and elsewhere. LEllies du Pin, Par. 1700 and elsewhere. Gallandi 5, 461. FOberthür, Würzb. 1790. Migne 11, 883.—On the diction: HRönsch, ZföG. 35, 401.

6. Augustin. de haeres. praef.: *Philastrius quidem Brixiensis episcopus, quem cum sancto Ambrosio Mediolani etiam ipse vidi, scripsit hinc* (on this subject) *librum nec illas haereses praetermittens quae in populo iudaeo fuerunt ante adventum domini easque XXVIII commemoravit et post dom. adv. CXXVIII. scripsit hinc etiam graece episcopus Cyprius Epiphanius.* Ambrosius de haeres. drew from Epiphanius and Philastrius. Philastri de haeresibus liber e.g. in Migne 12, 1049 and especially in FOehler's corpus haeresiologicum 1 (Berl. 1856) 1. Cf. RCeillier, hist. gén. 6, 739. Philastrius was succeeded by Gaudentius, in the time of Ambrosius (another writer of the same name § 472, 9). We possess by him 21 Tractatus, amongst them one de vita et obitu Philastrii. Vett. Brixiae episcoporum Phil. et Gaud. opera, ed. Galeardi, Brescia 1838. On the latinity of Gaudentius zee KPaucker, ZföG. 32, 481.

7. Hieron. vir. ill. 111. 122. 123 concerning three Spaniards, Aquilius Severus (who wrote *καταστροφή* or *πεῖρα*, i.e. his autobiography *tam prosa quam versibus*, † under Valentinian), Latronianus (*valde eruditus et in metrico opere veteribus comparandus*, executed as a heretic a. 385), Tiberianus, a Priscillianist (Priscill. p. 3, 9 Schepss), who like the above-mentioned Latronianus (§ 417, 4) wrote *haereseas apologeticum.*

## 423. The Latin version of the fabulous history of the Trojan war by the pretended Cretan Diktys claims to be a translation. This short work belongs to the fabulous and fictitious literature of the period. The diction is artificial and borrowed from all sides, abounding in archaisms, poetical phrases and late forms. Among the earlier models Sallust is the writer chiefly imitated.

1. Syrianos (c. a. 430) in Walz' rhett. gr. 4, 43, 2 *ὡς Δίκτυς ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι φησίν* (=Dict. 5, 17). Suid. s. v. *Δίκτυς ἱστορικός. ἔγραψεν ἐφημερίδα (ἔστι δὲ τὰ μεθ' Ὅμηρον καταλογάδην ἐν βιβλίοις θ'), Ἰταλικά, τρωϊκοῦ διακόσμου. οὗτος ἔγραψε τὰ περὶ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς Ἑλένης καὶ περὶ Μενελάου καὶ πάσης ἰλιακῆς ὑποθέσεως.* In the cod. Par. 2600 (and in the so-called Eudokia p. 128, cf. HFlach, Unterss. über Eudokia u. Suidas 80. 154; on Hesychii Mil. Onomatol. p. 52. PPulch, de Eudociae violario 54) the translator is also mentioned (n. 2 in fin.): *Σεπτιμῖνός τις ῥωμαῖος . . . εἰς τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν φωνὴν μετήνεγκεν.* Malalas availed himself largely of the work in his chronography (c. a. 570); other Byzantine writers have used it only through his medium. Suidas relates concerning the form of the work l.l.: *ἐπὶ* Κλαυδίου (*οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Νέρωνος* is added by the Eudokia) *τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ κατενεχθείσης καὶ*

πολλῶν τάφων ἀνεωχθέντων εὑρέθη ἐν ἐνὶ τούτων (see § 72, 2 a similar discovery) τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς ἱστορίας Δίκτυος, τὸν τρωϊκὸν περιέχον πόλεμον, ὅπερ λαβὼν Κλαύδιος ἐξέδωκε γράφεσθαι. This agrees with the prologus of the Latin version: *Dictys . . . fuit socius Idomenei . . . et Merionis, . . . a quibus ordinatus est ut annales belli troiani conscriberet. igitur de toto bello VI* (Dederich after Suidas [see n. 2 in fin.] *IX*) *volumina in tilias digessit phoeniceis litteris. quae . . . praecepit moriens ut secum sepelirentur. . . . verum . . . tertio decimo anno Neronis imperii* (a. 66=819 U.C.) *in Gnoso civitate terrae motus facti* etc. *pastores . . . ad suum dominum Eupraxidem . . . pertulerunt. qui . . . litteras Rutilio Rufo, illius insulae* (Creta) *tunc consulari* (=governor, *consularis* means this only from the 4th cent., JMarquardt, röm. Staatsverw. 1, 549. LHavet, rev. de philol. 2, 238), *obtulit. ille . . . ad Neronem oblata sibi transmisit. . . . Nero . . . iussit in graecum sermonem ista transferri* (cf. Eudokia l.l. μεθερμηνεύθη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ γλώσσῃ). . . . *quorum seriem qui sequitur textus ostendit.* The writer states repeatedly (1, 13. 5, 17. 6, 10) that he himself was an eye-witness of the events which he relates. Similar fictions however (tablets supposed to have been dug up etc.) are known to us through numerous other examples. Plut. de facie 26. Anton. Diog. in Phot. cod. 166. Suid. v. Ἀκουσίλαος. Luc. Alex. 10. Cf. § 72, 2. 345, 3.

2. Up to the present it has remained a vexed question whether the Diktys ever had a Greek original; there is now a general disposition to believe that no such work ever existed. Thus, following GVossius, de histor. lat. 3, 742, most recently FMeister pref. to his ed., and especially HDunger, Diktys-Septimius; on the original composition and the sources, Dresd. 1878; de Dictye Septimio, Dresd. 1886 and others. The opposite view is represented by GKörting, Diktys und Dares, Halle 1874; cf. also KTümpel, JJ, 137, 829. The original idea, however, is of a kind far more in accordance with the Greek than with the Roman spirit, and the contents and style of the work alike point rather to Greece. It is difficult to believe that a Latin writer should have taken the trouble for such a purpose to compile this little book from Greek sources such as Apollodoros, Lykophron, Philostratos the Elder, Ptolemaios Chennos (RHercher, JJ. Suppl. 1, 284) etc. (see Dunger l.l. 38), as also that Malalas should have chosen a Latin author as the basis for his version of the Troica. Malalas indeed had but a scanty knowledge of Latin. The Latin words employed by Malalas have been collected by GKörting, de vocc. lat. ap. Malalam, Münster 1879; cf. the same author's index scriptorum gr. et Lat. quos Malala laudavit, Münst. 1879 (Mal. p. 285, 5 Dind. quotes Verg. Aen. 4, 302. 303 literally and translates the lines into Greek; cf. also CWagener, Phil. Anz. 10, 91). The fact that no part of the Greek Diktys is extant, is no proof that it never existed: what, for instance, do we know concerning Sisyphos of Cos, quoted by Malalas along with Diktys (p. 116, 23. 119, 22. 132, 19; cf. HHaupt, Phil. 40, 107) and evidently closely resembling him, who in the character of a former follower of Teukros (as Diktys purported to be of Idomeneus) likewise narrated the Trojan war? The traces of the Greek Diktys, which are supposed to have been found in Cassiodorus and elsewhere (Mommsen, Herm. 10, 383; pref. to his Iordan. p. xxxi. 71. ERohde, RhM. 38, 303), are certainly not conclusive (CWagener, JJ. 121, 509; HHaupt, Phil. 43, 546). But in the Diktys of Malalas the economy modelled on that of Homer, by which the heroes themselves, partly at least, narrate their past adventures in dialogues, is evidently earlier than the bare chronology of the Latin text; it goes to prove the employment either of a Greek original or of a more complete Latin one, of which the extant text would be an abridgment (AvGutschmid). On the other hand, as the main evidence for

the Latin version being the original one, there is the language, especially the close imitation of Sallust (n. 4), and also the verbal use made of Vergil (see DUNGER l.l. [1878] 46; de Dictye Septimio Vergilii imitatore, Dresd. 1886), which it is not quite easy to reconcile with the theory of a translation from the Greek. But neither from this point of view is it possible to settle the question; cf. the relation of the so-called Hegesippus to Sallust: § 433, 5.—To the preface (prologus, see n. 1) of his (real or pretended) Greek original the translator has added one of his own, in which most of the statements of the first are reiterated. Its position rendered it more liable to be omitted and it is to be found only in later MSS. Principal contents: *L. Septimius Q. Aradio s. d. Ephemerida belli troiani Dictys Cretensis . . . conscripsit litteris punicis* etc. *nobis cum in manus forte libelli venissent avidos verae historiae cupido incessit ea uti erant latine disserere, non magis confisi ingenio quam ut otiosi animi desidiam discuteremus. itaque priorum quinque voluminum . . . eundem numerum servavimus; residua quinque* (*quattuor* DEDERICH on account of the statement of Suidas, see n. 1; cf. EWÖLFFLIN, Herm. 9, 89) *de reditu Graecorum in unum redegimus atque ad te misimus. tu, Rufine mi, ut par est, fave coeptis.* On the two prefaces see also LHAVET, rev. de philol. 3, 80.

3. The person addressed (see n. 2) is called Q. Aradius Rufinus. A certain Aradius Rufinus was praef. urbi a. 312–313, cos. a. 316, praef. praet. a. 319; another (his son or grandson?) is mentioned in AMMIAN. 23, 1, 4 (Julian a. 363) *Rufinum Aradium comitem orientis in locum avunculi sui Iuliani recens defuncti provexit* (the latter was praef. urbi a. 376; cf. cod. Theod. 10, 19, 2). If the latter is identical with L. Aradius Rufinus CIL. 6, 1695, only the first of the two could be the person addressed by Septimius. But it is of course also possible that a third person, otherwise unknown, of the same name may be alluded to here. The epigram by the father of Symmachus (SYMM. ep. 1, 2), in which e.g. Ar. Ruf. is described as *unus amor cunctis et praesidium trepidorum*, refers to the first (cos. 316). We should look for Septimius himself rather among the schoolmen of the period, than among high officials (as does Perizonius).

4. As regards the date of Septimius, the person whom he addresses (see n. 3) leads us to infer the 4th cent. This is in agreement with his diction, which indeed (according to the evidence of DEDERICH p. XXXVIII and in his Glossarium Sept. p. 241 sqq., cf. MEISTER's ed. p. 114 and PERIZONIUS in Dederich p. LXXXVI), shows many points of resemblance to Apuleius (p. XLVIII), but just as many to the so-called Hegesippus (§ 433, 5), to Ammianus, Sulpicius Severus, Orosius and others. We therefore decide in favour of the time of Theodosius I. Sallust in particular is closely imitated by Septimius in his vocabulary and diction, in constructions, connection of sentences, in his antiquated conciseness of style, even in speeches, general reflections and descriptions. Besides Sallust, Cornelius Nepos, Livy, Vergil and others are used; HPRATJE, quaest. Sallust. ad L. Septimium et Sulpicium Severum Sallustii imitatores spectantes, Gött. 1874. GBRÜNNERT, Sallust und Dictys, Erfurt 1883. HDUNGER, de Dictye-Septimio Vergilii imitatore, Dresd. 1886.

5. Diktys-Septimius was much used during the Middle Ages (esp. to supplement Dares § 471) and therefore frequently copied. HDUNGER, die Sage vom troj. Kriege in den Bearbeitt. des MAlters und ihre antiken Quellen, Dresd. 1869. AJOLY, Benoît de Sainte-More . . . ou les métamorphoses d'Homère et de l'épopée gréco-latine au moyen age, Paris 1870. 71 II. GKÖRTING, Diktys u. Dares, ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der Troja-Sage, Halle 1874. WGREIF, d. mittelalterl. Bearbb. der Trojanersage, Marb. 1886.

6. The earliest and best manuscript is SGall. 205 s. IX/X.—Editions (generally with Dares) e.g. by Cratander, Bas. 1529. JMercerius (Par. 1618. Amst. 1631), Anna Tan. Fabri filia (Par. 1680. Amst. 1702), UObrecht (cur. Artopoei, Argentor. 1691), LSmids (Amst. 1702), ADederich (Bonn 1832. 1837; in the same work IPerizonii dissertatio de D. Cr. etc.; cf. GFHildebrand, JJ. 23, 278), and FMeister (Lps. 1872).—In gen. ECollilieux, étude sur Dictys de Crète et Darès de Phrygie, Grenoble 1886.—Criticism: ERohde, Phil. 32, 749. FMeister, ib. 38, 373.

### b) The Time of Theodosius I. (a. 379 sqq.).

424. Of the Emperors who ruled in the last twenty years of the 4th century only Gratianus (a. 359–383) may be said to have taken interest in literature. Theodosius I. (a. 346–395), who was, like Trajan, chiefly a soldier, expended his energy as Emperor (a. 379–395) partly in wars against the external enemies who threatened the Empire on the East and North frontiers, and against usurpers (Maximus and Eugenius), partly in his endeavours to promote the orthodox Nicaean creed at the expense of Paganism and of the Arian doctrine. Polytheism became by degrees practically extinct. Some circles, e.g. at Rome the families of Symmachus and Nicomachus, maintained their interest in the old literature and remained attached to the old faith. But their efforts became more and more isolated and fruitless; Symmachus and Ammianus were the last respectable representatives of the Roman religion in literature. The number and importance of the Christian writers increased in proportion. Above all the figure of Ambrosius stands conspicuous. Hieronymus was indeed unequalled in varied knowledge and literary industry, and the beginning of St. Augustine's literary career belongs likewise to this time. Christianity possessed in Prudentius an enthusiastic and artistic poet, and not long after him Sulpicius Severus and Orosius treated history from the Christian point of view. Dogmatic influences prevailed even in the department of history and asserted themselves in the allegorical or symbolical interpretation of Biblical events and characters. Medical literature was confined to translations of Greek works (Theodorus Priscianus) or the enlarging of earlier Latin works (Marcellus Empiricus, Sex. Placitus) with superstitious ingredients. This period possessed, besides Vegetius, only rhetoricians such as Pacatus and grammarians such as Servius and Ti. Donatus.

1. VICTOR epit. 47, 4 *fuit Gratianus litteris haud mediocriter institutus* (cf. § 421, 1): *carmen facere, ornate loqui, explicare controversias rhetorum more.* AUSON. p. 194 Sch. 320 P. (*bellandi fandique potens Augustus*) and grat. act. p. 27 Sch. 370 P. SYMMACH. paneg. Grat. 7. epist. 10, 21 *Musis in palatio loca, lautia tu dedisti.* Cf. cod. Theod. 13, 13, 11. SOZOM. 7, 1 *νόμον ἔθετο μετ' ἀδείας ἑκάστους θρησκεύειν ὡς βούλονται, καὶ ἐκκλησιάζειν, πλὴν Μανιχαίων καὶ τῶν τὰ Φωτεινοῦ καὶ Εὐνομίου φρονούντων.* SYMMACH. ep. 10, 61 *nil ille decerpsit sacrarum virginum privilegiis, decrevit nobilibus sacerdotia, romanis caerimoniis non negavit impensas, . . . cumque alias religiones ipse sequeretur has servavit imperio.*

2. VICTOR epit. 48, 9 on Theodosius: *simplicia ingenia aeque diligere, erudita mirari, sed innoxia.* Cf. the epigram by Aemilius Probus (§ 198, 7, l. 10): *Theudosio et doctis carmina nuda placent.* THEODOS. ad Ausonium (AUSON. 1 Sch. 3 P.): *amor meus qui in te est et admiratio ingenii atque eruditionis tuae . . . fecit, parens iucundissime, ut . . . familiarem sermonem autographum ad te transmitterem, postulans pro iure . . . privatae inter nos caritatis ne fraudari me scriptorum tuorum lectione patiaris, quae olim mihi cognita et iam per tempus oblita rursum desidero.* AUSON. praef. ad Theodos. p. 1 Sch. 4 P. *scribere me Augustus iubet et mea carmina poscit paene rogans.* Libanios and Themistios as well as Symmachus were never molested by the Emperor, notwithstanding his orthodox zeal, nay were even esteemed and promoted by him.—SYMMACH. ep. 5, 35 *romanae iuventutis magistris subsidia sollemnis alimoniae detracta sunt.*

3. The vates Laberius (and his wife Bassa) in the CIL. 6, 13528 may well belong to about this period.

425. A prominent position among the adherents of the old order was occupied during three generations by the family of the Symmachi, the most famous of whom is the Q. Aurelius Symmachus (c. 345–405), praef. urbi 384–385, cos. 391 A.D. He is of patrician origin and rank, a patrician in his sentiments, and thoroughly honourable in character and intention. His predilections are for Rome's great past and his heart clings to the ancestral faith in the strength of which Rome achieved that greatness. It is in defending this faith that Symmachus exhibits his finest qualities; here his gentle nature, otherwise somewhat weak and wanting in firmness, rises to energetic vindication and championship, and wins the respect even of his Christian antagonists, who find in him their most formidable adversary. We possess specimens of his youthful oratory in three panegyric speeches on Valentinian I and his son, the young Gratianus, who was co-Emperor; they are in the manner of the other panegyrists but (at all events in their present incomplete and mutilated shape) they are decidedly inferior to the best among them in point of matter. We possess fragments of five speeches in the Senate belonging to his mature years. His letters are more important; they were collected by his son and edited,

probably in imitation of the collection of Pliny the Younger. Their smooth style and superficiality impress us with an idea of the feebleness of the writer and his circle. The official reports (relationes) of Symmachus as praef. urbi are the most interesting part of the work, especially the petition for the restoration of the altar of Victory in the Hall of the Senate, which provoked replies from the bishop Ambrosius and Prudentius.

1. The father of the orator. Inscription of a. 377 (CIL. 6, 1698 Or. 1186 Wilm. 641): *Lucio Aur. Avianio Symmacho v. c. praefecto urbi* (a. 364/5, cf. Symm. ep. 2, 44. Ammian. 27, 3, 3 *inter praecipua nominandus exempla doctrinarum et modestiae*), *consuli* (for a. 377, but perhaps died as designatus? ? see Seeck praef. to his ed. p. xliv and Symm. ep. 1, 101), *pro praefectis praetorio in urbe Roma finitimisque provinciis, praefecto annonae urbis Romae, pontifici maiori, quindecemviro s(acris) f(aciundis), multis legationibus pro amplissimi ordinis desideriis apud divos principes functo* (e.g. with Constantius, Ammian. 21, 12, 24), *qui primus in senatu sententiam rogari solitus auctoritate, prudentia atq. eloquentia . . . magnitudinem loci eius impleverit, auro inlustrem statuam* etc. Cf. 1, 44 *egit ille senatui gratias ea facundiae gravitate qua notus est.* A letter from him to his son ep. 1, 2, in which he says: *quia nihil est quod agam et, si nihil agam, subit me maiorum meorum misera recordatio, inveni quod illis libellis quos nuper dictaveram possimus adicere.* He alludes to 5 (mediocre) epigrams in 6 hexameters each, on important men of his time such as Aradius Rufinus (§ 423, 3), and Anicius Julianus, in imitation of Varro's Hebdomades (§ 166, 5). (Similar compositions AL. 831 sqq. PLM. 5, 396 sqq.) Letters from his son to him ep. 1, 1, 3–12.

2. The orator: CIL. 6, 1699 Or. 1187 Wilm. 1235 *Q. Aur. Symmacho v. c., quaest.* (epp. 9, 119), *praet.* (epp. 8, 14), *pontifici maiori* (cf. epp. 1, 47. 49. 51. 9, 108, 128 sq.), *correctori Lucaniae et Brittiorum* (a. 365, cod. Theod. 8, 5, 25), *comiti ordinis tertii, procons. Africae* (a. 373, cod. Theod. 12, 1, 73; cf. CIL. 8, 5347. Symmach. ep. 8, 5. 20. 10, 1), *praef. urb.* (a. 384 and 385), *cos. ordinario* (a. 391, cf. epp. 2, 62–64. 81. 5, 15. 9, 130), *oratori disertissimo.* His wife was Rusticiana (ep. 10, 54, cf. Ap. Sidon. ep. 2, 10), the daughter (ep. 9, 131. 10, 54) of Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, praef. urbi a. 353–355. 357–359, and by her he had a daughter and one son (n. 3). The tirocinium of the orator in Germany together with Ausonius, see § 421, 1. Cf. epist. 1, 14. in Valent. 2, 6. 8. A Gallic professor of rhetoric, see § 391, 8. As Symm. was already a. 361 a boy full of promise (Liban. epist. 923) he must have been born a. 350 at latest. A. 375 he speaks of himself as *iuvenis* ep. 1, 1, 5, and a. 396 he is said to be *annis in senectam vergentibus*, epp. 4, 18, 2. With regard to his health Symmach. in his letters makes almost as many complaints as Fronto (§ 355, 1 ad fin.). His residence in Rome was on the mons Caelius (epp. 7. 18 cf. 19); he had besides numerous country estates both in the neighbourhood and at a distance. The letters of Symmachus are brought down to a. 402: he must have died soon after this date; Prudentius ad Symmachum (published a. 403/4), however, mentions him as still living (e.g. 2, praef. 57 *quo nunc nemo disertior*).

3. Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus (CIL. 6, 1699 Or. 1187 Wilm. 1235), the only (see ep. 4, 5. 5, 68. 6, 7. 41) son of the orator (born c. a. 384), obtained already as *parvulus* and during his father's life-time (a. 393) the quaestorship (Symm. ep. 5, 22) and (a. 401) the praetorship (praet. urb.); he was procos. Africae a. 415

(cod. Theod. 11, 30, 65), praef. urbi a. 418 sqq. (some reports dating from these years, written by this Symmachus, addressed mostly to the Emperor, are to be found in the collectio Avellana, newly edited by WMeyer, epp. impp. rom. ex coll. can. Avell., Gött. 1888. 89 II). He received a rhetorical education (ep. 6, 34 cf. 61. 7, 9. 8, 69. 4, 20), and married the daughter of the younger Nicomachus Flavianus (CIL. 6, 1783 Or.-Henzen 5593 of a. 431; cf. CIL. 6, 1787 Or. 1188 Wilm. 645a).—The daughter of Symm. the orator became the second wife of this same younger Nicomachus Flavianus (§ 428, 2). The Symmachi who were coss. a. 446, 485 (§ 477, 4), 522 were descendants of the son.—Cf. BBorghesi, oeuvr. 8, 197.

4. The fame of Symmachus was based especially on his orations (n. 2): *orator disertissimus* CIL. l.l. (n. 2 l. 6), ὁ λογογράφος Olympiod. in Phot. c. 80. Socr. hist. eccl. 5, 14 ἐθαυμάζετο δὲ ἐπὶ παιδεύσει λόγων ῥωμαϊκῶν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ λόγοι συγγεγραμμένοι τῇ Ῥωμαίων γλώσσῃ τυγχάνουσι. Cf. n. 7. A few (none, however, are complete) have been preserved in a palimpsest s. VI (§ 355, 8 l. 4), which is extant in a fragmentary condition (27 quarto leaves), the greater part in Milan (Ambros. E 147 inf.), but part also in Rome (Vat. 5750); edited by AMai (Mil. 1815=Frankf. 1816 and in Niebuhr's ed. of Fronto, Berl. 1816), then (augmented) in AMai, iuris civ. anteiust. reliqq. (Rome 1823), in the Scriptor. vett. nova coll. 1, 4 and in Mai's ed. of Cic. de rep. (Rome 1846). HMeyer, oratt. rom. fragm.² p. 627 and in Seeck's ed. (n. 10). A new collation of the MS. in OSeeck, commentat. Mommsen. 600 and recently in his edition. Cf. MHaupt, op. 3, 451. EBährens, misc. crit. 171. These pieces are derived from eight speeches: 1–2 speeches in praise of Valentinian I, delivered in Gaul, the one a. 369, the other (also in Seeck, comm. Mommsen. 607) on the Emperor's third consulate, a. 370, both youthfully bombastic and here and there offending against good taste (e.g. 1, 1 *caesam glaciem potare;* 1, 3 Gratianus is called *seminarium principatus et vena regalis*, 2, 26 *navigia riparum extima momorderunt*). 3 a speech in praise of the young Augustus Gratianus, delivered in the beginning of 369, before Gratianus, probably at Trèves. Here follow the remains of 5 speeches, delivered in the Roman Senate, all short pieces, chiefly of a commendatory character. No. 4 returns thanks for the appointment of the writer's father as consul, after the death of Valentinian I, a. 376 (the Laudes in patres, enumerated separately in Mai, are a part of the speech pro patre, see Seeck, comm. Momms. 601). No. 5 pro Trygetio (a. 376, alluded to by Symmachus ep. 1, 34, 2) etc. Other speeches in the Senate by Symmachus are mentioned in his letters: see ep. 4, 45; cf. 4, 29. 5, 9. 1, 105. 7, 58. A speech on the usurper Maximus (a. 383?) was much resented by Theodosius (*post amaros casus orationum mearum*, ep. 8, 69; cf. Cassiod. hist. trip. 9, 23. Socr. h. e. 5, 14. Suid. v. καθοσίωσις) and Symm. tried to atone for it by laudes Theodosii (end of a. 388) and other writings; cf. ep. 2, 13, 30.—Ep. 4, 64 *nec tantum epistulas poscis, oratiunculas quoque nostras non editas deferri in manus tuas praecipis. . . . misi igitur ex recentioribus numero quinque.*

5. *Q. Aur. Symmachi v. c. relationes.* Under this title is extant a collection of official reports which Symmachus as praef. urbi a. 384–385 presented to the Emperor; they have been transmitted in a MS. (LHavet, rev. crit. 1873 2, 252) now lost, which formed the basis of the edition of SGelenius (n. 10), and also in the Monac. (Tegernseens.) 18787 s. XI and Mettensis 500 s. XI. The most famous of them is no. 3 concerning the Altar to Victory, see n. 9. This last, besides being extant in the collection of the Relationes, is also preserved in Ambrosius MSS. (e.g. Vatic. 286 s. IX/X, SGall. 94 s. IX). Ambrosius published them together with his reply.—Since Juretus (n. 10) the Relationes, which were at first published

separately, have been incorporated with b. 10 in the editions of the letters (cf. n. 6 l. 10 and § 340, 9). A separate edition of the Relationes: rec. WMeyer, Lps. 1872.

6. The Letters are arranged according to the recipients, frequently in violation of chronological order: e.g. b. 1 contains S.'s letters to his father (1–12), Ausonius 13–43), Agorio Praetextato (44–55. 74), Probo (56–61; cf. Clason l.l. 532), Celsino Titiano fratri (62–73), Hesperio (75–88), Antonio (§ 426, 2; cf. Clason l.l. 466), Syagrio (94–107). B. 2 contains almost exclusively letters to Flavianus frater (§ 428, 1) etc. Only two letters addressed to Symmachus by others are added, namely one from his father (1, 2) and one from Ausonius (1, 32 cf. RPeiper, JJ. Suppl. 11, 320). OClason, zur Prosopographie der Briefe des Symmachus, Heidelb. Jahrbb. 1872, 461. 526. 573. 865. The collection consisted of 10 books; of the tenth there are extant (besides the Relationes, n. 5) only two letters to Theodosius and Gratianus. According to the (MS.?) heading, it contained *epistolas familiares ad imperatores, sententias senatorias et opuscula.* The editor (see below) had again incorporated the Relationes etc. which had been previously published. Cf. n. 5 ad fin.—These wordy but empty letters of S. do not add much to our knowledge of the history of the time (*cassa rebus oratio*, ep. 3, 10, cf. 2, 35). Even gossip is disdained by the aristocratic writer; we find some only in b. 6 (cf. 1, 46. 2, 36. 57), and even business letters would not be numerous if the purchase of race-horses, gladiators and rare animals (6, 43. 9, 132. 125. 10, 19) did not drive S.'s pen to an almost feverish activity. The letters of introduction on the other hand are numberless, the intercessions in favour of persons in whom the writer is more or less interested (1, 64 *commendari a me episcopum forte mireris. causa istud, non secta, persuasit;* 7, 51 he recommends . . . *Severum, episcopum omnium sectarum attestatione laudabilem*), even begging letters (e.g. 4, 67. 7, 116) and match-making on behalf of others (9, 7. 43. 49). We have also congratulations, letters of condolence, obituary notices, invitations, greetings, journeys, the writer's and his friends' health etc., and frequent complaints of the scarcity or brevity of his friends' letters, or answers to such charges brought against the writer by others. Repetitions are not rare, e.g. the remark that a friend who goes away ought to be the first to write occurs ten times (3, 3. 4, 23. 5, 30. 70. 73. 6, 60. 8, 56. 60. 63. 9, 63). 7, 81. 83. 89 the same is addressed over again to the same person; 5, 54 and 66 the same is written to different persons, cf. 3, 40=5, 1; 2, 67=7, 53. But the art of Symmachus shows itself specially in his faculty for diversifying the same ideas by clothing them in novel, elegant and courteous phrases. Cf. also § 46, 10.—Ep. 5, 85 (to Helpidius): *quod epistulas meas condis amoris est tui, qui describenda nescit eligere. . . . nimis vereor ne ista simplicitas incidat in lectorem alterum, tibi disparem. quare velim tibi habeas quae incogitata proferimus; licet eadem mei quoque librarii servare dicantur.* Cf. 5, 86 *si quid horum quae apud te incuriosius loquor cuipiam lectori nauseam moverit, non tam in scribendo neglegentia displicebit.* It may therefore be taken for granted that these letters were written with a view to publication (though perhaps not from the first). But their rude state shows that they were not published by the author himself. Even mere scraps of paper have been admitted, e.g. 8, 71 sq. two formulas of an invitation to his son's inauguration of his praetorship. This renders it probable that his son edited the collection, and this is confirmed by the subscriptio in the Paris. *Q. Aureli Symmachi v. c. cos. ord. epistolarum l. II explicit, editus post eius obitum a Q. Fabio Memmio Symmacho v. c. filio incipit l. III* (and similarly below b. 4). The publication followed not long after the death of the author. Cf. OSeeck pref. to his ed. p. xxiii.—Manuscripts of the letters: Paris. 8623 s. IX. OClason, de Symm. epp. cod. Paris. cum eius collat., Bonn 1867.

Then Vatic. Palat. 1576 s. XI and others. Cf. SEECK pref. to his ed. On the cod. Bertinianus (now at St. Omer 686 s. XII) see RFÖRSTER, RhM. 30, 466.

7. MACROB. 5, 1, 7 (*genus dicendi*) *pingue et floridum, in quo Plinius Sec. quondam et nunc nullo veterum minor noster Symmachus luxuriatur.* PRUDENT. c. Symm. 1, 632 *o linguam miro verborum fonte fluentem, romani decus eloquii* etc. 2, praef. 55 *tanti . . . viri, quo nunc nemo disertior* etc. AP. SIDON. ep. 1, 1 *Q. Symmachi rotunditatem.* The speeches are generally written in brief and harmonious sentences and are amply set off with rhetorical ornaments of all kind. The letters (n. 6) likewise bear an oratorical colouring, especially in their endeavour to avoid technical language (e. g. acta Senatus) as vulgar. Though Symmachus' diction aims at classicality, he intentionally admits modern expressions. Cf. such formations as *genialitas, optimitas, placiditas, autumnitas, incentor, edecimo, exambio;* and phrases like *fors fuat an (ut), quin immo, incoram ;* constructions like *fungi officium, honoris tui delector, sollicitor tarditatis, bonarum artium spectatus,* the frequent use of *quod* after verb. sent. et declarandi (e.g. 8, 46. 9, 10. 39. 10, 24. 78), *aliquanti servi* etc. Cf. ep. 3, 11 *trahit nos usus temporis in argutias plausibilis sermonis. quare aequius admitte linguam saeculi nostri et deesse huic epistulae atticam sanitatem boni consule. . . . te non paeniteat scriptorum meorum ferre novitatem.* 3, 44 *ἀρχαϊσμὸν scribendi non invitus adfecto. . . . praestat Tullium sequi.* Cf. OKOREN, quaestt. Symm. 39. ETHSCHULZE, de Q. Aur. Symm. vocabulorum formationibus ad sermonem vulgarem pertinentibus, Halle 1884 (=Diss. Hal. 6, 111). Also BOISSIER (n. 11).

8. As a man Symm. reminds us of Cicero; he was of blameless purity in conduct, benevolent and always ready to help, a good father, forgiving (cf. ep. 7, 100. 128), yielding and in consequence nervously sensitive. This pliability also led to egotism; though rich, he soon complained of pressure (*impressio*), when the need of the time threatened to disturb his usual comfort; with regard to himself and his friends the questions of right were not to be strained. His nervousness never allowed him to speak of anything joyful without a *praefiscine.* His want of political insight reminds us of Cicero. In relation to his fellow-citizens Symmachus has the amour propre of an aristocrat. His pride preserves him from undignified sycophancy towards the men in power at the Imperial court (ep. 9, 88. 10, 61), and even towards the Emperor he shows a noble independence (ep. 10, 34. 41. 43. 61). It is but rarely that he gives vent to the arrogant contempt of the patrician (ep. 2, 46. 1, 3. 1, 52. or. 8, 3).

9. The old faith is to Symmachus a standard, not to rally openly to which would be desertion: *nunc aris deesse Romanus genus est ambiendi* (ep. 1, 51). He is no rude or fanatical antagonist of Christianity; nay he makes terms with the Christians so far as to declare on one occasion: *in eligendo episcopo dei omnipotentis expectandum esse iudicium* (ep. 10, 71); and even he himself is not entirely free from scepticism (ep. 8, 18. 9, 61). He renounces all hope of regaining its former ascendancy for his creed; it is for toleration and freedom from persecution that he pleads in his celebrated Relatio 3=ep. 10, 61 to Valentinian II concerning the Altar to Victory, which is both excellent in point of style and touching as an appeal on behalf of a creed which is doomed to destruction (e.g. *repetimus religionum statum qui reip. diu profuit. . . . praestate, oro vos, ut ea quae pueri suscepimus senes posteris relinquamus*), and which it would be difficult to refute but for the statement it advances that the endangered position of the Empire was due to the neglect of religion, in other words, the rise of Christianity. The successful replies of Ambrosius in his epist. 17, 18 (MIGNE 16, 961). VILLEMAIN, Mélanges 2, 36.

On Prudentius' rejoinder § 436, 3 f. This writer himself says contra Symm. 1, 648 *inlaesus maneat liber excellensque volumen obtineat partam dicendi fulmine famam.* —Symmachus' anxiety for the republication and dissemination of Livy, as the most eloquent representative of ancient Roman greatness and at the same time of the old faith, is closely connected with his opposition to Christianity. Symm. ep. 9, 13 *munus totius Liviani operis quod spopondi etiam nunc diligentia emendationis moratur.* At the instigation, however, of Symmachus, *Victorianus v. c. domnis Symmachis* corrected parts of Livy (§ 256, 11), and the Nicomachi who were connected with Symm. by marriage undertook similar work (§ 256, 11. 428, 2. 3). The example of Symm. encouraged other, mostly aristocratic, Romans to like exertions (§ 302, 5 and 404[a], 5. § 322, 8. 331, 8. 367, 7. 432, 6. 452, 6. 468, 1 [473, 6]. 477, 3 and above § 41, 2), and the great-grandson of Symmachus occupied himself with the revision of Macrobius (§ 477, 4). Cf. OJahn, Lpz. Ber. 1851, 335.

10. Editions of the letters and Relationes (FCHermann in the Festschr. d. königstädt. Realsch., Berl. 1882, 293) ex off. JSchotti, Argent. 1510, by SGelenius (libri II), Bas. 1549, FIuretus, Par. 1580. 1604, JLectius, Geneva 1587. 1598. 1601, CScioppius, Mayence 1608, JPhPareus (with a Lexicon Symm.), Neustadt a. d. H. 1617 and subsequently. GWingendorp, Leid. 1653. Migne 18, 145. Recently esp. the collective edition: Q. Aur. Symm. quae supersunt ed. OSeeck, Berl. 1883 (=Monum. Germ. hist. Auctt. antiquiss. 6, 1).—Criticism: CFWMüller, JJ. 73, 324, KSchenkl, ZföG. 11, 412, MHaupt, op. 3, 424. 617. 821. GBoissier, rev. de phil. 5, 113.

11. JGothofredus, vita Symmachi, before Pareus' edition. CGHeyne, censura ingenii et morum Symm., opusc. 6, 6. Susiana (by HDSuse) ad Symm. ed. JGurlitt, Hamb. 1816–18, EMorin, la vie et les écrits de S. Par. 1847 sq. GBdeRossi, ann. dell' inst. arch. 21, 283. JBurckhardt, Constantin[2] 431. 437. GBoissier, journ. des savants 1888, 597. 712. OKoren, quaestt. Symm., Vienna 1874 and esp. (on Symm. and his contemporaries) OSeeck pref. to his ed.

426. Symmachus himself mentions among the orators of his time (Anicius) Julianus, Antonius, Gregorius and Severus. We possess only the panegyric on Theodosius I delivered a. 389 in the Senate at Rome by the rhetorician Latinus Drepanius Pacatus, a younger colleague, friend and fellow-countryman of Ausonius. It is remarkable among the other speeches of this kind for its wealth of matter and its lively diction, and it also attests the author's familiarity with classical literature.

1. Symm. ep. 1, 43 to Ausonius: *scis in illo forensi pulvere quam rara cognatio sit facundiae et boni pectoris. . . . haec in meo familiari ac necessario* (Julianus) *ea societate viguerunt ut* etc. *numquam in mercedem ornamenta corrupit* etc. Otherwise unknown. For a different view see OClason, Heidelb. JJ. 1872, 550. BBorghesi, oeuvr. 5, 447.

2. Symm. epp. 1, 89 (*Antonio*): *non incognito quidem nobis eloquii splendore nituisti, sed . . . maiestatis scriptis aptatam gloriam, quam magisterio arte quaesisti, recens auxit oratio. nam . . . simile quiddam planeque conveniens auribus patrum . . . sonuisti* etc. Addressed to him are ib. 1, 90–93. It is Claudius Antonius praef. praet. Gall. a. 376 and cos. a. 382.—Symm. ep. 3, 18 (*Gregorio: cum mihi de scriniis*

*tuis profecta delegaretur oratio.* Addressed to him ib. 17–22. This relates to Proculus Gregorius quaest. sacri palatii a. 378–379, praef. praet. Gall. a. 383.—Pro Flav. Severo 3 (p. 337 Seeck): *quis credat summatem facundiae, diu inter fori ornamenta numeratum, praesidalem dudum* (only recently) *recepisse provinciam?* SEECK pref. to his Symm. p. CXCII.—An anonymous author who *pari nitore atque gravitate* composes speeches and history, in SYMMACH. ep. 9, 110.

3. MACR. 1, 5, 13 *Postumianum, qui forum defensionum dignatione nobilitat.* Cf. ib. 2, 1. 3. 6. Perhaps identical with one of those previously mentioned? Or perhaps he is the vir illustris of the same name who is frequently mentioned by Symmachus?—*Eusebio, oratorum eloquentissimo* ib. 1, 24, 14. Perhaps the praef. praet. Ital. a. 395–396? but the name is of common occurrence at this period. An Eusebius is mentioned among the *scriptores de numeris* in HALM's rhet. lat. min. p. 581, 18; cf. p. 598, 20.

4. AUGUSTIN. confess. 4, 14, 21 *Hierium romanae urbis oratorem . . . efferebant laudibus, stupentes quod ex homine Syro, docto prius graecae facundiae, postea in latina etiam dictor mirabilis extitisset.* See concerning him and his brother Dracontius § 325, 12. Also MOMMSEN, Herm. 4, 359. ERohde in CRitter, Unterss. über die Quintil. Declam. 207.

5. Ausonius dedicates to Latinus Drepanius Pacatus (procos. Africae a. 390, comes rer. privat. Theodosii a. 393) his ludus VII sapp. (*Drepanio proconsuli*) p. 104 Sch. 169 P, and another collection of his poems, see the dedicatory poem p. 120 Sch. 86 P. *Drepanio filio* (concerning the added *filio* see § 46, 10; also WBRANDES, JJ. 123, 65), lastly one of the two editions (§ 421, 2k) of the technopaegnion, see one of the introductions to this p. 132 Sch. 155 P. *Pacato proconsuli.* Pacatus is mentioned again in the technop. p. 134 Sch. 159 P. (here in both edd.) and p. 139 Sch. 168 P., where we read in the Vossianus edition *Indulge, Pacate*, in the Tilianus edition *Indulge, Pauline.* Of Pacatus AUSON. says p. 120 Sch. 86 P. *hoc nullus mihi carior meorum, quem pluris faciunt novem sorores quam cunctos alios Marone dempto.* Symmachus addresses to him epp. 8, 12. 9, 61. 64 (also 9, 72?). He does not seem to have been a native of Burdigala itself, as Ausonius does not mention him among the profess. Burdig.; cf. SIDON. epist. 8, 11 *quid agunt Nitiobroges* (capital Aginnum, now Agen), *quid Vesunnici tui? . . . tu . . . nunc Drepanium illis, modo istis restituis Anthedium* (§ 466, 4). PACAT. 2, 1 *cum ab ultimo Galliarum recessu, qua littus oceani cadentem excipit solem et deficientibus terris sociale miscetur elementum, ad contuendum te properassem.* Cf. ib. 23, 1. 24, 4 sqq. 47, 5.

6. The *panegyricus Latini Pacati Drepani dictus Theodosio* is extant in the collection of panegyrics (see § 391, 2) and e.g. in the edition of the panegyrici by EBÄHRENS it is printed as no. 12 p. 217. It gives, after a laudatory characterisation of Theodosius as man and Emperor, a lively description of the state of affairs under the usurper Maximus and of the victorious expedition of Theod. against him. The speech is therefore an important historical document. The author shows himself well versed both in the literature of the classic period and of his own age; he frequently alludes to Cicero, Vergil, Horace and Ovid, and among his predecessors avails himself chiefly of Mamertinus (§ 417, 7). His knowledge of Roman history is principally derived from Valerius Maximus and Florus. He often reminds us of Tacitus in his strong colouring and his sententious tone (e.g. 38 *spem, quae postrema homines deserit;* cf. also MHERTZ, anal. ad carm. Hor. hist. 3, 16). He uses rhetorical figures very often and manages them very happily. His diction is comparatively simple, but abounds in cadences, poetical expressions etc., recalling

by many peculiarities the general character of the period. Thus we find *parcam replicare* (3. 6), *aevi maturus* (8 cf. 31), *memoriam convenire* (18 cf. 41), *oblita fide* (12 cf. 24), *ire in litteras* (33); the quasi-legal *retro=olim* (1. 13. 14. 22. 31), *iugis, impervius;* a certain preference for the perfect infin., and the employment of the gerundive to denote possibility (e.g. 39. 45) etc. Separate editions by JScheffer, Ups.[2] 1668 and IArntzen (c. nott. varr.), Amstel. 1753.

7. Pacatus, like most of his contemporaries who possessed classical culture, professes a neutral monotheism. Cf. 4 *supremus rerum fabricator:* 21 *numen summum*, as distinguished from the *numen* e.g. of the Emperor (21 cf. 18), who is the visible god (*deum quem videmus* 4). He also speaks much of *fata* and *fortuna*. Theodosius' orthodoxy and his persecutions are never mentioned. His illustrations from Roman history are derived by preference from the time of the Republic, and from legendary lore; from the Imperial period only 11. 12. Cf. § 425, 9. 429, 2.

8. Symmach. in his epp. mentions as causidici Lampadius (5, 16. Seeck pref. to his Symm. p. cc), Epictetus (5, 41. 9, 31), Celsus (10, 43). Cf. ib. 2, 42. 5, 75. 9, 32 (*causidicinae candidati*). A jurist Marinianus ib. 3, 23 Seeck l.l. p. cxxvii; Prosdocius 6, 74 cf. ib. 5, 74. A law-suit of this period ib. 10, 39. 48 (see ABethmann-Hollweg, Handb. d. Civilproz. 1, 403). Rufinus, the minister of Arcadius known to us from Claudian, was likewise originally a causidicus (Philostorg. 11, 2).

427. Other rhetoricians of the time of Symmachus were Palladius of Athens, Syagrius, and Eugenius, whom Arbogast raised to the Imperial throne. As a writer we know Messius Arusianus through his Exempla elocutionum, which he dedicated to the brothers Olybrius and Probinus (coss. 395), and we likewise possess Chirius Fortunatianus' text-book of rhetoric written in the form of a catechism, a work which we should not assign to a later time, on account of its preference for classical illustrations; the same applies to the short manual of rhetoric by Sulpicius Victor, and the more detailed one by C. Julius Victor. To judge from the extent of his literary horizon Julius Rufianus must also belong to this period.

1. Symmach. ep. 1, 15 (*Ausonio*): *Palladii rhetoris nostri declamatio . . . complacita summatibus litterarum. . . . movit* λόγος (so Seeck: *novos* in the MSS.) *Athenaei hospes latiare concilium divisionis arte* etc. ib. 94 (*Syagrio*): *Palladium spectatum bonis omnibus facundiae atque eruditionis. . . . mereri facundiam Palladii ut doleamus quod urbi negatus est, mereri amabilitatem eius ut quod accitus est gaudeamus.* 3, 50 *Palladium . . . quem ego non minus doleo abductum a iuventute Romana, quam* etc. Cf. Ap. Sidon. ep. 5, 10. He was comes sacr. largit. a. 381, mag. officiorum a. 382 (Seeck pref. to his Symm. p. ccii). He can hardly be (the name is of common occurrence at this period, cf. § 410, 1) the Palladius mentioned among the so-called XII Sapientes: § 421, 9.

2. Flavius Afranius Syagrius cos. 381. Cf. *consul amplissime*, Symmach. ep. 1, 101 (*Syagrio*). 95 *es linguae melior.* 96 *de facundiae penu.* Symmachus' letters to

him in his ep. 1, 94–107. 2, 14 sq. 49. He is praised as a poet by SIDON. ep. 5, 5 (*Syagrio*, the grandson of the cos. a. 381): *cum sis a semine poetae cui procul dubio statuas dederant litterae, si trabeae* (the consular dress) *non dedissent, quod etiam nunc auctoris culta versibus verba testantur.* Ausonius dedicated to him an edition of his poems. In the dedication (p. 3 Sch. P. cf. § 421, 2 p.) we read: *patronum nostris te paro carminibus. pectoris ut nostri sedem colis, alme Syagri, communemque habitas alter ego Ausonium, sic* etc. His grave was in Lugdunum, SID. ep. 5, 17. RPEIPER, JJ. Suppl. 11, 319. He is probably the Syagrius magister officiorum a. 379 mentioned in cod. Theod. 7, 12, 2, perhaps also the praef. praet. Syagr. a. 380–382 in the cod. Theod. OCLASON, Heidelb. Jahrbb. 1872, 867. OSEECK, pref. to his Symm. p. CIX.

3. The Frank Arbogast put a. 392 *Εὐγένιόν τινα μάγιστρον* (PHILOSTORG. 10, 2) in the place of Valentinian II whom he had assassinated. Cf. SOCRAT. h. e. 5, 25. ZOSIM. 4, 54, 1. Hist. misc. 13, 11 *grammaticus quidam nomine Eug., litterarum doctor, . . . imp. Valentiniani antigraphus et propter eloquentiam a multis honoratus.* A. 394 he was defeated and killed by Theodosius.

4. The copy of a now lost Bobiensis (see the catalogue of the Bobbio MSS. in PEYRON, Cic. orat. fragm. p. 29) which was made by JParrhasius (now Neapol. IV A 11) is the source of all the extant MSS. of Arusianus. It bears the heading: *Cornelii Frontonis, Incipit Arusiani Messi v. c. or. comitis primi ordinis* (on this see MOMMSEN, mem. d. inst. arch. 2, 307; Herm. 4, 127) *exempla elocutionum ex Vergilio, Salustio, Terentio, Cicerone digesta per litteras.* In a library catalogue s. IX (cod. Berol. Santen. 66, GBECKER, catalogi 20, 12 we read: *Incipit Messi oratoris de elocutionibus. Olybrio et Probino Messius.* In agreement with this Symmachus is mentioned p. 458, 11. 489, 28, and AMBROS. de fuga saec. 3, 16 p. 424 Bened., p. 577 Migne evidently points to Arus. Mess. p. 465. 2. FBÜCHELER, RhM. 43, 293. If Ambrosius, as it is supposed, wrote this treatise as early as a. 387 (see however MIHM, JJ. Suppl. 17, 18), then Arusianus must have troubled Olybrius (the elder brother, § 451, 3 born c. a. 376? EZARNCKE, commentt. in hon. Studemundi, Strassb. 1889, 203. SEECK pref. to his Symm. p. CV takes a different view) and Probinus even as boys. As however they were to fill the office of consuls a. 395 at a very early age (HIERON. epp. 130, 3 *Olybrius consul quidem in pueritia*), their education could not begin too early. The treatise of Arusianus is an alphabetical collection of substantives, adjectives etc., especially of verbs admitting of different constructions, usually with one quotation for each construction from one of the four writers. Hence CASSIOD. de inst. div. 25 (=GL. 7, 211, 3) *regulas elocutionum latinarum, i.e. quadrigam Messii.* The work was probably intended for rhetorical schools. It is printed as a work of Fronto (Cornelii Frontonis exempla elocutionum), to whom, in consequence of the misleading title of the Neapolitanus, it is falsely ascribed in some unimportant much abridged MSS. (cf. § 355, 6 ad fin.) in AMAI's edd. of Fronto (Milan 1815 and Rome 1823), then under the correct name in FLINDEMANN's corp. gramm. 1, 209 and esp. in KEIL's GL. 7, 449. SUHRINGAR, hist. scholl. lat. 2, 202. FOSANN, Beiträge 2, 349. VAN DER HOEVEN, spec. litt. . . . cum appendice de Ar. M. ex. el., Amst. 1845.

5. C. Chirii Fortunatiani artis rhetoricae libri III in CHALM's rhett. lat. min. p. 79. The method of question and answer is carried out very unskilfully. Thus the last question is: *Quae καθ-λου in actione observanda sunt?* answer: *ne pronuntiatio artem reddere videatur* etc. Quintilian is the chief source; most of the illustrations are taken from Cicero. Fortunatianus' rhetoric is often cited by Cassiodorus in his rhetoric (§ 483, 9) with reference to separate passages (thus

Fortun. p. 81, 9. 118, 33. 128, 20 and 130, 4 Halm are quoted by Cassiodorus p. 495, 11. 498, 30. 500, 24 Halm). Cf. Cassiod. rhet. p. 495, 11 *Fortunatianum, artigraphum novellum.* p. 498, 17 *Fortunatianum, doctorem novellum, qui tribus voluminibus de hac re subtiliter minuteque tractavit, in pugillari codice apte forsitan congruenterque redegimus.* CHalm, Münch. SBer. 2 (1862), 13. JSimon, krit. Beitr. z. Rhetorik des F., Schweinfurt 1872.—In the Bern. 363 s. IX the subscriptio of b. 1 reads: *Clodiani Chirii Fortunatiani art. rhet. lib. expl.* This same name Clodianus is affixed to a short piece in the same MS., of which the disconnected contents do not correspond with the heading *Ars rhetorica Clodiani de statibus* (in Halm, rhett. 590–592). On this Bernensis and its importance for the criticism of Fortunatianus see AReuter, Herm. 24, 161.

6. Sulpicii Victoris institutiones oratoriae, addressed to his son-in-law M. Silo, published Basil. 1521 from a Speier MS. (now lost), in Halm, rhett. min. p. 313. Extract from the preface: *contuli in ordinem ea quae fere de oratoria arte traduntur, secundum institutum magistrorum meorum, Zenonis* (in the time of the Emperor Julian?) *praecepta maxima persecutus, ita tamen ut ex arbitrio meo aliqua praeterirem, pleraque ordine immutato referrem, nonnulla ex aliis quae necessaria videbantur insererem* (cf. p. 321, 30. 338, 28. 34. 339, 1. 341, 26. 29). *recte an perperam fecerim tu iudicabis. nec enim volo haec in multorum manus pervenire.* The author appears to be rather a practical jurist than a school rhetorician, and the style of the treatise also points to a good period.

7. Of Julius Rufinianus there is extant a liber de figuris sententiarum et elocutionis (in Halm, rhett. min. p. 38), which claims to supplement Aquila from other sources; see § 388, 1. The author is probably mentioned in the inscription CIL. 10, 1125 as *Rufinianus orator* and as the father of a certain Tatianus (cf. n. 8). The original alphabetical order of the figures may still be distinguished. The illustrations are taken chiefly from Cicero, next from Vergil, but also from Ennius and Lucilius. On the other hand the separate treatise Iulii Rufiniani de schematis lexeos (ib. p. 48) and de sch. dianoeas (ib. p. 59) derives its illustrations solely from Vergil, and where the same figures of speech are in question (p. 61 sq., no. 9 sqq.) it corresponds neither in its definitions nor in its illustrations with the first work; it therefore bears the name Iul. Ruf. only on account of its being appended to his book.

8. Under the title (p. 371 H. cf. p. 448) *C. Iulii Victoris ars rhetorica Hermagorae, Ciceronis, Quintiliani, Aquili* (*Aquilae*? § 388, 1), *Marcomanni* (§ 401, 9), *Taciani* (the son of Rufinianus, who in that case would also seem to have been occupied with grammar [n. 7]? or *Titiani* the reading adopted by Mai and Bergk, see § 401, 10) there is extant, transmitted through a MS. s. XII and first published by AMai (script. vett. nova coll. 1, 4, Rome 1823), then repeatedly in Orelli's Cicero 5, p. 195 and in Halm's rhett. min. p. 371, a study of rhetoric which (in addition to Cicero) follows Quintilian so frequently and so literally that it is of great service for the criticism of the latter author; see § 325, 9. FMeister, quaest. Quintil. (Liegnitz 1860) 19. CHalm, Münch. SBer. 1863, 389. ADamien, de C. I. V. arte rhet., Paris 1852.—Victor himself (besides Cic. de inv.) is in turn ransacked in the disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus sapientissimi regis Karli et Albini magistri (in Halm's rhett. lat. 523; Albinus = Alcuinus, § 500, 3 in fin.).

428. The family of the Nicomachi Flaviani, who were close friends of Symmachus and nearly connected with him by marriage, were zealous students of early history during three

generations; one of the Nicomachi composed Annales and other works, while others devoted their attention to the text of Livy. The author of the so-called epitome of Victor also probably wrote shortly after the death of Theodosius.

1. CIL. 6, 1782 Or. 1188 Wilm. 645[a] *Virio Nicomacho Flaviano* (born c. a. 334) *v. c., quaest., praet., pontif. maiori, consulari Siciliae* (a. 365), *vicario Africae* (a. 377), *quaestori intra palatium* (=aulae divi Theodosi, a. 382), *praef. praet.* (Italiae, Illyr. et Africae) *iterum* (a. 383 and c. 390 sq.), *cos. ord.* (a. 394), *historico disertissimo, Q. Fab. Memmius Symmachus v. c. prosocero optimo.* The son of the orator Symmachus had married the granddaughter of Nicom. (I), and the son of this Nic. (n. 2) the daughter of Symmachus; see § 425, 3. The extant Diptychon Meleretense (in Gori, thes. diptychor. 1, 203 pl. 6), of which one page bears the inscription *Nicomachorum*, the other *Symmachorum* to indicate the alliance contracted between the families, probably figured as a gift at one of these weddings. A. 394 Nicomachus went over to Eugenius (§ 427, 3), and committed suicide when Eug. was overthrown by Theodosius (Mommsen, Herm. 4, 362). A. 431 he was rehabilitated. The decree on this subject issued to the Senate by Theodosius II and Placidus Valentinianus is extant in an inscription (CIL. 6, 1783 Orelli 5593 Wilm. 645). Of *Flavianus senior* we there read, *sic in monumenta virtutum suarum titulosque revocemus ut quidquid in istum caeca insimulatione commissum est procul ab eius principis* (Theodosius I) *voto fuisse iudicetis. cuius in eum effusa benivolentia et usque ad annalium* (sc. *libros*), *quos consecrari sibi a quaestore et praefecto suo* (Nicom. I) *voluit, provecta excitavit livorem inproborum.* On account of these *annales*, which were dedicated to Theodosius, he is called *historicus disertissimus* in the above inscription. Macrob. 1, 5, 13 *Flavianum, qui quantum sit mirando viro Venusto patre praestantior non minus ornatu morum gravitateque vitae quam copia profundae eruditionis* (e.g. in augural science, Macrob. 1, 24, 17. Sozom. 7, 22. Nikephor. 12, 32) *adseruit.* In Macrobius he is one of the speakers. For his philosophical education see Symmach. ep. 2, 61 *de hoc vestra existimatio sit, qui talium rerum profitemini notionem.* Cf. Macr. 1, 6, 4 *Flavianus et Eustathius* (§ 430, 3), *par insigne amicitiae.* It is therefore possible that the work de vestigiis philosophorum used by Johannes Saresber. (policr. 2, 26. 8, 11 sq.) by a certain Flavianus is by him: cf. AReifferscheid, RhM. 16, 23. Is this the case also with the treatise which is mentioned in the Bobbio and Michelsberg book-catalogues, *liber I Flaviani de consensu nominum et verborum* (GBecker, catalogi bibl. antiqui no. 32, 425. 80, 196)? Cf. however § 419, 1 in fin. Apoll. Sidon. epp. 8, 3 *Apollonii pythagorici vitam, non ut Nicomachus senior e Philostrati, sed ut Tascius Victorianus e Nicomachi schedio exscripsit, . . . misi*, which probably refers to a Latin translation (§ 467, 5 ad fin.) of Philostratos' life of Apollonios of Tyana (cf. Mommsen in Lütjohann's Apoll. Sidon. p. 420), which was prepared by the elder Nicomachus and revised by Victorianus. The adversaries of Christianity were accustomed to oppose the miracle-working Apollonios to Christ. The carmen adv. paganos (§ 436, 6) is directed chiefly against Nicomachus as one of the spokesmen of the Pagan party.

2. His son was Nicomachus Flavianus (II) CIL. 6, 1783 Or. 5593 Wilm. 645: *N. Fl. cons(ularis) Camp(aniae), procons. Asiae* (a. 383), *praef. urbi saepius* (e.g. c. a. 394. 399. 402 sq.), *nunc* (a. 431) *praef. praet. Italiae Illyrici et Africae.* Cf. Liban. or. 27. Cod. Theod. (Hänel, corp. leg. p. 111). He corrected *apud Hennam* (the Nicomachi had estates in Sicily, Symmachi ep. 2, 30. 6, 57. 66) as *III praef. urb.*

(not yet praef. praet., therefore before a. 431) books 6–8 of Livy, see § 256, 11. 425 9 in fin.

3. CIL. 6, 1783 Or. 5593 Wilm. 645 *Appius Nicomachus Dexter, v. c. ex praef(ecto) urb(i)* (between 427 and 431) *avo optimo* (Nic. I) *statuendam curavi* (a. 431). This Nic. III was the son of Nic. II. He corrected *ad exemplum parentis* (cf. § 46, 10. Rossi l.l. 326) *Clementiani* books 3–5 of Livy, see § 256, 11. 425, 9 in fin.

4. On the three Nicomachi see GBdeRossi, annali dell' inst. arch. 21, 285, and BBorghesi ib. 357 = oeuvr. 8, 197. OJahn, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 336. OClason, Heidelb. Jahrbb. 1872, 535. OSeeck pref. to his Symm. p. xl. li. cxii and elsewhere.

5. Symmach, ep. 3, 11 (*Naucellio*): *opusculi tui quo priscam rempublicam cuiusque gentis ex libro graeco in latinum transtulisti.* He was an antiquarian: ib. *spectator tibi veteris monetae solus supersum . . . me quidem iuvet vetustatis exemplar de autographo tuo sumere.* Naucellius was also a poet. Symm. 3, 11, 4 *carminum. tuorum codicem reportandum puero tradidi et quia eglogarum confusus ordo et* etc. 3, 13, 2 *dum carmina tua ruminas, dum epigrammata oblatis lucis aut amnibus facis* etc. —On the epitome see § 414, 3; the Notitia dignitatum § 453, 6.

429. The first serious historical work of the higher order after Tacitus (and likewise the last of the kind) was contributed to Roman literature by a Greek, Ammianus Marcellinus (c. a. 330–400) of Antioch, who after a long and distinguished career wrote a continuation of Tacitus at Rome, during the last twenty years of the century. He dealt with the years 96–378, from Nerva down to the death of Valens, but of his work there are extant only books XIV–XXXI (a. 353–378). What is preserved is especially valuable as a contemporary history by one who was closely connected with many of the events and was sincerely concerned to tell the truth. Ammianus is a soldierly character, sensible and liberal in his judgments, honest and frank, and especially set against courtly intrigues and rivalries, superstitious yet tolerant, prone to parade the knowledge which he has toiled to acquire, but not at all at his ease in wielding the pen. His Latin is difficult to understand, insufferably affected and overloaded, tormenting to his readers. To his work is generally appended the so-called Anonymi Valesii, excerpts of historical value relating to the times of Constantine and of Theoderic.

1. Ammianus Marcellinus came of a good family, see Amm. 19, 8, 6. He had early entered the Roman army, was a. 353 on the staff of the mag. eq. Ursicinus in the East, accompanied him to Italy and Gaul, fought under (the Emperor) Julian against the Alemanni and took part in his Persian expedition. A. 371 he was living at Antioch (29, 1, 24), later on at Rome. He had also been in Egypt: see 16, 4, 6. 22, 5, 1. His last words are (31, 16, 9): *haec ut miles quondam et Graecus* (cf. phrases such as *ut Graeci dicimus* and so forth 22, 8, 33. 23, 4, 10. 23, 6, 20) *a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus adusque Valentis interitum pro virium explicavi mensura, opus veritatem professum numquam (ut arbitror) sciens silentio*

*ausus corrumpere vel mendacio. scribant reliqua potiores aetate doctrinisque florentes.* Ammianus delivered parts of his history publicly in Rome. LIBAN. ep. 983 (Μαρκελλίνῳ) *καί σε ζηλῶ τοῦ Ῥώμην ἔχειν κἀκείνην τοῦ σε . . . ἣν μὲν οὖν δή σοι μέγα καὶ τὸ μετὰ σιγῆς ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ διάγειν καὶ τὸ λόγους ὑπ' ἄλλων λεγομένους δέχεσθαι. πολλοὺς δὲ ἡ Ῥώμη τρέφει ῥήτορας πατράσιν ἀκολουθοῦντας. νῦν δ' ὡς ἔστιν ἀκούειν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικνουμένων, αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ἐπιδείξεσι ταῖς μὲν γέγονας, ταῖς δὲ ἔσῃ, τῆς συγγραφῆς εἰς πολλὰ τετμημένης καὶ τοῦ φανέντος ἐπαινθέντος μέρος ἕτερον εἰσκαλοῦντος. ἀκούω δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὴν στεφανοῦν σοι τὸν πόνον . . . ταυτὶ δὲ οὐ τὸν συγγραφέα κοσμεῖ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς* (the Antiochians) *ὧν ἐστιν ὁ συγγραφεύς.* ib. 235 *ὃς ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ σχήματος εἰς στρατιώτας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἔργων εἰς φιλοσόφους ἐγγέγραπται, . . . ὁ καλὸς Ἀμμιανός.*

2. Ammianus is a confirmed believer in polytheism, but in the confused and colourless manner of his time (cf. § 426, 7). At the head of the world he places *numen caeleste divinum, superum, aeternum* of undefined outlines, while in the main all is governed by *fortuna* or *fatum* (23, 5, 5, *nulla vis humana vel virtus meruisse umquam potuit ut quod praescripsit fatalis ordo non fiat*). A greater amount of individuality is attributed to the inferior gods. Cf. 14, 11, 25 (Nemesis). 22, 3, 12. 21, 1, 8 (Themis). 16, 5, 5 (Mercury). 17, 7, 12 (Neptune). He believes in *portenta, prodigia, omina* (25, 10, 1. 11. 21, 16, 21), also in *auspicia* and *auguria*. But he is also just to Christianity (21, 16, 18 [Constantius] *christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens . . . excitavit discidia plurima*) and even blames Julian, whom he otherwise reveres, as *inclemens quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos christianos ni transissent ad numinum cultum* (25, 4, 20). 22, 11, 10 *qui deviare a religione compulsi pertulere conciabiles poenas ad usque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi et nunc martyres appellantur*. He loves to glance back into the olden time, which he utilises in criticising his own, e.g. 25, 9, 9 sqq. 24, 10, 13. His description of oratory and the administration of law in his time, 30, 4, is very characteristic.

3. The extant books were, so far as we can judge, composed c. a. 390 and their publication appears to have been gradual. Chronological data: 22, 16, 12 was written before the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria, July 391; 26, 5, 14 after the consulship of Neoterius (a. 390). Cf. WCART l.l. 46. AVGUTSCHMID, Lit. Centralbl. 1873, 737. MOMMSEN. Herm. 16, 630.—The title: in Priscian (vid. inf.) and in the Vaticanus (n. 6): *rerum gestarum libri*. Ammianus gives in the extant 18 books (14–31) the history of 25 years (353–378): it is usually assumed that in the lost books 1–13 he treated briefly and summarily the history of 256 years (96–353, AMM. 31, 16, 9 *a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus*). But, though it is the custom of historians to go into more detail as they approach the history of their own time (§ 37, see below the statement from Liv.), still it would be a very flagrant disproportion if among the 13 earliest books now lost the history of full 20 years had fallen to a single book, while in the extant books barely one year and a half on the average falls to each. In Tacitus each book of the Ann. comprises on the average 3, of the Hist. 2⅓ years, in Cassius Dio books 9–40 contain each 7½ a., 41–60 each $5\frac{1}{10}$, 61–80 each 3¾ a., in Livy bb. 6–15 each 12½ a., 16–20 $9\frac{1}{5}$ a., 21–30 1⅘ a., 31–45 2⅓ a., 46–90 2 a., 91–120 1½ a., 121–142 1 a. The books of these historians are also more voluminous than those of Ammianus. Even in the case of Dionysios of Halicarnassus, whose books are on the average more than thrice as voluminous, bb. 5–20 each comprise only 15¼ years. The nearest comparison is with Zosimos (b. 1 time of Augustus to Diocletian; b. 2–4 fourth century down to a. 395; b. 5–6 from a. 395–410). But the nature of Ammianus' frequent references to passages (especially also to excursuses, see n. 4) in the lost books, shows that

these contained not only a brief summary but a detailed narrative as well (see Michael l.l. 8). We might therefore surmise (see HMichael, die verlorenen Bücher des Ammianus Marc., Bresl. 1880) that Ammianus, after the example of Tacitus, whom he continues and otherwise imitates (n. 5), divided his history into two sections. Thus the one (perhaps with the title *rerum a principatu Caesaris Nervae gestarum libri*) would have comprised the period from Nerva down to the death of Constantine (22 May 337), the other related to Ammianus' own times, with perhaps the heading *rerum ab excessu Constantini Augusti gestarum libri*? (This section could not, so long as it was complete and connected with the first part, have been called, as Michael thinks, following the MSS. and Prisc., simply 'rerum gestarum libri'). Accordingly bb. 1–13 of the second section would have narrated the history of 16 years at a length corresponding to the size of the extant bb. 14–31. The loss of the greater portion of this work in two parts might be accounted for by its bulk and its obscure style. It is however difficult to decide upon assigning to Ammianus, on grounds which may well be deceptive, a second work of such an elaborate character (even if we assume a considerably curtailed history contained in about 80 books). See recently against Michael LJeep, RhM. 42, 60.—Ammianus was but little known: only a single quotation with his name is extant, viz. Prisc. GL. 2, 487 *ut* '*indulsi*', '*indulsum*' *vel* '*indultum*', *unde Marcellinus rerum gestarum XIIII* (1, 4) '*tamquam licentia crudelitati indulta*' (cf. § 333, 1). In all probability even Priscian had access to only as much of Ammianus' works as we possess, VGardthausen, JJ. 103, 846. Cassiodorus (§ 483) transcribed A. and even imitated his style.—Perhaps a book has disappeared after b. 30 and b. 31 should properly be designated as b. 32, see Chifflet in Wagner's ed. p. L, Valesius ib. p. CXII and Michael l.l. 31.

4. Ammian. 15, 1, 1 *utcumque potuimus veritatem scrutari ea quae videre licuit per aetatem vel perplexe interrogando versatos in medio scire narravimus ordine casuum exposito diversorum.* 18, 6, 23 *cum nos cauti, vel, ut verius dixerim, timidi nihil exaggeremus, praeter ea quae fidei testimonia neque dubia neque incerta monstrarunt.* 26, 1, 1 *dictis impensiore cura rerum ordinibus adusque memoriae confinia propioris convenerat iam referre a notioribus pedem, ut et pericula declinentur veritati saepe contigua et examinatores contexendi operis deinde non perferamus intempestivos*, who insist on the insertion of all details, *praeceptis historiae dissonantia, discurrere per negotiorum celsitudines adsuetae, non humilium minutias indagare causarum.* But *inscitia volgari contempta ad residua narranda pergamus* (ib. 2). The plan of the work is in the main annalistic, as in Tacitus. He too frequently adds large excursuses, especially on geography, partly based on his personal experience (e.g. 22, 16, 12), but mostly on books. A. has however chiefly compiled from the notices in the official register of the Imperial provinces and divisions of the Empire (see in relation to this e.g. the notitia Galliarum, § 392, 9), for the outlying parts of the Empire from the geography of Ptolemaios with insertions from Rufius Festus (§ 416), from Solinus (§ 389) and others, lastly he has added notices of Greek authorities (Timagenes); see esp. Mommsen, Ammians Geographica, Herm. 16, 602. VGardthausen, die geograph. Quellen Ammians, JJ. Suppl. 6, 509, together with AvGutschmid, lit. Centralbl. 1873, 737. MSchuffner, Amm. Marc. quae de sedibus ac moribus complurium gentium scripserit etc., Meiningen 1877. Christophe, géographie d'Ammien Marcellin; Asie centrale, ancienne Gaule, Égypte, Lyons 1880. In their account of Julian Ammianus and Zosimos show many points of verbal agreement; see HSudhaus, de ratione quae intercedat inter Zosimi et Amm. de bello a Iul. imp. cum Persis gesto relationes, Bonn 1870. FReiche, Chronol. der letzten 6 BB. des Amm., Jena 1889.

5. The first striking peculiarity in Ammianus' diction is the totally inexplicable order of the words. Then his stilted pathos, the overloading with conceited imagery and poetical phrases, the forced constructions, and the strong admixture of popular forms (comparative instead of positive, *quod* for the acc. c. inf., pres. for fut., imp. for pluperf., entirely irregular consec. temp. etc.). This style is the result partly of the general taste of the period, partly of the foreign (Greek) origin and the personal eccentricities of the author, who makes a strange medley of the heterogeneous elements of his education and his studies; lastly, the work was intended to be recited in public, and this brought the author into competition with the rhetoricians (see LIBAN. above n. 1). Ammianus shows himself to be acquainted with poets and prose-writers, with Plautus and Terence as well as with Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan and others, among the prose-writers chiefly with Cicero (HMICHAEL., de A. M. studiis Ciceronianis, Bresl. 1874; Beitr. z. Charakterist. des Amm. in the Abhh. f. MHertz, Berl. 1888, 229) and Gellius (MHERTZ, Herm. 8, 275), next with Sallust (MHERTZ, de A. M. studiis Sallustianis, Bresl. 1874. HWIRZ, Phil. 36, 627), Tacitus (EWÖLFFLIN, Phil. 29, 559), Caesar, Livy, Pliny the Elder, Apuleius and others. Cf. MHERTZ, Hermes 8, 257. Ammianus shows a tendency to alter the passages which he uses and applies them to other (often opposite) objects; he says of *nox* what the original says of *dies*, or of *hiems* what his author had stated concerning *aestas*. It is indeed almost incomprehensible how with such accumulating of words and phrases from the whole of literature and such dovetailing Ammianus succeeded in producing a great and complete work, even supposing him to have made use of pigeon-holes such as Jean Paul's, and accordingly we must attribute much to the unconscious reminiscences of the author, who had made himself master of the foreign language chiefly through reading. Cf. MOMMSEN, Herm. 16, 635.—GHASSENSTEIN, de syntaxi Amm. Marc., Königsb. 1877. AREITER, de Amm. Marc. usu orationis obliquae, Würzb. 1887. GREINHARDT, de praeposs. usu. ap. A. M., Halle 1886. HEHRISMANN, de tempp. et modd. usu Amm. Strassb. 1886 (=Diss. Argentor. 10, 111). FLIESENBERG, die Sprache des Amm., I der Wortschatz, Blankenb. 1888. 89 II. Cf. also n. 8.

6. Manuscripts: the best was the Hersfeld (s. IX/X), to which SGELENIUS (see n. 7) had access; it has been lost all but the considerable fragments (6 leaves, Amm. Marc. fragm. Marburgensia ed. HNISSEN, Berl. 1876), which have lately been re-discovered at Marburg; at the present time the best on account of its correctness and completeness is the Fulda (s. IX/X), which was brought to Italy by Poggio previous to a. 1417 (AMAI, spicileg. rom. 10, 311), now Vatic. 1873 (cf. also GVOIGT, Wiederbeleb. d. class. Altert. $1^2$, 244). The relation of these superior MSS. to each other (is the Fulda a copy of the Hersfeld?) and to the MS. of Accursius (see n. 7), to the Petrinus (in the archives of St. Peter's at Rome) of a. 1342 and to the Vatic. 2969 s. XV etc. has not yet been adequately explained. MHAUPT, op. 2, 371. VGARDTHAUSEN, JJ. 103, 829. MOMMSEN, Herm. 6, 231. 7, 97. 15, 244. GARDTHAUSEN, ib. 6, 243. 7, 168. 454. FRÜHL, RhM. 28, 337. JJ. 113, 789.

7. Editions: B. 14–26 first in Rome 1474 (by ASABINUS) after a copy of the Fulda MS., revised Bologna 1517 (by PCASTELLUS). Reprinted (by DERASMUS) Bas. 1518 (corp. hist. rom.). A new edition of this, but making use of the Hersfeldensis (b. 27–30 reprinted from it) by SGELENIUS, BAS. [July] 1533; cf. MOMMSEN, Herm. 6, 235. Contemporaneously ed. MACCURSIUS (Augsb. [May] 1533); cf. GARDTHAUSEN, Herm. 7, 168. 453. MOMMSEN ib. 171. FRÜHL, RhM. 28, 337. Cum notis integris FLINDENBROGII (Hamb. 1609), HENR. [et HADR.] VALESIORUM (de

Valois, Par. 1636. 1681) et JGronovii (Leid. 1693 fol. and 4.), quibus ThReinesii quasdam et suas adiecit JAWagner, ed. absolvit CGAErfurdt, Lps. 1808 III. Rec. FEyssenhardt, Berl. 1871 (ed. minor ib. 1872, see the same writer JJ. 111, 509; cf. on this AKiessling, JJ. 103, 481. VGardthausen, Gött. gel. Anz. 1871, 1302. JJ. 111, 653. Mommsen, Herm. 6, 231). Rec. VGardthausen, Lps. 1874. 75. II.—Translated by LTross and CBüchele, Stuttg. 1827 sqq. Excerpts from Ammian. Marc. (containing what refers to German history) translated by DCoste, Lpz. 1879 (Geschichtschr. d. deutschen Vorzeit).

8. ClChifflet, de A. M. vita et libris, Lovan. 1627 and in the edd. CGHeyne, censura ingenii Amm. Marc., op. 6, 35. GRSievers, d. Leben des Libanius, Berl. 1868, 271. De Ammiano Marc. treatises by AADitki (Rössel 1841), CAMüller (Posen 1852), EAWMöller (Königsb. 1863). Quaestiones Amm. by RHReuscher (I: A. vita, Frankf. on Oder 1859), EEHudemann (Landsb. a. W. 1864), WACart (Berl. 1868), PLangen (Düren 1867 and Phil. 29, 335. 469), HKallenberg (grammaticae, Halle 1868), ESchneider (Berl. 1879), HDederichs (gramm. et critt., Münster 1878). JHorkel in his Reden und Abhandl. (Berl. 1862) 229. JHermann, obss. critt. Amm., Bonn 1855. RUnger, de A. M. locis controversis, Neustrelitz 1868. MHaupt, op. 2, 371. 490. 3, 645. VGardthausen, coniectanea Amm. codice adhibito Vat., Kiel 1869; Interpolations in A., Herm. 7, 453. AKellerbauer, BlfdbayrGW. 7, 11. 9, 83. 127. CFWMüller, JJ. 107, 341. Cf. MHertz, de Amm. studiis Sall. p. 4–6 not. AKiessling, coniectanea Amm., Greifsw. 1874. RBentley's emendations are reprinted from his private copy RhM. 33, 468. 35, 336. OGünther, quaestt. Amm., Gött. 1886. OSeeck, Herm. 18, 289. Madvig, adv. crit. 3, 251. JJCornelissen, Mnem. 14, 234.

9. The so-called 'Excerpta Valesiana' were first published by HValesius in his edition of Ammianus (Paris 1636) from a former cod. Philipp. 1885 s. IX (Meermannius) now in Berlin; see on this MS. FRühl, act. soc. phil. Lips. 5, 368. KZangemeister, RhM. 30, 310. It has since been printed in most of the editions of Ammianus, recently most correctly (after a new collation of the MS. and use being made of a Vatic. Palat. 927 s. XII for the second part) in Gardthausen's Ammianus 2, 280. The excerpts are taken from two authors. The first half (Anonymus I p. 280–89 Gardth., entitled in the MS.: *origo Constantini imperatoris*), dating from about a. 390, is an important authority for the history of Constantine. FGörres, JJ. 111, 201. WOhnesorge, der Anonymus Valesii de Constantino, Kiel 1885. EKlebs, Phil. 47, 53.—The second half comprising a. 474–526 (Anonymus II p. 289–305 Gardth., entitled: *item ex libris chronicorum inter cetera*), is of a different character, valuable as regards its contents, but composed in barbarous Latin c. a. 550 at Ravenna (Eugippius' vita Severini, § 494, 3 is already used in it; ChWGlück, Wien. SBer. 17, 77), derived probably from the chronicle of Maximianus, bishop of Ravenna 546, † 556. Agnelli, liber pontific. eccl. Ravenn. (Mon. Germ. hist. Scriptt. Langob. et Ital., Hanover 1878) p. 331 and also OHolder-Egger, ib. 272 and NArch. f. ältere deutsche Gesch. 2 (1877), 316. Cf. RPallmann, Völkerwanderung 2, 248. WÖchsli, üb. d. hist. miscella und den anonym. Vales. II, Zürich 1873. FGörres l.l. 210.—A German translation of the second half of DCoste, appended to Procopius' Gothic War, Lpz. 1885 (Geschichtschr. d. deutschen Vorzeit).

430. Philosophy was at this time chiefly studied by those who hoped to find in it a support and a weapon against the overwhelming influence of Christianity, e.g. by Vettius Praetextatus, a man

of high rank, belonging to the old aristocracy and of noble character (born c. a. 325, † 384). None of those who are designated (especially by Symmachus) as philosophers were of individual importance.

1. *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, augur, pontifex Vestae, pontif. Solis, quindecemvir, curialis Herculis, sacratus Libero et Eleusiniis, hierophanta, neocorus, taurobo-liatus, pater patrum, in rep. vero quaestor candidatus, praetor urb., corrector Tusciae et Umbriae, consularis Lusitaniae, procons. Achaiae* (a. 362–364), *praef. urbi* (a. 367–368), *legatus a senatu missus V[II], praef. praet. II Italiae et Illyrici* (the second time a. 384, see cod. Theod. 6, 5, 2. cod. Iust. 1, 54, 5), *cons. ord. designatus* (for a. 385, but he died 384), according to his epitaph (in the Capitol, CIL. 6, 1779, cf. 1778 [=Or. 2354], also 1870). Cf. OSeeck pref. to his Symm. p. LXXXIII. This inscription (and the poems connected with it) prove that even then, as in the time of Apuleius, the most zealous adherents of the old religion endeavoured to make good by the multiplicity of their outward religious observances (Macr. 1, 17, 1 *sacrorum omnium praesulem esse te, Vetti Praetextate, divina voluerunt*) what they lacked in inward peace and assurance. Philosophy was intended to perform the same office for Praetextatus (Macr. 1, 24, 21). Boeth. de interpret. ed. sec. I p. 289: *Vettius Praetextatus priores postremosque analyticos non vertendo Aristotelem latino sermoni tradidit, sed transferendo Themistium.* He is perhaps the author of the treatise de X categoriis, which goes under the name of St. Augustine. In the poem which his wife Aconia Fabia Paulina engraved upon his tomb (CIL. l.l., and in Bücheler, Greifsw. Sommerkat. 1870, p. 13), it is stated of him: *tu quidquid lingua utraquest proditum cura sophorum porta quis caeli patet, vel quae periti condidere carmina, vel quae solutis vocibus sunt edita, meliora reddis quam legenda sumpseras* (partly by translating, and partly by emending; Symm. ep. 1, 53 *remissa tempora et ab negotiis publicis feriata libris veterum ruminandis libenter expendis;* cf. § 428, 2 sq.). PRE. 6, 2536, 42. OJahn, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 338. HRichter, das weström. Reich (1865) 339. Cf. § 425, 9. 440, 7 ad fin. 444, 3. 6.

2. Symmach. epist. 1, 29 *nihil moror ceteros . . . philosophiam fastu et habitu mentiuntur. paucos, et in his praecipue familiarem meum Batrachum, nostra aetas tulit quorum germana sapientia ad vetustatem vergeret.* Augustin. ep. 1, 1 *hoc saeculo cum iam nullos videamus philosophos nisi forte amiculo corporis, quos quidem haud censuerim dignos tam venerabili nomine.*—As philosophers Symmachus names in his letters Maximus (2, 29), Asclepiades (5, 31), Iamblichus (9, 2), Nicias (9, 39), Celsus (10, 25).—His recommendation concerning the *salarium* of the *professor philosophiae* Priscianus ib. 1, 79. A *philosophiae candidatus* ib. 1, 41.

3. Macrob. 1, 7, 3 *Horus* (cf. Symm. ep. 2, 39), *vir corpore atque animo iuxta validus, qui post innumeras inter pugiles palmas ad philosophiae studia migravit sectamque Antisthenis et Cratetis atque ipsius Diogenis secutus inter Cynicos non incelebris habebatur.* ib. 1, 5, 13 *Eustathium, qui tantus in omni genere philosophiae est ut* etc. 7, 1, 8 *quia te unicum, Eustathi, sectatorem philosophiae nostra aetas tulit.* Cf. § 428, 1 in fin.—On Nicomachus Flavianus I see § 428, 1.—On the philosophical works of St. Augustine see § 440, 5.

436. A younger contemporary of Symmachus was the grammarian Servius, who taught and wrote at Rome, and is chiefly known as the author of the extensive commentary on Vergil's

poems which has come down to us. An anonymous writer supplemented the dry, scholastic notes of Servius by adding from good sources, in the form of appendices, an abundance of most valuable matter, especially concerning the early Roman religion and constitution, Greek and Italian legends, old Latin, and linguistic usages etc. In taste and judgment Servius greatly surpasses his fellow grammarian Ti. Claudius Donatus, by whom we also possess a commentary on the Aeneid addressed to his son Donatianus. Besides his commentary on Vergil we possess by Servius a commentary on the Ars of Aelius Donatus and a Survey of the different metres (de centum metris). His name is also prefixed to the treatise de finalibus and to other works. Lastly, to the same period belongs also Dositheos, who reproduced an early Latin grammar in Greek.

1. In Macrobius one of the speakers is, together with Vettius Praetextatus († a. 384, see § 430, 1), Symmachus and others, *Servius inter grammaticos doctorem recens professus, iuxta doctrina mirabilis et amabilis verecundia*, Macrob. 1, 2, 15. 7, 11, 2 *et Disarius* (cf. Symm. ep. 3, 37. 9, 44): *age, Servi, non solum adulescentium qui tibi aequaevi sunt sed senum quoque omnium doctissime* etc. If the time of the conversation be assumed to be about a. 380, Servius would appear to have been born about a. 355. 6, 6, 1 *sed nunc dicat Servius quae in Vergilio notaverit . . . cotidie enim romanae indoli enarrando eundem vatem necesse est habeat huius . . . scientiam promptiorem;* cf. 1, 24, 8. 20 (in both passages Servius is connected with Vergil). In agreement with the general character of the persons with whom Serv. is associated in Macr. (see § 444, 3), his erudite interest in the old religion renders it probable that he adhered thereto (EThomas l.l. 140). There is no trace of Christianity in his Vergilian commentary, while there are indications of Paganism, e.g. on Aen. 1, 79 *duplici ratione divinos honores meremur dearum coniugio et convivio deorum.* 1, 297 *in deorum ratione fabulae sequendae sunt, nam veritas* (of which the Christians boasted) *ignoratur.* For the date: Avienus (§ 420) is quoted by Servius Aen. 10, 272. 388. Serv. Aen. 3, 80 *hodieque imperatores pontifices dicimus* (compare AGessner, l.l. [n. 3] 10). The name: in Macrobius simply *Servius*, in the earliest MSS. of the Vergil-commentary *Servius grammaticus*, so also in the dedication of the treatise de centum metris (n. 4); on the other hand the good early MSS. give in the heading and subscription of the latter work and in the little book de finalibus the names *Maurus* (*Marius*) *Servius* or *Maurus* (*Marius*) *Servius Honoratus* or *Servius Honoratus*, lastly also *Honoratus* only (see Keil's GL. 4, xliv. xlvi). This complete name first appears before the Vergil-commentary in the MSS. s. XV (*Marius Servius* in a Leid. s. XII). He is called *Servius magister* in the subscription of some Juvenal MSS. (§ 331, 8), in Ps.-Acro on Hor. see 1, 9, 76 *sic Servius, magister urbis exposuit*, and in the subscriptio of the Par. 7530 s. VIII on the Donatus-commentary (see also n. 4). In the heading of this last MS. the author is called *Sergius* and this corruption also recurs elsewhere, e.g., in the earliest MS. of the Vergil-commentary (Bern. 363 s. IX), in two quotations from the Vergil-commentary in the commenta (§ 303, 8) on Lucan 3, 402. 7, 633. See also n. 4. 10.

2. We possess the commentary on Vergil in a twofold version. The shorter one is expressly authenticated as the work of Servius by the superscriptions and

other evidence (chief MSS.: Caroliruhensis 186 s. IX, Lps. s. X, Caroliruh. 116, Vatic. Regin. 1674, SGall. 861. 862, all s. X and others); this version is found in a greatly mutilated form in the Bern. 363 s. IX. See on the cod. Daventr. s. XI JJCornelissen, Berl. 1871, on the Harleianus 2782 s. IX HNettleship, Academy 1879, 11. The heading: *expositio* (also *explanatio*) *Servii grammatici* (n. 1) *in bucolicon* etc. Prisc. GL. 2, 256, 14. 515, 23 *Servius in commentario tertii libri Vergiliani* (*Aeneidos*) quotes Servius' observations on Aen. 3, 326. 1, 174. ib. 2, 233, 13 *Servius in commento Vergilii* and others. So also in the commenta Lucani (see n. 1 ad fin.) there are quoted explanations from the shorter version under the name of *Servius* (*Sergius*). These brief scholia are especially made use of in Isidorus' Origines (Thilo on Serv. 1, p. xxxviii). The commentary on the Aen. was composed before those on the buc. and georg. (cf. georg. 1, 488. 2, 170. 481. 4, 101. buc. 7, 26). It presents the strongest resemblance to Servius' commentary on Donatus (Thilo l.l. 1, p. lxxiv. Thomas, essai 212) and gives for the use of young students a commentary on the diction and subject-matter which, leaving aside learned minutiae, deals by preference with the grammar, style and rhetoric. Among the commentaries of his predecessors Servius used perhaps for details that of Suetonius but in general chiefly those of Aelius Donatus (§ 409, 4), of Urbanus (§ 343, 1), Carminius (§ 419, 7), and also Caper and other grammarians, e.g. in one instance Aen. 7, 6 Hebrius (Hebrus) is quoted, evidently identical with the Ebrius who in the schol. Bern. is often quoted either alone (georg. 4, 26. 77. 88. 131. 169. 545. 564) or with a certain Cornelianus, who also is otherwise unknown (georg. 4, 120. 175; the latter alone georg. 4, 87: cf. Serv. georg. 1, 12 p. 133, 14 Th.).

In the larger version (the so-called 'scholia PDanielis,' because it was first published by him, see below), which is not attributed to Servius in any MS., the shorter scholia-text has been supplemented, by an anonymous writer (a Christian see Thilo l.l. 1, p. lxvii), with additions which are frequently very valuable (amounting in extent on the average to about one-third of the shorter version). For Buc. and Georg. it is extant unfortunately only in a very incomplete form. Title: (in the Cassell.) *Vergilii commenta.* Manuscripts: Leid. Voss. 80 (Lemovicensis) s. X, Cassellanus (Fuldensis s. IX/X (on this see ThBergk in the Marburg Progrr. 1843–45), Paris. 1750+Voss. F. 79 s. X, Bern. 172+Paris. 7929 (Floriacensis) s. IX/X, Bern. 165 (Turonensis) s. IX. The authorities chiefly used for these additions are the earlier Vergil-commentaries, e.g. Probus (§ 300) and Asper (§ 328), from which last may also be derived the numerous quotations from Sallust, then Aelius Donatus, Macrobius (HLinke, de Macrobii fontt. 15. GWissowa, de Macr. fontt. 55, but cf. against this RHalfpap-Klotz, quaestt. Serv. p. 3) and others. Valuable additions to Servius (ad georg.), differing from the scholia Danielis, are also extant in the Vatic. 3317 s. X/XI (they are generally, but without evidence, attributed to Junius Philargyrius, § 472, 9), now printed in Thilo's ed., cf. the same author, pref. to the Buc. p. xi.—From the scholia Danielis must be clearly distinguished the worthless additions which were made to the shorter version in late Italian MSS. s. XV (Thilo l.l. 1, p. xci).—Printed in the editions of Vergil by RStephanus, Par. 1532. GFabricius, Bas. 1551 and repeatedly, PDaniel, Par. 1600 (Geneva 1636), PBurman, Amsterd. 1746. Ed. HALion, Gött. 1826 and especially rec. GThilo (et HHagen), Lpz. 1878 sqq. GLammerhirt, de priscorum scriptt. locis a Servio allatis, commentt. Ienens. 4, 311.

3. On Servius and his commentary on Vergil cf. Suringar, hist. crit. scholl. lat. 2, 59. ETeuber, de Servii vita et commentariis I, Bresl. 1843. GThilo pref. to his edd.; RhM. 14, 535. 15, 119; quaestt. Serv., Halle 1867. Mommsen, RhM. 16, 442. ORibbeck, proleg. Verg. 189. JKirchner, de Servii auctoribus gramm.

quos ipse laudavit, JJ. Suppl. 8, 469; die grammat. Quellen des Serv. (Serv. and Prisc.), Brieg 1883. ETHOMAS, scoliastes de Vergile; essai sur Servius etc. (with a supplement), Par. 1880. RHALFPAP-KLOTZ, quaestt. Serv., Greifsw. 1882. HNETTLESHIP, Journ. of philol. 10, 153. PROSENSTOCK: § 409, 3. AGESSNER, Serv. etc., Zür. 1889 (§ 295, 3 in fin.).—Criticism: BÖHMER, lectt. Serv., Oehls 1858. 'FPAULY, Randbemerkk. zu Thilo's Ausg., Graz 1879. ANAGER, Textkritisches zu Serv., Graz 1882.

4. Other works of Servius: 1 commentary on the Ars of Donatus (§ 409, 2), reprinted GL. 4, 405–448 (manuscript Paris. 7530 s. VIII). From this p. 422, 15–17 is quoted by PRISCIAN GL. 2, 8, 15 (*Servius in commento quod scribit in Donatum*), also p. 408, 36 sqq. in the explanationes in Donatum (printed GL. 4, 486–565) falsely attributed (§ 409, 2) to Servius or Sergius (n. 1) p. 496, 26 (*haec magister Servius extrinsecus dictavit*). *Sergius de littera, syllaba, pedibus, accentibus, distinctione* (GL. 4, 475) is also only a late excerpt from Servius' commentary on Donatus. —2 de finalibus (GL. 4, 449–455), based on Donatus. Dedication: *Servius Honoratus Aquilino s.* The short treatise mentioned above § 408, 5, which is in substance very similar to this little work, bears in the Palat. 1753 s. IX the inscription *ad Basilium amicum Sergi* and was accordingly erroneously printed in PUTSCHE gramm. lat. p. 1799 as Servius de ratione syllabarum ultimarum. Cf. also LMÜLLER, JJ. 93, 564. It is also attributed to Donatus, see HHAGEN, anecd. helv. CI.—3 de centum metris (GL. 4, 456). Dedication: *Clarissimo Albino Servius grammaticus.* This Albinus (*praetextatorum decus*), whose *patri avoque . . . maximam reverentiam litterae debent*, is probably also the Caecina Decius Albinus (praef. urbi a. 402), the son of Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albinus (consul. Numid. c. a. 365; SEECK pref. to his Symm. p. CLXXV) mentioned in MACR. 1, 2, 3, in whose company and that of Symmachus Servius appears in MACR. 1, 2, 15. Commencement: *Licet audacter, non tamen ineleganter hunc libellum qui volet centimetrum nominabit. tot enim metrorum digessi quanta potui brevitate.* The illustrations are all original (cf. p. 461, 25 *versiculos tibi dactylicos cecini, puer optime, quos facias;* 463 *Vergilius, Mantua quem creavit; . . . Maecenas atavis Lydia quos fert genite*, 460 *tolle thyrsos, aera pulsa, iam Lyaeus advenit* [in the style of the pervigil. Ven.], and the closing line p. 467 *rem tibi confeci, doctissime, dulcisonoram*). It is therefore probable that the author was a grammarian of consequence. Cf. in gen. KEIL on GL. 4, XLV. WESTPHAL, gr. Metr. $1^2$, 130. LMÜLLER, JJ. 93, 563. RhM. 25, 340 (who assigns the author to the time of the Gothic domination in Italy, and supposes Albinus to be the cos. 493 A.D.).—To the liber centimeter is appended in the Paris. 7530 s. VIII: *Servii de metris Horatii* (GL. 4, 468 cf. p. XLVII) with the dedication: *Servius Fortunatiano dn. Superfluum, amice, fore putavi et post Terentianum metra digerere* [lacunae] . . . *aliud agenti obtulerat exposita viderentur* (is this a reference to the Centimeter or to Terentianus?). *quare Horatium cum in Campania otiarer excepi* etc. This work of his leisure is much inferior to the Centimeter and appears to be by a different author.—Under the name *Servii grammatici* there is extant a collection of the substantives which are of different gender in Greek and Latin; its contents are very similar to the excerpta Charisii GL. 1, 533 sqq.; published by AMATTHAEI, Analecta 3, 663 and recently in the Corp. glossar. lat. 2, 507. Cf. § 42, 7 after the middle and FÖHLER, RhM. 18, 253. GLOEWE, prodrom. gloss. 200.

5. The 'Interpretationes' of Ti. Claudius Donatus on the Aeneid (not to be confounded with the D. mentioned § 409) were published at Naples 1535 and in the editions of Vergil by GFABRICIUS (Basil. 1561) and LUCIUS (Basil. 1613). The work is preceded by the following epistle: *Ti. Claudius Donatus Ti. Claudio Maximo*

*Donatiano filio s. p. d. Incertum metuens vitae, quod magis senibus . . . proximum est, cursim scripsi quae potui, relinquens plurima, . . . ut si quid mihi adversi accideret haberes interpretationum mearum quod imitareris exemplo. verum quia . . . contigit diutius vivere hos libros legendos curavi.* The author states that he is resolved to give an explanation of the subject-matter, which he has here omitted, in a separate work. He does not seem ever to have completed a work of this kind (which would have resembled that of Vibius Sequester). It was intended to form an appendix to the Interpretationes or to take the place of a projected register; cf. on 7, 646 *catalogus iste huic interpretationum libro non fuerat inserendus. nihil enim habet quod artificiose possit exponi. est quippe nominibus hominum, gentium, fluviorum, deorum, . . . herbarum, . . . fontium plenus. tamen ne quid libro decerpi videatur dicemus aliqua eius uno libro qui XIII^us^ erit, cum totius operis complexione dicturi, ut historiae per XII libros sparsae et cetera quae supra dicta non sunt possint evidenter apparere.*

6. On the MSS. of this commentary (esp. Vatic. 1512 s. IX, Laur. 45, 15 s. X) see GThilo, RhM. 15, 149; also Mommsen, ib. 16, 139.—Cf. in gen. Suringar, hist. crit. scholl. 2, 31. Gräfenhan, Gesch. d. class. Philol. 4, 315. MdAvdHoeven, epist. ad Suring. de Don. comm. in Verg. Aen., Leovard. 1846. Ribbeck, prolegg. Verg. 185. VBurkas, de Ti. Claud. Donati in Aen. commentario, Jena 1889.

7. *Grammatica Dosithei magistri.* It is extant in SGall. 902 s. X and in the Harleian. 5642 s. IX/X and Monac. 601 s. IX/X, which supplement each other; cf. KKrumbacher, Münch. SBer. 1883 2, 193. RhM. 39, 348. Formerly there was a MS. also in Bobbio, cf. the notice from the library catalogue in GBecker, catal. antiqui no. 32, 414 *librum I Dosithei de grammatica.* The Greek translation is inserted in the Latin text (after one or several words). The beginning e.g. reads *ars τέχνη grammatica γραμματική est ἐστίν scientia γνῶσις* etc. The translation however becomes less frequent already after the elucidation of the Nomen and at last (probably owing to weariness on the part of the copyist) ceases entirely. Sacerdos (§ 394) is repeatedly quoted (p. 393, 12. 413, 24), and so is on one occasion (close to the end, p. 424, 9) Donatus' ars GL. 4, 391, 27. Dositheus (*Δωσίθεος*) borrowed the Latin text from a grammar now lost to us, the same from which are derived the excerpta Bobiensia (§ 419, 6). It was based on the same authorities as the artes of Charisius and Diomedes; hence its strong points of agreement with them. Dositheus himself added (with a few exceptions, e.g. the quotation from Donatus?) only the Greek translation.—Edited by HKeil, Halle 1869–71 and recently GL. 7, 376; cf. his preface. LJeep, RhM. 44, 25.

8. To this Graeco-Latin grammar of Dositheus was added at an early date by an unknown writer (not by Dositheus himself) a series of Graeco-Latin exercises to be learnt by heart and translated. They are extant partly in the SGall., Harl. and Monac. (n. 7), partly in the Leid. Voss. gr. Q. 7 s. XI, Montepess. 306 s. IX and other MSS. They consist in a) enumerations of constructions of Latin verba and of Latin forms generally, lists of verbals etc., printed GL. 7, 424. b) 'Interpretamentorum (*ἑρμηνευμάτων*) libri III'. The first book contains an alphabetical list of words, the second series of words arranged according to their meaning, the third daily conversations (*καθημερίνη ὁμιλία*). The work has hitherto been printed only in an incomplete form, e.g. glossaria duo . . . ed. HStephanus, Par. 1573; in the Thes. utriusque linguae of BVulcanius, Lugd. 1600. ABoucherie, *ἑρμηνεύματα. καθημερίνη ὁμιλία*, publiés pour la première fois (from the Montepess.) etc., in the notices et extr. de la biblioth. nat. 23, 2 (1872), 277. 27, 2 (1879), 457; compt. rend. de l'acad. des inscript. 1868, 271. HHagen, de Dosithei magistri quae

feruntur glossis, Berne 1877. See also MHaupt, op. 2, 441. 508. FBücheler, JJ. 111, 310. KKrümbacher, de codd. quibus interpretamenta pseudodositheana servata sunt, Munich 1883. JSchönemann, de lexicographis antiquis qui rerum ordinem secuti sunt, Bonn 1886, 3.—As an appendix to this (e.g. printed in Dosithei interpretamentorum liber III ed. EBöcking, Bonn 1832): c) *θείου Ἀδριανοῦ ἀποφάσεις καὶ ἐπιστολαί* in Böcking l.l. 1, see § 346, 3. d) 17 (18) Greek fables in Böcking l.l. 25, cf. OCrusius, Leipz. Stud. 2, 241. e) the fragm. de manumissionibus in Böcking l.l. 39, see § 369, 5. f.) excerpts from Hygini genealogia (made on the 11th Sept. a. 207) in Böcking l.l. 65, see § 262, 6 l. 4 and other pieces.

9. Claudius, frequently quoted in the ars anonyma cod. Bern. 123 (JSteup, RhM. 26, 320), as is likewise a grammarian Arruntius Claudius by Diom. GL. 1, 321, 11 (does this refer to Arruntius Celsus § 357, 3?)—*Sergii novem* (libri) *de littera et de barbarismo* (cf. § 41, 5 in fin.) were probably commentaries on Donatus (cf. § 431, 4). To these perhaps belong the treatise in Hagen, anecd. Helv. p. 143 (cf. § 409, 2), and the fragments ib. p. cxcii; cf. ci.—Maximus, a grammarian of Madaura, who defended polytheism against St. Augustine (see his epist. 16).—On the 'ars Probi' see § 300, 7b; on Junius Philargyrius § 472, 9.

432. At the end of the 4th century at the earliest, Flavius Vegetius Renatus wrote his Epitoma rei militaris in four books, in which he bewails the decline of the Roman military system, recommends measures for its improvement and endeavours to contribute to that object by his rather untrustworthy and ill-informed compilation from historical and military writers. The elaborate work on veterinary science by a certain P. Vegetius, founded upon early authorities, likewise belongs to this period, and its author is in all probability identical with the above-named Vegetius. To this time also belongs the career, both literary and practical, of the doctor Vindicianus, a native of Africa.

1. Title: *Flavi Vegeti Renati viri inlustris comitis* (the cod. Pal. adds *sacrum*, perhaps *sacrarum [largitionum]*? ChSchöner l. l. 8) *epitoma rei militaris*.—Prisc. GL. 2, 97, 19 *Vegetius Renatus rei militaris libro I* (20 p. 24, 16 L.). In the Vatican excerpts s. VII (n. 6) we read: *ex libro IIII Publi Vegeti Renati de re militari*. Otherwise the praenomen P. is borne only by the author of the mulomedicina (n. 8). Accordingly the name in full may have been P. Flavius Vegetius Renatus. Cf. n. 10. Ῥενᾶτος in Laur. Lyd. mag. 1, 47.—Termini for the composition of the epitome are on the one hand the year of the Emperor Gratianus († 383; see 1, 20 *ab urbe condita usque ad tempus divi Gratiani*), on the other hand the textual recension of the book a. 450 (see n. 6). The Emperor to whom the treatise is dedicated (1, praef., 2, praef. *imp. invicte*. 2, 3 *imp. Auguste*). Against the assumption (already some of the manuscripts add to the heading *ad Theodosium imperatorem;* in general cf. CLang in his ed. p. vi) that it is Theodosius I († 395) OSeeck, Herm. 11, 61 advances weighty arguments, but does not thereby fully establish his own hypothesis that the book was addressed to Valentinian III and composed about 425–435 (against Seeck see Schöner l.l. 34 and FRühl, JJ. 137, 337). On the other hand it was quite possible that a Roman living in the Western

Empire from a. 423 should have dedicated a book to Theodosius II (reg. 408–450) as the person who held the highest rank and who exercised the chief authority over the Western Empire during Valentinian's youth. As evidence for this later date may be adduced the acquaintance with the name Toringi (n. 9), as this occurs elsewhere not earlier than a. 451 (AvGutschmid).—An interval occurred between the publication of b. 1 and that of the rest, see n. 3.

2. The author professes the Christian religion, but his religious ideas are still rooted in the olden time; hence his way of treating religion does not greatly differ from that of his heathen contemporaries. Cf. 2, 5 (p. 37 L.) *iurant (milites) per deum et Christum et sanctum spiritum et per maiestatem imperatoris, quae secundum deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda. nam imperatori . . . tanquam praesenti et corporali deo fidelis est praestanda devotio.* Cf. § 426, 7. He uses similar language elsewhere, which might just as well occur in Firmicus or Symmachus; thus 1, praef. *non recte aliquid incohatur nisi post deum faverit imperator.* 2, 21. 4, 40. 4, 35 is significant of his superstition.

3. Veget. 1 praef. *in hoc opusculo nec verborum concinnitas est necessaria nec acumen ingenii, sed labor diligens ac fidelis, ut quae apud diversos historicos vel armorum disciplinam docentes dispersa et involuta celantur pro utilitate rom. proferantur in medium.* 2 praef. *cum haec (instituta maiorum partis armatae) litteris breviter comprehendere maiestati vestrae . . . recognoscenda praeciperet, certavit saepius devotio cum pudore. . . . libellum de dilectu atque exercitatione tironum* (b. 1) *dudum tamquam famulus obtuli, non tamen culpatus abscessi.* 3, praef. *quae per diversos auctores librosque dispersa, imperator invicte, mediocritatem meam abbreviare iussisti.* 1, 8 *nihil enim mihi auctoritatis adsumo sed horum quos supra* (see above § 56, 2) *rettuli quae dispersa sunt velut in ordinem epitomata conscribo.* These authorities are Cato (§ 121, 2 middle), Celsus, Frontinus, Paternus (§ 369, 8; on the use made of these authors see MSchanz, Herm. 16, 137). 2. 3 Veget. mentions especially as his predecessors Cato and Frontinus; cf. 1, 28. 3, 26. 4 praef. *Vergilius in georgicis* and *Varro in libris navalibus* are quoted 4, 41; cf. 2, 1 *Latinorum egregius auctor* (Verg. Aen.). Sallust is quoted 1, 4. 9. Vegetius was not equal to his task; from lack of actual knowledge of his subject and through clumsy writing he has so jumbled the materials which he found in his authorities that his statements are to be received only with the greatest caution. JWFörster, de fide Vegetii, Bonn 1879 (esp. p. 33).

4. Each book has a preface, b. 1 and 3 also an epilogue of a courtier-like rhetorical character. Book 1 contains: *dilectus atque exercitatio tironum*, b. 2 discusses *institutionem disciplinamque militarem* (3, 1), b. 3 war and strategic art, b. 4 the art of besieging (*rationes quibus vel nostrae civitates defendendae sint vel hostium subruendae*), c. 1–30. Then 4, 31 *praecepto maiestatis tuae, imperator invicte, terrestris proelii rationibus absolutis navalis belli residua . . . est portio; de cuius artibus ideo pauciora dicenda sunt quia iam dudum pacato mari cum barbaris nationibus agitur terrestre certamen.* The summaries of each chapter (rubricae) are not by Veg. himself, but were composed as early as the fifth or sixth century; see CLang, praef. p. xiiii.

5. The vocabulary shows, on account of the nature of the subject and the employment of earlier authors, comparatively few late ingredients. But such words and phrases as *missibilis, in ante, aliquanti, proximior*, clearly show the time when the book was composed; cf. also foreign words such as *burgus* (4, 10), *drungus* (3, 16. 19), *bebra* (1, 20), *chalare* (4, 23).

6. The very numerous manuscripts are divisible into two classes. The one (principal MS. Paris. 7230 s. X) is based on a less carefully written original, the other, though more carefully written (principal MS. Vatic. Palat. 909 s. X) is not free from interpolations; for details see CLang introd. to his ed., and Förster l.l. 59. Excerpts from b. 4 in Vatic. Reg. 2077 s. VII (cf. § 179, 6, 3), Mommsen, Herm. 1, 130.—In a few MSS. of the first class we find the subscriptio: *Fl. Eutropius emendavi sine exemplario Constantinopolim consul Valentiniano Aug. VII et Abieni* (=450 A.D.). OJahn, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 344. An abridged excerpt from 1, 1 sqq. 2, 23 sq. by Rabanus Maurus (14 capp.) was edited from a Trèves MS. s. XII by EDümmler, Z. f. deutsches Altert. N. F. 3, 443.—On the excerpt made by the so-called Modestus § 56, 3.

7. Editions e.g. esp. by FModius (Colon. 1580), GStewechius (Antv. 1584); PScriverius (cum notis Stewechii, Modii, Antv. 1609 II. Wesel 1670). NSchwebel, Nürnb. 1767. Cum notis varr., Strassburg 1806. Rec. CLang (with an index verborum), Lips.[2] 1885.—AGemoll, exercitt. Veg., Herm. 6, 113. HBruncke, quaestt. Veg., Leipz. 1875; Phil. 37, 57.—MPlanck, der Verfall des röm. Kriegswesens . . . nach Vegetius, in the Festschrift d. württemb. Gymn. z. Tüb. Univ.-Jubil., Stuttg. 1877, 51.

8. P. Vegetius (n. 1) states his principles in the prefaces to the various books of the mulomedicina. 1 praef. 6 *cum ab initio aetatis alendorum equorum studio flagrarem hanc operam non invitus arripui ut conductis in unum latinis dumtaxat auctoribus universis adhibitis etiam mulomedicis et medicis non omissis . . . in quantum mediocritas ingenii patitur plene ac breviter omnia epitomae* (read *epitomata*) *congererem.* 3, praef. 1 *mulomedicinae ars iamdudum . . . collapsa est. numquid vero exemplo Hunnorum . . . artis usus intercidet?* 4, praef. 1 *mulomedicinae me commentarios ordinante civium atque amicorum frequens querela incepti operis continuationem suspendit deflentium aegritudines mortesque calamitosissimas boum* (cf. § 448, 2), *cum magnopere peterent publicandum si quid pro salute tam commodorum animalium scriptum reperiretur in libris. cedens itaque familiarium honestissimae voluntati ex diversis auctoribus enucleata collegi pedestrique sermone in libellum* (i.e. b. 4) *contuli. cuius erit praecipua felicitas si eum nec scholasticus fastidiat et bubulcus intellegat.* 6, praef. 1 *sollemnis excusatio neglegentium est dispendia ex dissimulatione venientia deo imputare vel casibus. . . . quae fortasse vera videantur in homine, qui divina providentia ac dispositione fatorum creditur regi. animalia vero, cum quibus divinitas nihil dignatur habere commune, nisi hominum studio impensisque curentur absque ambiguitate depereunt:* this is thoroughly in keeping with the point of view and the style in vogue at the turn between saec. IV and V. In the mulomed. also (cf. n. 2 ad fin.) we find the inevitable superstition side by side with Christianity. Personal experience: 6, 6, 1 *per tam diversas et longinquas peregrinationes equorum genera universa cognovimus et in nostris stabulis saepe nutrivimus* (cf. 1, praef. 6, see n. 8 init.). 5, 69, 1 *studiose quae experimentis nostris vel aliorum probata cognovimus intimamus.*—Vegetius' account of the anatomy of the horse is praised by experts.—The author is an educated man, who writes in a manner appropriate to his subject, but who, as the work is entirely technical, renounces any attempt at embellishment, and naturally enough is not too fastidious in the choice of words; here and there, however, especially in the introductions, he is a little sententious. He is neither a veterinary, nor as Häser, Gesch. d. Med. 1[3], 545 supposes, a horse-dealer, but a well-to-do gentleman, who has travelled far and wide in the Imperial service.

9. Among his predecessors Veg. mentions by name (see Schneider's Index) Columella, Pelagonios (praef. 1, 2 *proxima aetate Pelagonius;* see § 463, 6), then

'Chiron centaurus' and Absyrtos (under Constantine the Gr.; SUID. s.v.). Of the two latter we read praef. 3 *Chiron centaurus et Absyrtus diligentius cuncta rimati eloquentiae inopia et sermonis ipsius vilitate sordescunt.* In an introductory excursus WMEYER, Münch. SBer. 1885 2, 395 suggests that these words of Veg. refer to a Latin translation of the Greek 'Chiron and Absyrtus,' which he uses very largely in the mulomedicina, and that this Latin translation is still extant in the Monac. lat. 243. Many pieces of the Greek models used by Veg. are preserved in the *ἱππιατρικά* (ed. SGRYNAEUS, Bas. 1537). Vergil is quoted 1, praef. 8. 2, 28, 36. The breeds of horses specified indicate a very extensive geographical horizon: 6, 6, 2 *ad bellum Hunniscorum* (*equorum*) *longe primo docetur utilitas . . .*, *Toringos deinde et Burgundiones . . .*, *tertio loco Frigiscos . . .*, *postea Epirotas* etc. 2, 28, 37 *equos* (Parthian) *quos vulgo trepidarios, militari verbo tottonarios vocant.*

10. The assumption that the writer on veterinary art is identical with the author of the work on military science is supported, apart from their bearing the same name (n. 1) and being contemporaries, by the character of both works as epitomae, that is compilations, lastly by all the personal traits of the authors and their similar attitude towards religion (cf. n. 8 middle with n. 2). The great dissimilarity in diction (the epit. milit. is just as choice in expression as the mulomedicina is popular in style—*pedestri sermone* 4, praef. 2) is fully accounted for by the difference in subject, sources and aim: whereas the epitome is addressed to the Emperor, the mulomedicina is intended to be intelligible even to the bubulcus (4, praef. 1; see n. 8). There occur however very remarkable similarities of language, which in this case prove more than the divergence: cf. mulomed. 4, praef. 1 *mulomedicinae commentarii*, epit. rei mil. 3, 9 *artis bellicae commentarii;* mul. 4, praef. 2 *ex diversis auctoribus enucleata collegi* (ib. 2, 36, 2 *ex diversis auctoribus enucleatas curas*) . . . *et in libellum contuli*, epit. 1, 28 *haec . . . de universis auctoribus* (cf. mul. 1 praef. 6 *auctoribus universis*) . . . *in hunc libellum enucleata congessi*, ib. 3, praef. *per diversos auctores dispersa;* mul. 3, praef. 1 *artis usus intercidet*, epit. 3, 10 *disciplina cuius usus intercidit;* mul. 1, praef. 8 *Mantuanus poeta divino ore testatur*, epit. 4, 41 *Vergilius . . . divino paene comprehendit ingenio*, ib. 1, 5 *Mantuanus auctor;* mul. 1, praef. 6 *ut plene et breviter omnia epitomae* (read *epitomata*) *digererem*, epit. 1, 8 *quae dispersa sunt velut in ordinem epitomata conscribo;* mul. 2, 28, 1 and epit. 3, 2 *custodire sanitatem;* mul. 1, 21, 2 and epit. 3, 2 *sanitatem praestare;* mul. 1, 23 *sciendum est praeterea . . . oportere*, epit. 1, 20 *sciendum praeterea . . . debere;* mul. 5, 69, 1 *quae . . . probata cognovimus intimamus*, epit. 3, 6 *quem ad modum occurri ingruentibus debeat intimetur;* mul. 3, praef. 1 *exemplo Hunnorum sive gentium aliarum*, epit. 1, 20 *exemplo Gothorum et Alanorum Hunnorumque* (both works were therefore composed after a. 375); mul. 1, praef. 6 *mediocritas ingenii*, epit. 1, 28 *mediocritas mea;* mul. 6, 6, 8 and epit. 3, 10 *subiugare;* mul. 1, praef. 9 *honestissimus quisque*, epit. 1, 7 *honestiores quique;* mul. 6, praef. 1 *dispositione fatorum;* epit. 4, praef. *dispositionibus vestrae clementiae*, ib. 2, 18 *dispositione imperatoris;* mul. 4, praef. 4 and epit. 4, 7 *cohortales aves* and other examples. See also the two mythological similes m. 4, praef. 6 and epit. 1, 28. Finally it should be noted that Vegetius de re militari repeatedly designates as his chief occupation the *digerere* of what he finds in his authorities (3, 26 *digesta sunt quae* etc. 3, 22 *digestis omnibus quae* etc. 4, praef. 4, 30. 2, 23) and that in the Corbeiensis the mulomed. bore the title *digesta* etc. (see n. 11). New evidence for the identity of the author of the epitome and of the mulomedicina has recently been advanced by CHRSCHÖNER, Beitr. zu Vegetius, Erl. 1888, 15.

11. P. Vegetii mulomedicina sive ars veterinaria, printed Bas. 1528. 1574 (ed. JSambucus), again in JMGesner's (2, 173) and esp. in JGSchneider's (b. 4) scriptores rei rusticae (see § 54, 7); the first-mentioned authors divided it into 4, Schneider into 6 books, see on this Schneider l.l. 4, 2, 8. We quote after Schneider. Until a new critical edition is produced, it is not possible to form a definite opinion on the work, its composition, possible revision etc.—Manuscripts: an early Corbeiensis (with many gaps) in uncial letters, later at Cologne 'apud S. Pantaleonis' with the title (omitting the name of Veg.): *Digestorum artis mulomedicinae libri III:* a copy of this in Leiden (see § 380, 3); on another copy see Schneider l.l. 4, 2, 3. On fragments in SGall. 908 s. VI see Scherrer, Verz. d. Hss. d. Stiftsbibl. v. StGall. (Halle 1875) 328.

12. *Epistula Vindiciani comitis archiatrorum ad Valentinianum Imp.* (§ 446, 4). This letter was perhaps originally the dedication of the work which it mentions *de expertis remediis*, from which book of recipes two quotations (*de Vindiciani Afri*) occur in Cassius Felix (§ 463) p. 64, 105 (cf. VRose, anecd. 2, 177. Herm. 8, 42). Another letter of Vind. (*Vindicianus Pentadio nepoti suo salutem. Licet scirem* etc.) is extant in SGall. 761, Vindob. 10 s. XI, published by RPeiper, Phil. 33, 562. Concerning this Vindicianus, an older contemporary of Augustine (who calls him *vir sagax, acutus senex, magnus ille nostrorum temporum medicus*), cf. also cod. Theod. 13, 3, 12 (of a. 379). 10, 19, 9 (of a. 378: *v.c., vicarius*). Augustin. epist. 128, 3. confess. 4, 1, 5. 7, 6. 8. Theod. Prisc. p. 81[b] *qui nunc orbe toto Vindicianus celebratur.*

433. The most brilliant figure on the Christian side was the powerful bishop of Milan, Ambrosius (c. 340–397), skilful as he was energetic and bold, personally unselfish and philanthropic, but always bent on one object—the power and glory of his Church. Among his writings, his letters and the funeral orations on Valentinian and Theodosius are the most important for history. His church-hymns became very famous.—He is probably also the author of the Latin version of Josephus' history of the Jewish war, which by mistake long passed under the name of a certain Hegesippus.

1. (Paulini) vita Ambrosii. He was the son of a praef. Galliarum of the same name, and was perhaps born at Trèves. *edoctus liberalibus disciplinis . . . ita splendide causas peroravit ut eligeretur a viro ill. Probo tunc praef. praet. ad consilium tribuendum. post haec consularitatis suscepit insignia, ut regeret Liguriam Aemiliamque provincias, venitque Mediolanum, per idem tempus mortuo Auxentio Arianae perfidiae episcopo* etc. Ambros. de off. 1, 1, 4 *ego raptus de tribunalibus et administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium* (a. 374). Hieron. ad a. 2390 (Bong. ad a. 2391)= 373 *post Auxenti seram mortem Mediolanii Ambrosio episcopo constituto omnis ad fidem rectam Italia convertitur.* He exercised great influence on Augustine (confess. 5, 13 sq. 6, 3 sq.). He was firm against the Arian Empress (dowager) Justina and her son, the young Emperor Valentinian. He was employed in diplomatic missions to the usurper Maximus. He proceeded very energetically against Theodosius on account of the slaughter at Thessalonica (a. 390). He died on Easter-day (4 April) 397. Tillemont, mém. 10 (1705), 78. 729. Hist. lit. de la France 1, 2, 325. F. and P. Böhringer, Ambrosius, Stuttg.[2] 1877. Ebert, Lit. d.

MAlters 1², 143. ThFörster, Ambrosius, s. Leben u. Wirken, Halle 1884. MIhm, studia Ambrosiana (esp. on the date of comp. of the works), JJ. Suppl. 17, 1.—Ambrosii opera e.g. Basil. (Froben) 1527 (by DErasmus), but especially studio et labore monachorum ord. SBenedicti (Jac. du Frische and NLeNourry), Par. 1686–90 II. Ven. 1781 sq. VIII. Migne, vol. XIV–XVII (Par. 1845). Ad codd. Mediol. ed. PABallerini, Milan 1875–86 VI.

2. Among the writings of A., Hieronymus attaches special importance to de viduis liber and de virginitate tres libelli (epist. 48, 14 cf. 22, 22 *de virginitate . . . Ambrosii nostri quae nuper scripsit ad sororem opuscula, in quibus tanto se effudit eloquio* etc.). Augustin. ad Hier., ep. 116, 21 (p. 774 Vall.) *Ambrosius noster . . . suos libros utilium praeceptionum plenos de officiis* (ministrorum) *voluit appellare.* They are an imitation of Cicero's work (for A.'s other classical studies, especially his acquaintance with Vergil cf. Ihm l.l. 80). A separate edition JGKrabinger, Tüb. 1857. FBittner, de Cic. et Ambr. officiis, Braunsb. 1849. JDräseke, Cic. et Ambr. de off. libri comparantur, Riv. di fil. 4 (1876), 122. JReeb, das Sittliche nach Cic. u. Ambr., Zweibr. 1876. PEwald, d. stoisch.-ciceron. Moral bei Ambr., Lpz. 1881.—Hieron. ep. 84, 7 (p. 529 Vall.) *nuper sanctus Ambrosius sic hexaëmeron* (story of the Creation) *illius* (of Origen) *compilavit ut magis Hippolyti sententias Basiliique sequeretur.* In this additions from Suetonius, Prata, see Reifferscheid, Sueton. p. 442. Ed. ROGilbert, Lps. 1840.—91 letters are extant, some on the scale of treatises. See § 425, 9 (middle) on the (funeral) orations directed against Symmachus: de excessu fratris sui Satyri libri II (a. 379); de obitu Valentiniani (a. 392); de obitu Theodosii oratio (a. 395).

3. Other works: a) dogmatic: De fide libri V ad Gratianum Aug.; De spiritu sancto libri III ad Gratianum; De poenitentia libri II; De mysteriis (on the l. VI de sacramentis see § 469, 8); De incarnationis dominicae sacramento. b) practical (ascetic), besides de off. min. libri III, de virginibus ad Marcellinam sororem libri III, de viduis (see n. 2 init.), De virginitate, De institutione virginis ad Eusebium, Exhortatio virginitatis, De lapsu virginis consecratae. De bono mortis; De fuga saeculi. c) exegetical, mostly with a mystic allegorical meaning: De paradiso; De Cain et Abel, De Noë et arca. De Abraham libri II; De Isaac et anima; De Iacob et vita beata libri II; De Iosepho patriarca; De benedictionibus patriarcharum; De Elia et ieiunio; De Nabuthe; De Tobia; De interpellatione Iob et David libri IV; Apologia prophetae David ad Theodosium Aug.; Enarrationes in XII psalmos, Expositio in psalmum CXVIII; Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam, libri X.—Also much that is wrongly attributed to him (Ihm l.l. 70): thus e.g. (also worthy of notice on account of the quotations from the Bible, independently of Hieronymus, which it gives) the altercatio S. Ambrosii contra eos qui animam non confitentur esse etc., edited by CPCaspari, kirchenhistor. Anecdota 1 (Christian. 1883), xi. 225. On the so-called Ambrosiaster see § 418, 5. 435, 4.—See also n. 4 and § 438, 3.

4. Ambros. sermo c. Auxent. 34 of a. 386: *hymnorum meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt. plane nec hoc abnuo. . . . quid enim potentius quam confessio trinitatis quae quotidie totius populi ore celebratur? certatim omnes student fidem fateri, patrem et filium et spir. s. norunt versibus praedicare.* Paulin. v. Ambr. 13 *hoc in tempore primum antiphonae, hymni et vigiliae in ecclesia mediolanensi celebrari coeperunt.* In particular A. introduced into his church the singing of psalms set to rhythmical tunes and also choral hymns arranged antiphonally (cantus Ambrosianus); cf. Augustin. conf. 9, 7, 15 *tunc* (under Ambr.) *hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium* (especially of the Syrian

Church; cf. WMeyer, Abhandlungen der Münch. Akad. 17, 2, 366. 376) . . . *institutum est et ex illo in hodiernum retentum.* The twelve hymns attributed to Ambrosius (morning and evening prayer, Christmas hymn, hymns to the glory of God and Christ) are all in iambic dimeters and mostly divided into stanzas of four lines each. The lines are frequently rhymed but not regularly. The syllables are sometimes lengthened by the rhythm, e.g. *castús amor; honor natús et gaudium;* this occurs most frequently in hymn 6 (five times in six lines); we also find instances of shortening (*cum spiritu paraclīto*). The word accent and metrical accent are sometimes at variance and synaloephe is frequent. The authorship of A. is, however, clearly established only in the case of four hymns, viz. '*Deus creator omnium*,' '*Aeterne rerum conditor*,' '*Veni redemptor gentium*' and '*Iam surgit hora tertia*,' and these are constructed with a strict regard for quantity (WMeyer, Beobachtung des Wortaccents, Abhh. d. Münch. Akad. 17, 1, 116). LBiraghi, inni et carmi di S. Ambr., Milan 1862. MIhm (n. 1) 60. Subsequently hymns composed in the manner of Ambrosius were called 'Ambrosian,' see Isid. off. eccl. 1, 6 (above § 30, 2). The so-called Ambrosian hymn of praise *Te deum laudamus*, which can be proved to have existed as early as the 6th cent. (Daniel, thes. hymnol. 2, 276), does not belong to him; its author is unknown. Cf. Herzog's REncykl. f. protest. Theol. $1^2$, 326. Kayser, Beitr. z. Gesch. u. Erkl. d. Kirchenhymnen 1, 82. 2, 223. Ebert, Lit. d. MA. $1^2$, 172. FXKraus, Lehrb. d. Kirchengesch. 1, 100.—An elegy on God as Creator and Lord of the universe, which was wrongly attributed to A., is to be found in Pitra, anall. sacr. et class., Par. 1888, 121.

5. From Ἰώσηπος was erroneously formed Iosippus, then Egesippus, Hegesippus. In the cod. Mediol. (see n. 6): *Iosippi* (*Egesippi* the second MS.) *liber I explicit. Incipit secundus Ambrosi epi, de grego transtulit in latinum.* In the Vatic. 170 s. IX/X: *Incipit tractatus sci Ambrosii epi de historia Iosippi captivi translata ab ipso ex greco in latinum liber I.* In the Cassell.: *Iosephi liber I* etc. The Greek original is not, as in the other translation, which is probably to be attributed to Rufinus (§ 435, 1 ad fin.), literally rendered but partly curtailed (b. 5=Ioseph. 5–7), partly enlarged by additions from other sources (from Josephus' ἀρχαιολογία, and esp. from Roman sources) and by rhetorical additions (especially in the speeches, which are partly quite new; cf. 5, 33 *quem nos quasi epilogum quendam claudendo operi deplorabilem more rhetorico non praetermisimus*), a Christian colouring being given to it; thus the destruction of Jerusalem is a judgment for the death of Christ etc. (e.g. 2, 12. 3, 2. 4, 5). The author in his preface introduces his work as a kind of revised version of Josephus; (Josephus indeed aims at *rerum indago* and *sermonum sobrietas*, but is wanting in *religio* and *veritas*) . . . *unde nobis curae fuit non ingenii ope fretis, sed fidei intentione in historiam Iudaeorum . . . paulisper introrsum pergere, ut . . . eruamus quae magis* (than Iosephi hist.) *licet heredibus* (=our posterity) *vel in adversis obtentui fuerint vel honori in prosperis.* Josephus is often mentioned by name: *ut Iosephus auctor est, dicente* (*auctore*) *Iosepho* etc. The reviser also remarks at the commencement (the earlier history of the Jews after the four books of the Kings down to the Babylonian Captivity) *etiam ipse stilo perseculus . . . historiae in modum composui*, which implies that the author treated this subject also rhetorically. The date: after Gallienus († a. 268; cf. 3, 5, 11 with Ammian. 23, 5, 3); Constantinople is the second capital (3, 5, 23) therefore after a. 330; a date after a. 368 is proved by 5, 15, 24 sqq. (cf. Amm. 27, 8, 5), which agrees with the time of Ambrosius, as does the rhetorical culture of the author, and a remarkable similarity in language (esp. in the use of particular words). The extensive use made of Sallustian materials for purposes

of style is remarkable (FVogel, acta semin. Erlang. 1, 348 and Ihm l.l. 64). There is no evidence of employment of Hieronymus' translation of the Bible. Even Cassiodorus had no certain knowledge of the author's name: inst. div. litt. 17 (2, 250 Gar.): *quorum* (Ios. de bello iud. ll. VII) *translationem alii Hieronymo alii Ambrosio alii deputant Rufino: quae dum talibus adscribitur, omnino dictionis eximiae merita declarantur.* The so-called Hegesippus was already used and transcribed by Eucherius (middle of s. V, § 412, 8; cf. Vogel, de Heges. 39), then by Isidorus (JCaesar in Weber's ed. 390, Vogel l.l. 37). HRönsch, phil. Rundsch. 1881, 602; d. lexik. Eigentümlichkeiten der Latinität des Heges., in the Romanische Forsch. 1, 256, ZfwissTheol. 26, 239. MIhm, studd. Ambr. 61. Against Ambrosius' authorship see FVogel, de Hegesippo qui dicitur Iosephi interprete, Munich 1880; ZföG. 34, 241; Romanische Forsch. 1, 415.

6. On the manuscripts of the translation of Josephus (esp. Mediolan. s. VII/VIII, Cassell. s. VIII/IX and others) see Caesar p. 399; also the same author's observv. de Iosepho lat. emendando, Marb. 1878. AReifferscheid, Wien. SBer. 56, 442.—Editions: e.g. by CGualtherus, Colon. 1559. 1575. Bibl. patr. (1677) 5, 1123; Gallandi 7, 653, Migne 15, 1962. Especially: Hegesippus qui dicitur, ope cod. Cassell. recogn. CFWeber et JCaesar, Marb. 1864 (first [but with some strange omissions] in eight nos. of Marb. Univ.-Progrr., 1857–63).

434. The most learned representative of Christianity and at the same time an accomplished writer, acute and vehement in argument—a passionate nature with many weak points—is Hieronymus of Stridon, whose long life (a. 331–420) was spent in assiduous literary labours, in which he both translated and interpreted the books of the Old and the New Testament and, by means of his Latin versions, connected classical culture with the Christian religion and his own time; he was ever ready to impart instruction through letters and to defend his views in fiery polemical works. Of chief importance are his continuation and enlarged version of the Chronicle of Eusebios, his history of Christian literature (viri illustres), his translation of the Bible, his commentary on the Bible and his copious letters.

1. Hieronym. viri ill. 135 *Hieronymus, patre Eusebio natus, oppido Stridonis, quod . . . Dalmatiae quondam Pannoniaeque confinium fuit, usque in praesentem annum, i.e. Theodosii principis XIV^um^* (a. 392), *haec scripsi* (see n. 2). According to Prosper Aq. he was born 331 (compare JDanko, Hieronymum . . . a. 331 natum esse, Mayence 1874), according to others (Zöckler l.l. 21) 340 at earliest. His instructors in grammar were at Rome Donatus (§ 409) and an anonymous rhetorician (adv. Rufin. 1, 30), scarcely Victorinus (Zöckler l.l. 30). He travelled to Gaul, sojourned at Trèves and Aquileia, and repeatedly travelled in the East (Syria). A. 374–378 he spent in the Desert, leading an ascetic life. He was at Antioch and Constantinople (translation of Eusebius, n. 8). Epist. 123, 10 *cum in chartis ecclesiasticis iuvarem Damasum romanae urbis episcopum* (§ 422) *et orientis atque occidentis synodicis consultationibus responderem* (a. 382). Cf. n. 6. He had intercourse with noble Roman ladies, especially Marcella, Melania, Paula and her

daughters Blaesilla and Eustochium (Zöckler l.l. 109. 140. 276. 288). Adv. Rufin. 3, 6 *ego philosophus, rhetor, grammaticus, dialecticus, Hebraeus, Graecus, Latinus, trilinguis.* Prosper de ingrat. 56 *hebraeo simul et graio latioque venustus eloquio, morum exemplum mundique magister Hieronymus.* Cf. Zöckler l.l. 365. Most of his works were written in the monastery of Bethlehem, whither he retired a. 386 and where he stayed until his death (30th Sept. 420). Vita Hieronymi ex eius scriptis by DErasmus (ed. vol. 1) and especially by Vallarsi (ed. t. 11, 1). IMartianay, vie de St. Jér., Par. 1706. Tillemont, Mémoires 12, 1. LEngelstoft, H. Strid. interpres, criticus etc., Copenh. 1797. DvCölln in Ersch and Gruber 2, 8, 72. FCollombet, hist. de S. Jér., Par. 1844 II. OZöckler, Hieron.; sein Leben u. Wirken aus s. Schriften, Gotha 1865. AmThierry, S. Jérôme, la société chrétienne à Rome etc., Par. 1867 II. AEbert, Lit. d. MAlt. $1^2$, 184.— CPaucker, Beitr. z. Latinität des Hier., ZföG. 31, 881; RhM. 37, 556; de latinitate Hieronymi, obss. ad nomin. et verbb. usum, Berl. 1880. HGoelzer, étude lexicogr. et gramm. de la latinité de S. Jérôme, Par. 1884.

2. Hieron. v. ill. 135 *usque in praesentem annum* (a. 392) . . . *haec scripsi: Vitam Pauli monachi. Epistolarum ad diversos librum unum. Ad Heliodorum exhortatoriam. Altercationem Luciferiani et orthodoxi. Chronicon omnimodae historiae. In Hieremiam et in Ezechiel homilias Origenis XXVIII, quas de graeco in latinum verti. De Seraphim, de Osanna et de frugi et luxurioso filiis. De tribus quaestionibus legis veteris. Homilias in cantica canticorum duas. Adversus Helvidium de virginitate Mariae perpetua. Ad Eustochium de virginitate servanda. Ad Marcellam epistolarum librum I. Consolatoriam de morte filiae* (Blaesilla) *ad Paulam. In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas commentariorum libros III. Item in ep. ad Ephes. libros III. In ep. ad. Tit. librum I. In ep. ad Philem. librum I. In Ecclesiasten commentarios. Quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim librum I. De locis librum I. Hebraicorum nominum librum I. De spiritu sancto Didymi, quem in latinum transtuli, librum I. In Lucam homilias XXXIX* (a translation of homilies by Origen). *In psalmos X-XVI tractatus VII* (not extant, the breviarium in psalmos is not by Hieronymus; cf. on this subject Paucker, de latinitate Hieron. 18). *Malchi, captivi monachi, vitam et beati Hilarionis* (see on this WIsrael, Z.f. wissensch. Theol. 23, 129). *Novum testamentum graecae fidei reddidi* (the four Gospels *codicum graecorum emendata collatione, sed veterum,* according to the praef. to Damasus), *vetus iuxta hebraicam transtuli* (begun a. 390, finished only a. 405; cf. n. 6). *Epistolarum autem ad Paulam et Eustochium, quia quotidie scribuntur, incertus est numerus. Scripsi praeterea in Michaeam explanationum libros II, in Sophoniam librum I, in Nahum librum I, in Habacuc libros II, in Aggaeum librum I, multaque alia de opere prophetali quae nunc habeo in manibus et necdum expleta sunt* (there is extant a commentary on the 4 greater and 12 minor prophets; the one on Jeremiah is unfinished, see below). From the manifest absence of any arrangement according to the subject-matter and from Hieronymus' general manner we may infer that this list follows in the main the chronological order. Cf. comm. in Ionam, praef. *triennium circiter fluxit postquam quinque prophetas interpretatus sum, Michaeam, Nahum, Abacuc, Sophoniam et Aggaeum, et alio opere detentus non potui implere quod coeperam. scripsi enim librum de illustribus viris et adversum Iovinianum duo volumina, Apologeticum quoque et De optimo genere interpretandi ad Pammachium et Ad Nepotianum vel De Nepotiano duos libros* (a letter of condolence, cf. § 184, 4, 1, Zöckler 216), *et alia quae enumerare longum est.* Among the extant works of H. (besides longer letters) we may assign to a later date: Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum (Zöckler 248. 400), Adversus Rufinum libri III (Zöckler 241. 250. 407), Regula S. Pachomii, Contra Vigilantium (Zöckler 303. 418), Dialogorum contra Pelagianos

libri III (Zöckler 310. 420), Commentariorum in Mathaeum libri IV, Commentarius in Danielem, Commentarii in Iesaiam and in Ieremiam and others (Zöckler 291). On the question of the genuineness of the two letters ad amicum aegrotum see CPaucker, ZföG. 31, 891.

3. Complete editions by DErasmus (Bas. 1516, last ed. Bas. 1565 IX), M Victorius of Rieti (Rome 1566 IX; Antv. 1578 sq.), the Benedictine monks (studio et labore IMartianay et APouget, Paris 1693–1706 V) and especially by DVallarsi (Veron. 1734–42 XI; Ven. 1766–72; on Vallarsi's text see AReifferscheid, bibl. patr. 1, 66. 90. 278). A reprint of the second Vallarsi edition in Migne XXII–XXX (Par. 1845).

4. The influence of his rhetorical training is shown in his fondness for effective descriptions and in his tendency to exaggeration and word-catching. His excessive vanity and sensitiveness made him far from nice in his selection of offensive and defensive weapons. After many years he still remembers a mistake with which he had been taunted by a contemporary ep. 112, 22 *nisi forte, ut ante annos plurimos 'cucurbita'* (Hieron. had wrongly translated John 4, 6 by *hedera* instead of *cucurbita*) *venit in medium asserente illius temporis Cornelio et Asinio Pollione* (he plays on the words *cornu* [cf. 'horndumm'] and *asinus;* cf. comment. in Ionam 4 *quidam canthelius de antiquissimo genere Corneliorum sive . . . de stirpe Asinii Pollionis*). We also find such courtesies as when he calls one of his opponents *Plautinae familae columen* (cf. Paul. Festi p. 231 (Müller) *Plauti appellantur canes* etc. and Plaut. Cas. prol. 32; GGoetz, RhM. 34, 497) and several other examples. Among profane writers his favourites were Cicero and Vergil, then Horace (MHertz, anall. Horat. 4, 21), Terence, Lucan, Persius, Sallust, Suetonius and Quintilian. He was not very familiar with Greek literature (ELübeck, Hier. quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit, Lps. 1872). Zöckler l.l. 323. Next to the rhetorical character of his works we are chiefly struck by their ascetic tendency.

5. The knowledge of Hebrew which H. obtained with the help of Rabbis by way of penance (Zöckler 56. 154. cf. ib. 171. 179. 344) is very faulty. Gross mistakes in relation to Hebrew accidence and syntax are of frequent occurrence. His work is however of great importance for the elucidation of the Old Testament. His commentaries on the Biblical books, although hastily compiled, are rich mines of valuable material (Zöckler l.l. 368). MRahmer, die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des H., I Bresl. 1861. WNowack, Bedeutung des Hier. für die alttestam. Textkritik, Gött. 1875. GHoberg, de Hieronymi ratione interpretandi, Bonn 1886.—Hieronymi quaestt. hebraicae in libro Geneseos e recogn. Pde Lagarde, Lps. 1868. The treatises Interpretationes hebr. nominum and De situ et nominibus locorum hebr. in PdeLagarde's Onomastica sacra, Gött. 1870.

6. H.'s translation of the Bible (cf. n. 2 middle), undertaken at the instance of Pope Damasus (§ 422, 1), is in its way a masterpiece. First (a. 383) Hieronymus produced a revision of the Itala translation of the four Gospels and the Psalms (psalterium vetus). Next he commenced a revision of the Latin Old Testament with a collation of the LXX; of this work there is extant the second version of the psalter (psalterium Gallicanum) and the version of Job (PdeLagarde, Mitteil. 2, 189). Then at the cost of years of labour (a. 390–405) Hier. made from the Hebrew original a new translation of all the protocanonical books of the Old Testament, and also among the deuterocanonical the books of Tobias and Judith and the deuterocanonical parts of Daniel and Esther. This translation superseded the earlier ones (§ 373, 9), and is itself the foundation of the Vulgate as still

used in the Catholic Church. The latter (finally settled a. 1592, a new reprint of the authorised text by VERCELLONE, Rome 1861 and elsewhere, e.g. Lpz. Tauchn. 1887) gives the whole of the protocanonical books of the O.T., with the exception of the Psalms, and likewise the deuterocanonical pieces translated by Hieronymus in his translation; also the books of Baruch with the epistle of Jeremiah, the book of Wisdom, Jesus Sirach (=Ecclesiasticus), the two books of the Maccabees in the so-called Itala (§ 373, 9); lastly the New Testament and the Psalms in the Itala as revised by Hieronymus, the Psalms being according to the second version (l. 5). Principal manuscript of Hieronymus' translation Florence s. VIII (Amiatinus); this was presented to the Pope a. 716 by Ceolfried abbot of Yarrow (BAEDA 114, 127 Migne); specimen of the writing in ZANGEM.-WATTENB. Ex. codd. latt. t. 35 and Palaeograph. Society 65. 66; cf. JBDEROSSI, im omaggio giubilare della bibliot. Vaticana al Leone XIII, Rome 1888.—Principal edition for the Old Testament by THHEYSE and CTISCHENDORF (Biblia s. lat. V. T. Hieronymo interprete etc. Lpz. 1873), for the New by TISCHENDORF (Lps. 1850). Liber psalmorum hebr. et lat., ab Hier. ex hebr. conversus, ed. CTISCHENDORF, SBAER, FDELITZSCH, Lps. 1874. Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi e recogn. PDELAGARDE, Lps. 1874. Codex Fuldensis. Test. Novum. Latine interprete Hieronymo ex mscripto Victoris Capuani (§ 477, 11) ed. ERANKE, Marb. 1868 (a specimen of the writing of this MS. also in ZANGEMEISTER-WATTENBACH'S Ex. codd. latt. t. 33). GRIEGLER, krit. Gesch. der Vulgata, Sulzbach 1820. LVANESS, Gesch. der Vulg., Tüb. 1824. FKAULEN, Gesch. der Vulg., Mayence 1868; Handb. d. Vulg., eine system. Zusammenstellung ihres lat. Sprachcharakters, Mayence 1870; Einl. in d. h. Schr., Freib. 1876, 108. IAHAGEN, Sprachl. Erörterungen zur Vulgata, Freib. 1863. IBHEISS, Beitr. z. Gramm. der Vulg., Munich 1864. VLOCH, Materialien z. Gramm. der Vulg., Bamb. 1870. PHTHIELMANN, die Benutzung der Vulgata zu sprachl. Untersuch., Phil. 42, 319; Beitr. z. Textkritik der Vulg., besonders des B. Judith, Speier 1883; Arch. f. Lexikogr. 1, 68.

7. The letters, some of which are large enough to be called small books (e.g. ep. 22 ad Eustochium de conservanda virginitate), have been divided into five classes according to their chronological order by Vallarsi. Cf. 1, XXXVI. ep. 85, 1 (p. 533 Vall.): *uno ad occidentem navigandi tempore tantae a me simul epistolae flagitantur ut si cuncta ad singulos velim rescribere occurrere nequeam. unde accidit ut omissa compositione verborum et scribentium sollicitudine dictem quidquid in buccam venerit.* SCHUBACH, über die Briefe des h. Hier., Coblenz 1855. On the correspondence between Hier. and Augustine see JAMÖHLER, ges. Schrr. 1, 1. EBERT (n. 1) 192.

8. The translation of the chronological tables in the Chronicle of Eusebios (cf. ZÖCKLER l.l. 84, 383) is dedicated *Vincentio et Gallieno.* The preface dwells on the difficulty common to all translations: *et ad communem difficultatem . . . hoc nobis proprium accedat quod historia multiplex est, habens in se barbara nomina, res incognitas Latinis, numeros inextricabiles, virgulas rebus pariter ac numeris intertextas* (p. 2 Sch.) . . . (p. 3) *Graecorum fidem suo auctori adsignent et quae nova inseruimus de aliis probatissimis viris libata cognoscant. sciendum etenim est me et interpretis et scriptoris ex parte officio usum, quia et graeca fidelissime expressi et nonnulla quae mihi intermissa videbantur adieci, in romana maxime historia, quam Eusebius huius conditor libri . . . perstrinxisse mihi videbatur. itaque a Nino et Abraham usque ad Troiae captivitatem pura graeca translatio est. a Troia autem usque ad XX Constantini annum nunc addita nunc mixta sunt plurima quae de Tranquillo et ceteris inlustribus in historicis curiosissime excerpsi. a Constantini autem supra dicto anno* (a. 325) *usque ad consulatum Augg. Valentis sexies et Valentiniani iterum* (a. 378) *totum meum est. quo fine contentus reliquum temporis Gratiani et*

*Theodosii latioris historiae stilo reservavi, . . . quoniam dibacchantibus adhuc in terra nostra barbaris incerta sunt omnia.* In agreement with this we read after Ol. 276, 2=a. Abr. 2342 (a. 326): *huc usque historiam scripsit Eusebius Pamphili martyris contubernalis. cui nos ista subiecimus.* Eusebios began with the first year of Abraham. KFHermann, de scriptor. illustr. quorum tempora Hieronymus ad Eus. chron. adnotavit, Gött. 1848. AvGutschmid, de temporum notis quibus Eusebius utitur in chronicis canonibus, Kiel 1868. Ebert, LdMA. 1², 207.

9. The work by Eusebios (in 2 books: I χρονογραφία, II χρονικοὶ κανόνες) is lost. Numerous fragments however of the Greek text occur in the Byzantine chronographers, especially in Synkellos and others (see Schöne's Eus. 1, xii). The Armenian translation is of special importance for the restoration of the text, and two Syrian abridgments are also extant. Hieronymus translated only the second book, the κανόνες.—Manuscripts: Oxoniensis s. VI (the earliest, see on it Mommsen, Herm. 24, 393, EGHardy, Journal of Philol. 18, 277), Valentinianus (Amandinus) s. VII, Bernensis (Bongarsianus, specimen of the writing in Zangemeister-Wattenbach, exempl. codd. latt. t. 59) s. VII, Berolin. (formerly at Middlehill) s. VIII, Leidensis (Freherianus) s. IX, Leidensis (Petavianus) s. IX/X and Vaticanus Reg. 560 (Fuxensis) s. XIII and others. All are included (also the Armenian translation and one of the Syrian versions [on the other see below l. 3 from the end] in a Latin translation, the Armenian by HPetermann, the Syrian by ERoediger) in the edition of ASchöne (Eusebi chronicorum libri duo etc. Berl. 1866. 1875 II); see also Av Gutschmid, JJ. 95, 677; lit. Centr.-Bl. 1876, 885 and Schöne himself Gött. GA. 1867, 986. 1875, 1487.—Earlier editions by APontacus (Bord. 1604), JScaliger (in the thes. temp., Leid. 1606; Amst. 1658), DVallarsi (ed. Hier. t. 8), ThRoncalli (vet. lat. scr. chronica, Patav. 1737 t. 1) and in AMai's scriptt. vett. nova coll. t. 8 (Rome 1833).—Eusebii can. epitome ex Dionysii Telmaharensis chronico (9th cent.) petita, verterunt et ill. CSiegfried et HGelzer, Lps. 1884. AvGutschmid, Unterss. üb. d. syr. Epitome der euseb. Canones, Tüb. 1886.

10. Mommsen, die Quellen der Chronik des Hier., Abh. d. sächs. Ges. d. W. 1 (1850), 669. According to Mommsen (p. 683 sq.), Hier. employed, besides the Canon and the series regum of Eusebios, the breviarium of Eutropius, breviarium Rufi, the City Chronicles, Suetonius' work de viris in litteris illustribus (§ 347, 7), which he possessed complete, a lost latina historia de origine gentis rom. (cf. chron. p. 69 Schoene: *in latina historia haec ad verba scripta repperimus* etc.; cf. above p. 351, l. 4) and a lost work on the time from Pompey's death down to the battle of Actium. In his preface H. himself calls the work an *opus tumultuarium.* His dates are not always trustworthy, as he arbitrarily placed his notes under certain years whenever his sources did not give a date, cf. e.g. above § 201, 2. 376, 1 ad fin. 397, 1. Ritschl, Parerga 609. Reifferscheid's Sueton. 365. 380. Hieron.'s Chronicle was continued by Prosper and Cassiodorus.

11. The work de viris illustribus was composed a. 392 and dedicated to the praef. praet. Dexter. Cf. Zöckler l.l. 190. 385. Preface: *hortaris, Dexter, ut Tranquillum sequens ecclesiasticos scriptores in ordinem digeram et quod ille in enumerandis gentilium litterarum viris fecit inlustribus ego in nostris faciam, i.e. ut a passione Christi usque ad XIV^um^ Theodosii Imp. annum* (392) *omnes qui de scripturis sacris memoriae aliquid prodiderunt tibi breviter exponam. . . . ego . . . magistrum memet ipsum habeo, quamquam Eusebius Pamphili in X eccles. hist. libris maximo nobis adiumento fuerit et singulorum de quibus scripturi sumus volumina aetates auctorum suorum saepe testentur.* Ebert, LdMA. 1², 204.—Manuscripts: Vaticano-Reginensis 2077 s. VII (cf. § 179, 6, 3. 432, 6), Paris. 12161 (Sangermanensis, Cor-

beiensis; palimps., original writing lex Visigothorum, see § 488, 2) s. VII, Vindob. 16 s. VIII, Veron. 22 s. VIII, Vercell. 183 s. VIII/IX and others. AReiffer-scheid, Wiener SBer. 69, 94; Herding's ed. p. III, J. Huemer, ZföG. 31, 443; EJungmann, quaestt. Gennad., Lps. 1880.—A Greek translation by Sophronios, of which some fragments are also extant in Suidas, was edited by DErasmus, lucubratt. Hieron. (Bas. 1526) 1, 265 from an *exemplar . . . vetustum.* Cf. HFlach, RhM. 36, 624; on Hesych. Mil. Onomatol. p. LXI. This Sophronios also translated other works of H. into Greek, Hier. de vir. ill. 134. The Lat. text is reprinted e.g. in Vallarsi's ed. 2, 2, 821, where we also find the Greek translation and the continuation by Gennadius (§ 469, 12). A recent (very defective) ed. of the Lat. text (with Gennadius) ex rec. GHerdingii, Lps. 1879 (cf. JHuemer l.l., EJungmann, JJ. 121, 497).

435. The literary activity of Tyrannius (Turanius) Rufinus (c. 345–410) of Aquileia was devoted almost exclusively to the production of Latin versions of the works of Greek Patristic writers, especially Origen and Eusebios. He treats his originals with great freedom, abridging and altering them, particularly from the dogmatic point of view. His translation of the so-called maxims of Sextius is of the same character. Rufinus is known chiefly by his dispute with his former friend Hieronymus. Other Christian prose-writers of this time were the grammarian Cresconius, together with Euagrius, Dexter, Anastasius, and Chromatius.

1. Gennad. vir. ill. 17 *Rufinus Aquileiensis ecclesiae presbyter non minima pars fuit doctorum ecclesiae et in transferendo de graeco in latinum elegans ingenium habuit. denique maximam partem Graecorum bibliothecae Latinis exhibuit: Basilii scilicet Caesariensis . . ., Gregorii Nazianzeni . . ., Clementis Romani recognitionum libros, Eusebii Caesariensis . . . ecclesiasticam historiam, Sexti sententias* (see on this § 266, 6), *Evagrii sententias* (see Gennad. vir. ill. 11, Hier. ep. 133, 3 p. 1029 Vall.). *interpretatus est etiam sententias Pamphili martyris adversum mathematicos* (also his apologiae pro Origene liber I) . . . *Origenis autem non omnia* (esp. his treatise περὶ ἀρχῶν, cf. also Ap. Sid. 2, 9), *quia et Hieronymus transtulit aliquanta. . . . exposuit idem Rufinus symbolum. . . . disseruit et benedictionem Iacob super patriarchas triplici, i.e. historico, morali et mystico, sensu. scripsit et epistolas ad timorem dei hortatorias multas, inter quas praeminent illae quas ad Probam dedit. Historiae etiam ecclesiasticae* (of Eusebios, whose 10 books he condensed into 9). . . . *addidit X et XI^um^ librum* (for a. 324–395, ed. PThCacciari, Rome 1740 II, cf. Kimmel, de Rufino Eusebii interprete, Gera 1838). *sed et obtrectatori opusculorum suorum respondit duobus voluminibus* (i.e. Apologiae in Hieronymum libri II, also Apologia altera ad Anastasium papam), *arguens et convincens de dei intuitu et ecclesiae utilitate . . . ingenium agitasse, illum vero aemulationis stimulo incitatum ob obloquendum stilum vertisse.* He also published the so-called vitae patrum (also called historia eremetica, hist. monachorum, ed. HRosweyd, Antw. 1615), descriptions of the lives of Egyptian monks designed to recommend the monastic life (from the Greek). Rufinus' version of the five dialogues against the Gnostics, erroneously attributed to Origen, was edited from

a Schlettstadt MS. s. XII by CPCaspari, kirchenhistor. Anecdota I, Christiania 1883.—Also pseudo-Rufinian works, e.g. a Latin translation of Josephus' Antiqq. and of the libb. c. Apion., which was however more probably made at the instance of Cassiodorus (Muratori, antiq. ital. 3, 919); on the other hand Rufinus was probably the author of the literal translation of Ios. bell. Iud. (§ 433, 5 l. 7), printed e.g. Basle 1524 (on MSS. of this see JvDestinon, de Iosephi b. iud. recensendo, Kiel 1889). See also § 438, 3.

2. Rufini opera ad codd. emend. DVallarsi, Tom. I Veron. 1745 (unfinished) =Migne vol. XXI, Par. 1849. The translations of Ruf. are found in the editions of Origen etc., the polemical writings in those of Hieronymus. On Rufinus cf. RCeillier, hist. gén. 10, 1. JFontanini, hist. lit. Aquileiensis (Rome 1742, also in Vallarsi's and Migne's editions), FJFBMdeRubeis, dissertationes (Venet. 1754). AEbert, LdMA. 1², 322.—On the latinity of Rufinus see KPaucker, de latinit. Hier., Berl. 1880, 154.

3. Hieronymus' dispute with Rufinus related to the attitude of the latter towards Origen, to whom Ruf. adhered even after he had been pronounced a heretic. The more pronouncedly Hier. had formerly extolled Origen (cf. ep. 84), the more bitter and vehement did he become towards his old friend (cf. on his former tenderness e.g. Hier. ep. 4 p. 14 Vall.), who publicly reminded him of his changeableness. Literary jealousy also was a factor in the matter. On R.'s high position as an authority see e.g. Paulin. Nol. 28, 5 and ep. 46.

4. Gennad. vir. ill. 16 *Faustinus presbyter scripsit ad personam Flaccillae reginae* († 386) *Adversum Arianos et Macedonianos libros VII. . . . scripsit et librum quem* (together with Marcellinus presb.) *Valentiniano, Theodosio et Arcadio impp. pro defensione suorum . . . obtulit* (a. 384). Both are printed e.g. ed. Sirmond (Par. 1650), Bibl. patr. max. V, in Gallandi VIII, in Migne XIII. To him is also attributed the so-called Ambrosiaster and Ps.-Augustini quaestt. in V. et N. Test. by JLangen, de commentariorum in epp. Pauli qui Ambrosii et quaestionum bibl. quae Augustini nomine feruntur scriptore, Bonn 1880; Gesch. der röm. Kirche 1, 599. Both treatises may at least belong to the same author. Cf. § 418, 5. CMarold, d. Ambrosiaster nach Inhalt u. Ursprung, ZfwissTheol. 27, 415.—The altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio episcopo Sirmiensi, published by Caspari l.l. (n. 1) 133, written by a layman in a lively and refreshingly natural style, belongs perhaps to this period (c. a. 366).

5. On the Donatist Cresconius see Augustin. retract. 2, 26 and his 4 bb. contra Cresc. grammaticum.—On Tichonius see § 442, 2.—Euagrius, bishop of Antioch, *vitam b. Antonii de graeco Athanasii in nostrum sermonem transtulit*, Hier. vir. ill. 125.

6. Hieron. vir. ill. 132 *Dexter Paciani* (§ 422, 4) *filius . . . fertur ad me omnimodam historiam texuisse, quam necdum legi.* The work was either never finished or it has been lost. The Chronicon Dextri (a. 752–1183 u.c.), which the Spanish Jesuit Hieronymus Romanus de Higuera pretended to have found (printed e.g. Caesaraugust. 1694, in Migne XXXI), is a forgery, which was exposed by NAntonio (biblioth. hispana vetus, Rome 1696 II).

7. Two letters of Anastasius, Bishop of Rome a. 398–402, see Coustant, epist. pontiff. 4, 719 (485 Schön.). Gallandi 8, 246. Migne 20, 68. 21, 627. Another letter ad Vernerium episc. Mediolanensem was published by HNolte (in the Mainzer Katholiker 1872).—By Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia, † 406, we possess sermons on the Gospel of St. Matthew, e.g. in Gallandi 8, 333 and Migne 20, 323.

436. The most eminent Christian poet is Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (a. 348–c. 410), who far surpasses the contemporary Pagan versifiers, even the most eminent among them, Ausonius and Claudian. Prudentius likewise employs the old forms, but with him they serve to express new thoughts. The verses in praise of the Christian faith and its martyrs, of the Christian doctrine and the Christian life, are poured from his inmost soul, and these poems, born of a new spirit, teeming with fervid inspiration and imperturbable religious joy, sustained by a brilliant and picturesque style, are at least equal in strictness of technique to those of the contemporary Pagan poets (with the exception of Claudian), and they serve to show to whom belongs the palm in the great intellectual conflict. They are indeed in great part disfigured by tortuous allegory and mysticism, by lack of restraint and by asceticism, and Prudentius altogether is wanting in simplicity and naturalness, as he addressed his poems not to the people but to the cultivated class of his time, who were sufficiently accustomed to artificiality and false ornament. His best performance is his work on martyrdoms (peri stephanon), the descriptions of which are strong and animated, often indeed graphic to excess.

1. Gennad. vir. ill. 13 *Prudentius, vir saeculari litteratura eruditus, composuit* διττοχαῖον (*troc(h)eum, ditrocheum* in the MSS.) *de toto vetere et novo testamento personis excerptis. commentatus est in morem Graecorum hexaemeron de mundi fabrica* (not extant). . . . *fecit et in laudem martyrum sub aliquorum nominibus invitatorium ad martyrium librum unum et hymnorum alterum.* His complete name Aurelius Prudentius Clemens is given e.g. by the cod. Puteaneus (n. 5). He was born *Salia cos.* (praef. 24)= a. 348, in Hispania Tarraconensis (peristeph. 6, 146. 2, 537), his native place or his later residence was probably Saragossa (Caesaraugusta; cf. Sixt. l.l. 3). On his life see praef. 7 *docuit toga* (*virilis*) *infectum vitiis falsa loqui* (in a rhetorical school). (13) . . . *exin iurgia turbidos armarunt animos* (advocate). . . . (16) *bis legum moderamine frenos nobilium reximus urbium* (as governor of a province), *ius civile bonis reddidimus, terruimus reos. tandem militiae* (some office at Court) *gradu evectum pietas principis* (Theodosius) *extulit, adsumptum propius stare iubens ordine proximo* (the first rank). He travelled to Rome shortly before the publication of his poems: peristeph. 9. 11. 12. In his 57th year (praef. 1)=a. 404 he published the collection of his poems.

2. Praef. 34 *fine sub ultimo peccatrix anima stultitiam exuat, saltem voce deum concelebret, si meritis nequit: hymnis continuet dies, nec nox ulla vacet quin dominum canat, pugnet contra hĕreses, cătholicam discutiat fidem, conculcet sacra gentium, labem, Roma, tuis inferat idŏlis, carmen martyribus devoveat, laudet apostolos.* If the order of composition be observed here, the succession would be: Cathemerina, Hamartigenia, Apotheosis, Psychomachia, Contra Symmachum libri II, Peri stephanon, Dittochaeon. His titles are almost exclusively Greek. Cf. Ebert, LdMA. $1^2$, 251.

3. The poems divide, in respect of their external form, into lyrical and hexametrical. As regards their contents, the lyrical poems are very frequently didactic or descriptive. To the lyrical belong the cathemerina and peri stephanon composed in strophes: a) *Καθημερινῶν* liber contains 12 hymns in 9 different metres (iamb., troch., dact., anap., asclep., sapph., phalaec.) and treats of the course of a day and of a life in the Christian sense. These hymns are far more copious than those of Ambrose, which were intended for practical use. In the cathemer. and peristeph. Prud. follows chiefly Horace. HBREIDT, de Prud. Horatii imitatore, Heidelb. 1887.—b) *Περὶ στεφάνων* liber, in praise of Christian martyrs of Spain and Italy (Rome). 14 poems, of which 7 fall before, 7 after or during the author's journey to Rome (n. 1 ad fin.) (SIXT. l.l. 27), in the most varied metres (iamb., troch., dactyl., phalaec., all of these being also used strophically; sapph., alcaic hendec., glycon., archiloch., in the eleg. dist., in the metre of HOR. od. 1, 4; in that of epod. 16).—Didactic and entirely composed in hexameters: c) *Ἁμαρτιγένεια*. After an introduction concerning Cain and Abel (trim. iamb.), the poet discusses the origin of sin (after Tertullian), principally as opposed to the dualistic views of the Gnostics and of Markion (praef. 36; v. 56. 124. 502).— d) *Ἀποθέωσις*, a versified statement of the doctrine of the Trinity with incidental attacks on the leading heresies, also principally after Tertullian. This is preceded by a twofold introduction in hexameters and in the metre of Hor. epod. 1–10.—e) *Ψυχομαχία*, in which Vergil is largely utilised. The contest for the soul of man is waged by Christian virtues and Pagan vices, by Ira, Patientia, Superbia, Sobrietas, Avaritia, Virtus, Spes, Fides, Ratio and so forth. There are a few glosses on this in the Vatic. Reg. 339 (JMSTOWASSER, Wien. Studd. 7, 343). Prudentius derived the idea for this most far-fetched but also most influential of his poems from TERTULLIAN de spect. 29. PUECH l.l.— f) Contra Symmachum libri II. On the subject and the writer's precursors see § 425, 9. The first book (introduction in asclep. min.) attacks the Pagan creed generally, the second (praef. in glycon.) particular assertions of Symmachus. VBOTH, Prud. Schrift gegen Symm., Rastatt 1882.— g) Dittochaeon (from *διττός* and *ὀχή*, double food, that is from the Old and New Testament, 24 hexametrical four-line stanzas from the former, 25 from the latter), reaching down from Adam and Eve to the Apocalypse, as legends for sacred pictures; cf. § 468, 1. 474, 2.

4. The violations of prosody, caused by rhythmical influences, are rarely so close together in Prudentius as praef. 39 sqq. (above n. 2). A collection of them in DRESSEL's ed. p. XVII sq. not. 54. Archaisms like *aquai* and *venarier* are introduced to suit the metre, but are not very frequent.—AEKANTECKI, de Prud. genere dicendi, Münster 1874.—FKRENKEL, epilegom. ad poett. lat. poster. I: de Prudentii re metr., Königsb. 1884.

5. There are numerous manuscripts of Prud.; the oldest and most important is Paris. 8084 s. V in capitals (Puteaneus; URobert, mél. Graux, Par. 1884, 405). A specimen of the writing in ZANGEMEISTER-WATTENBACH, exempla codd. latt. t. 15. In this MS. occurs the beginning of a subscriptio by the same Vettius Agorius Basilius (Mavortius, the consul of a. 527), whom we know from the MSS. of Horace (§ 240, 6. 477, 3); cf. LDELISLE, Berl. MBer. 1867, 526. PKRÜGER, Herm. 4, 352. A list of the Ital. MSS. in DRESSEL p. XLVI.—Editions (see DRESSEL p. XXV) by VGISELIN (Antv. 1564 and frequently), JWEITZ (Hanau 1613), NHEINSIUS (Amstel. 1667), CHRCELLARIUS (Halle 1703), FAREVALUS (Rome 1788 sq. II), THOBBARIUS (rec. et expl., Tüb. 1845), MIGNE (LIX und LX), ADRESSEL (ad. vatic. all. codd. fid. rec., ill., expl., Lps. 1860).—HMIDDELDORPF, de Prudentio et theol. Prudentiana, Berl. 1823. 1827=Ilgen's Z. f. hist. Theol. 2, 127. FDELA-

VIGNE, de lyrica apud Prud. poesi, Toulouse 1848. EFAGUET, de Prud. carmm. lyricis, Par. 1883. GSIXT, d. lyr. Gedd. d. Prud., Stuttg. 1889. JBBRYS, de vita et scrr. Prud., Löwen 1855. CGSCHMIDT, Z. f. luth. Theologie, vol. 27 (1866), 620. JKAYSER, Beitr. z. Gesch. u. Erkl. d. Kirchenhymnen 2 (1868), 190. CLBROCKHAUS, Aurel. Prud. Cl. in seiner Bedeutung für die Kirche seiner Zeit, Lpz. 1872. AEBERT, LdMA. 1², 251. APUECH, Prudence; étude sur la poésie chrétienne au IV siècle, Par. 1888. ARÖSLER, der katholische Dichter Prudentius, Freib. 1886. JSCHMITZ, d. Gedichte des Prudentius u. ihre Entstehungszeit, Aachen 1889.

6. Carmen adv. paganos. In the Puteaneus of Prudentius (see n. 5, a copy of it by Salmasius, Paris. 17904 is not without importance) there is also found a Christian poem of 122 hexameters dating from a. 394 or 395, in which amid many violations of prosody (cf. v. 41 *dăret*, 44 *collăribus subito membrā circumdare suetus*, 49 *dicerĕtque esse deum*, 73 *quaterē*, [82 *facerē*], 121 *hydrŏpem*) with allusions to recent events (Flavianus, § 428, 1 ad fin.), Paganism is scornfully decried. LDELISLE, bibl. de l'école d. chartes 6, 3, 297. CHMOREL, rev. archéol. 1868 1, 453. 2, 44. AL. 4. PLM. 3, 286. JBROSSI, bull. di arch. crist. 1868, 49. 61. MOMMSEN, Herm. 4, 350 (*carmen non minus pium et christianum quam ineptum et barbarum*). EBERT, LdMA. 1², 313. JMÄHLY, ZföG. 22, 584. EBÄHRENS, RhM. 32, 211. KSCHENKL, Wiener Studd. 1, 72. GDOBBELSTEIN, de carmine christiano cod. Par. 8084, Löwen 1879.—Criticism: HUSENER, anecdotum Holderi 36. EMÜLLENBACH in the Tirocin. sem. phil. Bonn (1883) 98. WFRÖHNER, Phil. Suppl. 5, 67.

7. A polemical didactic poem, Adversus Marcionitas libri V, belonging to about this period and by an unknown author, was edited from a MS. which has now disappeared by GFABRICIUS, poett. vett. eccles. (Bas. 1564) 258: last in OEHLER's ed. of Tertullian 2. According to EHÜCKSTÄDT (das Gedicht Adv. Marcionem, Lpz. 1875) it was written about a. 362–363, by C. Marius Victorinus (§ 408); against this, however, see GKOFFMANE, de Mar. Victorino (Bresl. 1880) 35. AOXE, prolegg. de carm. adv. Marcionitas, Lpz. 1888. AHILGENFELD, ZfwissTheol. 1876 1, 154.—On the polemical poem Ad senatorem and on the de pascha (de cruce) see § 21, 2 l. 11. 408, 8. EBERT l.l. 314.—On Severus Sanctus Endelechius see § 448, 1 and 2.

437. Meropius Pontius Anicius Paulinus of Burdigala (a. 353–431), a pupil of Ausonius, wrote both in verse and prose. Having received a careful rhetorical training, he composed a panegyric on Theodosius after his victory over Eugenius. We possess by him letters and a number of poems in epic and melic metres. About a. 390 Paulinus became a convert to Christianity and henceforth devoted his pen to the glorification of his faith; after he had become bishop of Nola a. 409, he wrote in praise of the martyr Felix, who was venerated there. Moral earnestness, fervent charity, technical skill and taste and a comprehensive acquaintance with secular literature appear very conspicuously in his poems.

1. GENNAD. vir. ill. 48 *Paulinus, Nolae Campaniae episcopus, composuit versu brevia* (?), *sed multa, et ad Celsum quendam* (see n. 4 in fin.) *epitaphii vice consolatorium libellum super morte christiani et baptizati infantis, spe christiani munitum;*

*et ad Severum* (n. 2 in fin.) *plures epistolas, et ad Theodosium imp. ante episcopatum prosa panegyricum super victoria tyrannorum, eo maxime quod fide et oratione plus quam armis vicerit* (cf. HIERON. ep. 58, 8. PAULIN. epist. 28, 6 *ut in Theodosio non tam imperatorem quam Christi servum . . . praedicarem*). *fecit et sacramentarium et hymnarium. ad sororem quoque epistolas multas de contemptu mundi dedit. edidit et ex diversis causis diversa disputatione tractatus, praecipuum tamen omnium eius opusculorum est liber de poenitentia et laude generali omnium martyrum. claruit temporibus Honorii et Valentiniani non solum eruditione et sanctitate vitae sed et potentia adversum daemones.* Cos. (suff.) before Ausonius (AUS. ep. 20), a. 378? Extensive prolegomena by MURATORI in Migne 61, 16 and the data concerning P. ib. 125. ARABANIS, St. P. de Nole, Bord. 1840. SOUIRY, St. P., études sur sa vie et ses écrits, Par. 1852 II. ABUSE, Paulinus v. Nola u. s. Zeit, Regensb. 1856 II. GFABRE, étude sur P. de Nole, Strassb. 1862. FLAGRANGE, hist. de S. Paulin de Nole, Par.² 1882 II. AEBERT, LdMA. 1², 293.

2. AUSONIUS epist. 23, 33 *ego sum tuus altor et ille praeceptor primus, veterum largitor honorum, primus in Aonidum qui te collegia duxi.* Then follows Paulinus' answer *tibi disciplinas, dignitatem, litteras, linguae, togae, famae decus, provectus, altus, institutus debeo, patrone, praeceptor, pater.* On the correspondence of Ausonius and Paulinus see § 421, 2 m. APUECH, de Paul. et Aus. epp. commercio, Par. 1887. Aus. also dedicated to P. a recension of his Technopaegnion, see § 421, 2 k. AUGUSTIN. de civ. dei 1, 10 *Paulinus noster, Nolensis episcopus, ex opulentissimo divite voluntate pauperrimus* (he gave his riches to the poor, see SULPIC. v. Mart. 25, 4). He corresponded with Hieronymus, Augustine and Sulpicius Severus. Cf. § 441, 1. § 448, 1. 3. Altogether we have about 50 letters by P., which are mostly written in a bombastic style and full of Biblical expressions, and are far inferior to his poems. A newly discovered letter from Monac. 6299 s. VIII/IX is given by OBARDENHEWER, Katholik 57, 493.

3. Manuscripts: Bobiensis s. VII in Milan, Palatino-Vatic. 235 s. VIII, Petropolit. German. 613 s. VIII/IX, Paris. 13026, 2122, 7558, 1154 all s. IX, Ambros. c 74 s. IX/X, Monac. 6412 s. X, SGallens. 573 s. X etc.; ECHATELAIN, notice sur les manuscrits de Paulin de Nole, Par. 1880 (Bibl. des écoles franc. d'Ath. et de Rome, fascic. 14). KHALM and AREIFFERSCHEID, Wien. SBer. 50, 155. 56, 546. 67, 531.— Editions by HROSWEYD (Antv. 1622), PFCHIFFLET (Dijon 1662), JBLEBRUN DES MARETTES (Par. 1685 II), LAMURATORI (Veron. 1736, first complete edition), in the bibl. patr. max. b. 6, MIGNE b. 61 (Par. 1847). Poem 36 (cf. n. 4 l. 8) also in Gersdorf's Bibl. patrum eccles. vol. 13 (Lpz. 1847), 121 by FOEHLER.

4. Of the extant 36 poems of P. we possess from his Pagan period jocular poetical epistles to Gestidius (1. 2), and a fragment de regibus after Suetonius (3). The larger half of the Christian poems is devoted to Felix (c. 12–14. 18; 19; 20; 21; 23, 26–34, partly in fragments), c. 6 treats of John the Baptist: others are prayers (4 sq.), paraphrases of psalms (e.g. 7 *beatus ille qui procul vitam suam ab impiorum segregarit coetibus*), or polemical and apologetic in their contents (c. 36: *discussi, fateor, sectas, Antonius, omnes, Plurima quaesivi, per singula quaeque cucurri, Sed nihil inveni melius quam credere Christo*). Cf. EBERT l.l. 1², 307. This last poem (36) is mentioned by AUGUSTINE ep. 34 to Paulinus *adversus paganos te scribere didici ex fratribus.* It is important for mythology and antiquities connected with ritual; see on this CBURSIAN, SBer. d. Münch. Ak. 1880 1, 1.—In his melic metres P. imitates Horace, principally that poet's sapphic stanzas and his Epodes (HOR. epod. 1–10), the first especially in c. 17 addressed to bishop Nicetas in Dacia, the latter in c. 24 addressed to Cytherius. In elegiac metre the epithalamium Iuliani

et Iae c. 25, and c. 35 on the death of the young Celsus. Cf. n. 1. In addition to Horace P. makes use chiefly of Vergil; on this and on metrical characteristics see AZingerle, zu späteren lat. Dicht. 2 (Innsbr. 1878), 47. Criticism: (esp. on poems 21 and 36) JZechmeister, Wiener Studd. 1, 98. 314. 2, 113. 306.

5. Paulinus corresponded with Victricius episcopus Rotomagensis. There is extant by him a tractatus de laude sanctorum (Migne XX). On his diction KPaucker, ZföG. 32, 481.

438. The Lex dei, a comparison of the Mosaic and Roman law concerning the commonest transgressions (hence also called Collatio legum mosaicarum et romanarum), appears to be by a theologian who wrote in the reign of Theodosius. The work endeavours to trace the agreement of the two laws and to prove the Mosaic law to be in the main the foundation of the Roman law.

1. Title in the MSS.: *Lex dei quam deus praecepit ad Moysen.* In the separate (16) titles the Mosaic law is always put first (*Moyses dicit; scriptura divina dicit*), in a translation which is neither by Hieronymus nor by Sulpicius Severus and does not even closely follow the LXX. Then follows the Roman law extracted from the principal works of Gaius, Papinian, Ulpian, Paulus and Modestinus, and Imperial Constitutions from the Codex Gregorianus and Hermogenianus together with some laws of more recent origin. The latest law quoted is one by Theodosius of a. 320 (see n. 2).

2. For the tendency of the work. 7, 1 *quodsi XII tabulae . . . iubent, scitote iurisconsulti quia Moyses prius hoc statuit, sicut lectio manifestat.* Cf. 6, 7 *maledicti sunt omnes incesti per legem, cum adhuc rudibus populis ex divino nutu condita iisdem adstipulantibus sanciretur. et utique omnes malefici puniti sunt quos divina et humana sententia consona voce damnavit.* 14, 3, 6 *sciendum tamen est ex novellis constitutionibus . . . plagiatores . . . puniendos, quamvis et Paulus* etc. 5, 2 *hoc quidem* (the opinion of Paulus sent. II) *iuris est; mentem tamen legis Moysis Imp. Theodosii constitutio* (a. 390) *ad plenum secuta cognoscitur.* These specimens of the diction might lead us to think that the author was of Greek descent.

3. As the author knows only the codex Gregorianus and Hermogenianus, and not the Theodosianus, and as among heretics he mentions only the Manichaeans and seems to speak of Theodosius the Great († 395) as a living person (5, 2; see n. 2), it is credible that the work was composed at the close of his reign, i.e. in the time of Ambrosius and Rufinus, though we find no traces from which to infer that either of them was the author. The passage which Rudorff, Urspr. d. coll. 276, quotes in favour of Ambrose from a Syro-Chaldaic collection of synodal decrees compiled by Ebedjesu († 1318), is no evidence for his being the author. The author must, however, have been well versed in the works of the Roman jurists and more so than was usual among theologians. He may, therefore, originally have been an official. That the work was composed after the law of citation of a. 426 does not immediately follow because the author has voluntarily limited himself to the five jurists mentioned in it, that law merely fixing as legal a custom which had long been in existence.

4. Manuscripts: Berolin. (Pithoeanus) s. IX, Vercell. and Vindob. s. XI.— Editions: (princ.) by PPithoeus, Par. 1573. FBlume (Bonn 1833=Bonner Corp.

iur. anteiust. 1, 389), and EHuschke (iurispr. anteiust.[5] 645).—EHuschke, Alter u. Verfasser der collatio, Z. f. gesch. Rechtswiss. 13, 1; and iurispr. 1.l. AFRudorff, RGesch. 1, 284 and: Ursprung u. Bestimmung der coll., Abhh. d. Berl. Akad. von 1868, 265. HEDirksen, Schrr. 2, 100. CLachmann, kl. Schr. 2, 215. 241. PKrüger, Quellen u. Lit. d. r. Rechts 302. MIhm, studd. ambros. 68.

### 3. THE FOURTH TO THE FIFTH CENTURY.

439. At the close of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century we have a few writers, among whom Claudian is the most important Pagan and St. Augustine the most prominent Christian author. Though belonging by birth to the Grecised East, Claudius Claudianus wrote principally in Latin, and had studied the poets of the classical age so profoundly that he handles their diction and metres with perfect mastery. Claudian, whose command of poetic form entitles him to rank in the rearguard of the best school, reminds us of Statius likewise in his command of phraseology and his flattery of the great, but far surpasses him in depth, in fertility and wealth of imagination and in his varied range of topics. He generally derived his subjects from the immediate present and, in contrast to the metrical tours de force of Ausonius and his fellows, he adopts a higher strain by preference, whether he is eulogising exalted patrons like Stilicho and Honorius, or inveighing against common adversaries (Rufinus and Eutropius). He bestowed the dignity of the epic style upon mere occasional pieces. His works contain much that is historically interesting, though this information must be largely discounted on the score of poetical exaggeration and the poet's personal connection with the actors. The mastery of Claudian in description appears very brilliantly in the three books on the Rape of Proserpina. In his other poems he likewise proves himself to have inherited the erudition of the Alexandrine poets in mythological lore. Claudian, however, labours under the defect of using means too elaborate as compared with the insignificance of his subjects, and that of far-fetched refinement and rhetorical exaggeration in his descriptions.

1. Inscription in Naples (CIL. 6, 1710 Or. 1182 Wilm. 642) *Claudio Claudiano v. c. tribuno et notario inter ceteras (de)centes artes praegloriosissimo poctarum, licet ad memoriam sempiternam carmina ab eodem scripta sufficiant, adtamen testimonii gratia ob iudicii sui fidem dd. nn. Arcadius et Honorius* (a. 395–408) *felicissimi ac doctissimi imperatores senatu petente statuam in foro divi Traiani* (it was here that the inscription was found a. 1493) *erigi collocarique iusserunt.* Εἰν ἐνὶ Βιργιλίοιο

*νόον καὶ μοῦσαν Ὁμήρου Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥώμη καὶ Βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν.* Claudian was honoured with this statue and the rank of a patricius between a. 400–402 after the poem de Stilichonis consulatu, cf. (de bello pollent. praef.) 25. 7 *sed prior effigiem tribuit successus aenam oraque patricius nostra dicavit honos.* Laur. Lyd. de magistr. 1, 47 p. 159 (among examples illustrating some Latin military terms, such as *adorea, veteranus*) *ὧν ὁ Φροντῖνος* (§ 327, 5) *μνήμην ποιεῖται καὶ Κλαυδιανὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ Παφλάγων ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Στιλικῶνος ἐγκωμίων* (1, 384 we have *adorea*). Bücheler, RhM. 39, 282. Suid. s. v. Κλαυδιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεύς, *ἐποποιὸς νεώτερος· γέγονεν* (i.e. *ἤκμαζεν*, ERohde, RhM. 33, 167) *ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου τῶν βασιλέων.* Claud. 39, 20 *conditor hic* (Alexander M.) *patriae.* 39, 56. 43, 3 *nostro cognite Nilo.* Ap. Sidon. carm. 9, 271 *non pelusiaco satus Canopo, qui ferruginei toros mariti et Musa canit inferos superna.* According to this Claudian was a native of Asia Minor, but subsequently lived at Alexandria, which he looked upon as his second home. —Under the consulship of Probinus (a. 395) Claudian went (from Alexandria) to Rome *et Latiae cessit Graia Thalia togae* (42, 14). He was still living there in the court circle (n. 3) in a. 404 (cf. 27, 23). Later on he returned home, where by Serena's influence (n. 3 ad fin.) he won the hand of a noble lady of Alexandria (40, 47). The poems of Claud. give us no certain clue to any date subsequent to a. 404; he probably did not survive the fall of his patron Stilicho (a. 408).—Augustin. civ. dei 5, 26 *unde et poeta Claudianus, quamvis a Christi nomine alienus, in eius* (Theodosius') *tamen laudibus dixit.* Cf. Oros. 7, 35 *unus ex ipsis* (the opponents of Christianity) *poeta quidem eximius, sed paganus pervicacissimus:* he may, however, have been nominally a Christian, like e.g. Ausonius (§ 421, 4); cf. ThBirt, de fide christiana Stilichonis aetate in aula imp. occidentali, Marb. 1885, xi. Cf. n. 7. 8.

2. Manuscripts: apart from the raptus Proserp., which has been transmitted in a separate MS. version (the best MSS. of this are Laur. 24, 112s. XII/XIII, Leid. Voss. 294 s. XIII. Guelferb. Gud. 228 s. XIII/XIV), the most important MSS. of the remaining poems are the now lost Gyraldinus, known through the excerpts of LGyraldus (now at Leyden, Jeep's ed. 2 xvii) and through the so-called excerpta Lucensia (now at Florence, cf. § 307, 4), then Veron. 163 s. IX (on it see LJeep in the Begrüssungsschr. d. Thomasschule, Lpz. 1872, 43), SGall. 273 s. IX (for 37 Gigantomachia), Vatic. 2809 s. XI, Ambros. M. 9 sup. s. XIII. For poem 1 (paneg. in Olybr. et Prob.) and 6–8 (de cons. III et IV Honorii), which are wanting in most of the good MSS., the above mentioned Voss. is also of special importance. The very numerous late MSS. are worthless.—The substance and sequence of the poems vary in the different MSS., several spurious works being included as belonging to Claudian (see n. 7). The editions (since Gesner) arrange the historical poems (n. 3) chronologically, the others on various principles of classification. The subdivision of the lesser poems into epistulae, idyllia, epigrammata which has been customary since Heinsius, rests on no MS. authority (n. 6 sq. § 29, 4). On the MSS. etc. see esp. Jeep's ed. prolegg. Also the same writer in RhM. 27, 618. 28, 291. 29, 74. 30, 1; in the acta Lips. 1, 347 and elsewhere. ADegen, de Cl. cod. Vratisl., Rogasen 1870. 74 II. JPawlikowski, de Claudiani cod. Cracoviensi P, Cracoviae 1886. JKoch, de codd. Cuiacianis quibus in edendo Claudiano Claverius (1602) usus est, Marb. 1889.—In his diction and prosody Cl. shows in particular the influence of Vergil, but also that of Statius, Ovid, Lucan, and Horace; Sr Gramlewicz, quaestt. Claud., Bresl. 1877 and in Jeep's ed. 2, lx. lxxvi. FTrump, obss. ad genus dicendi Claudiani eiusque imitationem Vergilianam, Halle 1887. Are there traces of Lucilius and Juvenal in Claudian?? ThBirt; zwei politische Satiren 52. Claudian is very strict with himself, so that it is but rarely that he lets slip any forms belonging to the later period; but he could not keep quite

clear of later usages of words; CPaucker, de latinitate Claudiani, RhM. 35, 586. ThBirt, Verbalformen vom Perfectstamm bei Claudian, ArchlatLexicogr. 4, 589. Claudian again is himself largely exploited by Sidonius, Jeep's ed. 2, lvii.

3. Greater poems on historical subjects. The several books are mostly preceded by a separate praefatio. 1 (the numbers of the poems here and elsewhere follow Gesner) in consulatum Olybrii et Probini liber (beginning a. 395).—2–5 in Rufinum libri II (a. 395). The praef. (4) before b. 2 belongs to a lost poem of Claudian. Cf. LJeep, RhM. 27, 620; ed. 1, xviii. Fragments of scholia on the poem in Ruf. from a Paris. s. XII in EChatelain, rev. de phil. 8, 81. Cf. also Haverfield, Journ of philol. 17, 271.—6–7 de III consulatu Honorii Aug. liber (a. 396).—8 de IV cons. Honorii Aug. (a. 398) liber; cf. Jeep's ed. 1, xix. ECocchia, de Cl. patria et carmm. de III et IV consulatu Honorii, in his studj lat., Naples 1883, 57.—9–10 epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii et Mariae (beginning of a. 398). Berchem, de Cl. epithalamio in nupt. H. et M., Crefeld 1861.—11–14 Fescennina composed on the same occasion in alcaic, anacreontic, anapaestic and asclepiad metres.—15 de bello Fildonico, incompletely preserved, describing the preparations for the war against Gildo the Maurian prince (summer of a. 398).—16–17 de Manlii Theodori (§ 442, 3) cons. liber (a. 399).—18–20 in Eutropium libri II (after a. 399), and the so-called praefatio to b. 2. See on this poem ThBirt, zwei politische Satiren, Marb. 1888, 36.—21–22. 23–24 de consulatu Stilichonis libri III (end of a. 399 and a. 400).—25–26 de bello pollentino (getico) liber, from Stilicho's victory over Alaric near Pollentia a. 402.—27–28 de VI cons. Honorii Aug. liber (a. 404), GGötz, RhM. 31, 311.—29 laus Serenae, the niece and adopted daughter of Theodosius I and wife of Stilicho, left unfinished or at least only incompletely extant. —30–31 epithalamium dictum Palladio v. c. tribuno et notario et Celerinae; cf. Jeep's ed. 2, x.

4. In these poems on contemporary history Claudian adheres to historical truth in so far that he never invents or greatly alters facts; but he leaves his imagination full play in psychological description and conception, and poetical additions, and there his predilection or aversion fully display themselves. His real hero is the brave Stilicho; Honorius being praised merely as the possessor of the throne, without any fictitious qualities being added to him. Just as Claudian knows no bounds in his praise of Stilicho, so he openly exhibits his hatred of Rufinus (the brother of Silvia, above § 412, 8), the minister of the Eastern half of the Empire, and his contempt for his successor, the eunuch Eutropius; in both cases in the interest of Stilicho and in the most passionate tone, but without actual violation of truth. Chautard, quid ad hist. conferat Cl., Par. 1860. EVogt, de Cl. Claud. carm. quae Stiliconem praedicant fide hist., Bonn 1863; die polit. Bestrebb. Stilicho's etc. I: Einleit. u. Quellen, Cologne 1870. See also Jeep's ed. 1, lxx. GZeiss, Claudianus u. das röm. Reich von 359 bis 408, Landshut 1863. 65 II. PSchultz, de Stilichone iisque qui de eo agunt fontibus, Claudiano inprimis et Zosimo, Königsb. 1864. JHNey, vindiciae Claud. sive de Cl. fide hist., Meseritz 1865. EStöcker, de Claudiani vett. rerum romanarum scientia, Marb. 1889.

5. Greater poems on mythological subjects, 32–36 de raptu Proserpinae libri III (Jeep. IV). Statement of contents 1, 25. The subject is however not brought down to the end, but only to Ceres' resolution to seek for her lost daughter. The rest is not extant, and there are also gaps in what is preserved (this is denied by RFörster l.l. 92, who takes the whole work to be unfinished). The proems to b. 2 and 3 are not in their right place, the one in b. 2 should according to Jeep be prefixed to a poem ad Florentinum (=Stilicho??). A separate edition by LJeep,

Turin 1874. BGWalch, de Cl. c. de r. P., Gött. 1770. JSvedborg, de Claud. de r. Pr. carmine quaestt., Upsala 1860. RFörster, der Raub u. die Rückkehr d. Persephone (Stuttg. 1874) 91. LCerrato, de Claudiani fontt. in raptu Proserp., Riv. di filol. 9, Turin 1881; animadvv. crit. in Cl. rapt. Pros., Turin 1882.—Of 37 Gigantomachia 129 hexameters are extant. On a Greek Gigantomachia see n. 8.

6. Among the lesser poems it is customary to give the foremost place to five letters (39–43) to Serena (the poet's thanks to Serena for her assistance in his courtship, n. 1), to Olybrius, Probinus (n. 3), Gennadius procos., Hadrian (mag. off. 397–399, praef. praet. 400–405. 413–414, the poet's apology for having previously offended him, see below l. 8), all in elegiac metre, actual letters in simple diction (only the first and last are of a somewhat more important tone).—Then follow epigrams on personal matters, e.g. 74 an ironical apology for an unfavourable criticism on the poems of the quaestor Alethius. 80 de Theodoro et Hadriano (see above l. 5). 52 de sene Veronensi qui suburbium numquam egressus est, in tone resembling an idyl. Then poems about animals: e.g. 44 de phoenice ave, making use of the similarly-named poem of Lactantius § 397, 8. A separate edition by JGLinsén and AIngmann, Helsingf. 1838; 45 de hystrice, a description of the hedgehog. 46 de torpedine, a description of the sting-ray. Then poems about various places: e.g. 49 Aponus, on the hot sulphur springs near Patavium. 47 Nilus.—Lastly, e.g. 48 Magnes (a magnet). 50 on the statues of the brothers Amphinomus and Anapis, who rescued their parents during an eruption of Aetna (see § 307, 1 middle). Nos. 44–50 have been since NHeinsius wrongly included under the title 'eidyllia' (cf. § 29, 4).—56–62 epigrams on a glass vase containing ice. Cf. n. 8.

7. In several MSS. of Claudian we find a number of poems which do not belong to him: now given as an appendix in Jeep's ed. 2, 180. See also AL. 743 sqq. PLM. 3, 293 sqq. Amongst them e.g. the epithalamium Laurentii, see § 22, 2; de salvatore (carmen paschale, cf. however n. 1 ad fin.), laus Christi, miracula Christi, in Sirenas, laus Herculis see § 464, 2. 468, 5. 21, 3; lastly Lactantii de ave phoenice § 397, 8.—A fragment by a certain Claudianus, which is not given in the extant work of Cl., is to be found GL. 5, 589, 3.

8. It is a matter of course that Claudian as a native of Alexandria should have been thoroughly master of Greek, and he himself 42, 14 (see above n. 1) says that he composed poems in Greek before he came to Rome. Hence, when we find in the Anth. Pal. 9, 973. 754 two epigrams with the inscription Κλαυδιανοῦ, which refer to the same subject as Claudian's Latin epigrams on the glass vase with ice (56–62, see n. 6 ad fin.), it seems very obvious to attribute the Greek epigrams also to our Cl. and consequently also AP. 9, 140, in which (according to Ruhnken's convincing emendation) Stilicho is mentioned, and ib. 139 and 5, 86. It is doubtful whether the Christian pieces AP. 1, 19. 20 (Κλαυδιανοῦ) belong to our Claudian, see n. 1 ad fin., and the comment of a scholiast on the AP. l.l. οὗτος ὁ Κλαυδιανός ἐστιν ὁ γράψας τὰ πάτρια Ταρσοῦ, Ἀναζάρβου, Βηρύτου, Νικαίας. This last Claudian is perhaps identical (see also § 468, 5) with the poet Claudian (Κλαυδιανὸς καὶ Κῦρος ποιηταί) whom Euagr. h. e. 1, 19 places under Theodosius II (a. 408–450). He may also be the author of two fragments of a Greek Gigantomachia (Κλαυδιανοῦ γιγαντομαχία, edited by Iriarte, catal. codd. graec. Matrit. 1, 215, from a copy by KLaskaris, also by HKöchly, op. 1, 238. KSchenkl, Wiener SBer. 43, 39, and in Jeep 1, lxxviii), which, as well as the Christian epigrams, show both in prosody and diction a close similarity to Nonnos (ALudwich, RhM. 36, 304) but,

apart from the subject, bear no resemblance whatever to the Gigantomachia of our Claudian (n. 5 ad fin.). However, our Claudian may himself be the author of this Greek Gigantomachia: in support of this we have the subject, the personal preface resembling those which Claudian usually (n. 3) prefixes, and the fact that the author of the Greek Gigantomachia (see v. 11), also lived at Alexandria. SCHENKL and JEEP attribute all the Greek poems to the younger Claudian, whom they take to be a relation (son?) of the Latin poet. In any case it is noteworthy that Claudian and Nonnos were the last important poets of Latin and Greek literature, that they were both nearly contemporaries, both natives of Egypt, and both principally epic poets: Claudian, who occupies a peculiarly isolated position in the Latin literature of his time, should in a certain sense be regarded as a Latin off-shoot of that late Greek epic style, which was especially cultivated in Egypt.

9. Editions: ThPULMANNUS (Antw. 1571 and elsewhere), JSCALIGER (Leid. 1603; cf. JBERNAYS, RhM. 15, 163), CBARTH (Hanov. 1612, Frankf. 1650), NHEINSIUS (Leid. 1650. 1665), JMGESNER (Lpz. 1759, principal explanatory work), PBURMAN (c. nott. varr. Amst. 1760), GLKÖNIG (Gött. 1808. Vol. I). A critical edition by LJEEP, Lps. 1876. 79 II.—The poems of Cl. translated by GvWEDEKIND, Darmst. 1868.—JPARRHASII comm. in Claud., Bas. 1539. ThHERTEL, de nonnullis Cl. locis, Torgau 1848. ThGPAUL, quaestt. Claud., Glogau 1857 and Berl. 1866. RUNGER, Friedl. 1869. MBONNET, rev. de phil. 2, 176. FGUSTAFSSON, RhM. 33, 480. KPURGOLD, archäol. Bemerk. zu Claud. u. Sidonius, Gotha 1878.—ThAHODGKIN, Claudian, the last of the Roman poets, Newcastle 1875.

440. Not merely among the Patristic writers, nor only in his own time, is the African Aurelius Augustinus (a. 354–430) conspicuous for intellectual power and far-reaching influence. After a stormy youth he was during nine years an adherent of the Manichaean heresy and professor of rhetoric in Africa, at Rome and at Milan; but Ambrosius a. 386 gained him over to a deeper understanding of Christianity, and he subsequently became presbyter in his native place, Hippo, a. 392 and bishop about 395. Augustine's character combined qualities seemingly opposite: an exuberant imagination and penetrating acumen, passionate impulsiveness and affectionate tenderness, large-heartedness and intolerance, a blind belief in authority and originality of thought, zealotry where the unity of the Church was at stake, and deeply personal piety, romanticism and scholasticism, enthusiasm and sophistry, poetical along with philosophical talent, rhetorical pathos along with the grammarian's pedantry. Himself a psychological enigma and drawn into errors by his hot blood, Augustine was absorbed in the mysteries of the soul's life, and he brought back dogmatic Christianity, which the Eastern theologians had buried in sterile quibbles on theological and christological questions, to the study of man, to the observation of his inner being and the means of his redemp-

tion and sanctification. Owing to this double aspect of his nature, Augustine's writings now are devoted to introspection or absorbed in deep spiritual contemplation of the Deity, now again they expatiate in the field of doctrine and combat heterodox opinions with inexorable logic, and sometimes also with sophistical subtlety. To the first class belong his Confessions, to the second his letters, sermons, dogmatic and exegetical treatises and his polemical writings. The diction of Augustine is likewise uneven: mostly over-florid and verbose, but not infrequently logical and precise. Among his best compositions we place the 22 books on the Kingdom of God (de civitate dei), a work containing a great wealth of materials.

1. Our information concerning Augustine is chiefly derived from his Confessiones (n. 9) and Retractationes (n. 4). Vita Augustini by his pupil and friend Possidius, Bishop of Calama, about a. 432, printed in most editions of Augustine (e.g. in that of the Benedictine monks t. 10, append. t. III), separately edited by JSalinas, Naples 1731 (Augsb. 1768); in Migne's patrol. 32, 33; the indiculus (n. 4) ib. 46, 1. More recent works on A. e.g. by the Benedictines (in Migne, patrol. 32, 66), by Tillemont, mémoires t. 13 (Par. 1702), RCeillier, hist. gén. 11, 1. 12, 1. F. and PBöhringer, Augustinus, Stuttg.$^2$ 1877. 78. Poujoulat, St. Augustin, Par.$^7$ 1886 II. CBindemann, der h. Augustin, Greifsw. (Lpz.) 1854–1869 III. Flottes, St. Aug., Montpellier 1861. AEbert, LdMA. 1$^2$, 212. ADorner, A.s theol. System u. religions-philos. Anschauung, Berl. 1873. HReuter, augustinische Studien, Gotha 1887.

2. He was born 13 Nov. 354 at Tagaste. His father was the passionate Patricius, the son being chiefly influenced by his tender and pious mother Monica. *Madauris coeperam litteraturae atque oratoriae percipiendae gratia peregrinari* (conf. 2, 3, 5). He continued his studies and lived rather wildly (witness his son, Adeodatus) at Carthage, where he was converted to the Manichaean doctrine. He was then professor of rhetoric at Tagaste and Carthage (cf. 4, 7, 12. 5, 7, 13), and subsequently went to Rome (ib. 5, 8, 14), *ut docerem artem rhetoricam* (5, 12, 22). *Posteaquam missum est a Mediolano Romam ad praef. urbis ut illi civitati rhetoricae magister provideretur, . . . ego ipse ambivi, . . . ut dictione proposita me probatum praefectus tunc Symmachus* (§ 425, 2) *mitteret. et veni Mediolanum ad Ambrosium episcopum* (5, 13, 23), by whom and by his mother, who had followed him, his conversion was brought about (GBoissier, rev. d. deux mondes 1, 43). He was baptized at Easter 387, and died during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals, 28 August 430.

3. Ap. Sidon. ep. 9, 2 *Hieronymus interpres, dialecticus Augustinus.* In his philosophy A. chiefly adhered to the idealism of Plato, which he however turned into Christian theism. EFeuerlein, die Stellung Aug.s in der Kirchen- und Culturgeschichte, Sybel's histor. Zeitschr. 11, 270. JHReinkens, d. Geschichtsphilos. des Aug., Schaffh. 1866. Ferraz, la psychologie de St. Aug., Par. 1862. FAHeinichen, de Aug. anthropolog. orig., Lps. 1862. HJBestmann, qua rat. A. notiones philosophiae graecae ad dogmata anthropologica describenda adhibuerit, Erl. 1877. GLoesche, de Augustino Plotinizante, Jena 1880. JStorz, d. Philos. des Aug., Freib. 1884. Scipio, des Aug. Metaphysik, Lpz. 1886. He deliberately

descends to popular language: In psalm. 36 serm. 3, 6 *melius in barbarismo nostro vos intellegitis quam in nostra disertitudine vos deserti estis.* enarrat. psalm. 123, 8 *saepe et verba non latina dico, ut vos intellegatis.* psalm. 138, 20 *melius est reprehendant nos grammatici quam non intellegant populi.* contra Petilian. 1, 91 *graecae linguae perparum assecutus sum et proprie nihil.*

4. The vita of Possidius (n. 1) gives a sketch of the literary career of Augustine and an indiculus of his works, but what is more, Augustine himself in his two books of Retractationes (in Possidius: *de recensione librorum*), which he wrote towards the end of his life (c. 427), enumerates his works so far as published, with the exception of his sermons and letters, in chronological order, adding also remarks calculated to rectify some dogmatic flaws. The first book deals with the works published before he was chosen bishop, the second with those subsequent to his election. Cf. the preface: *iam diu est ut facere cogito . . . ut opuscula mea sive in libris sive in epistolis sive in tractatibus cum quadam iudiciaria severitate recenseam et quod me offendit velut censorio stilo denotem. . . . inveniet fortasse quomodo scribendo profecerim quisquis opuscula mea ordine quo scripta sunt legerit. quod ut possit, hoc opere quantum potero curabo ut eundem ordinem noverit.* See also epist. 224. And at the close of the work (2, 67): *haec opera XCIII in libris CCXXXIII me dictasse recolui quando haec retractavi . . .; atque ipsam eorum retractationem in libris II edidi . . . antequam epistolas ac sermones ad populum, alios dictatos, alios a me dictos, retractare coepissem.* From the list of Possidius (see above) we may add as the fruits of the last years of Augustine's life: Speculum; De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum liber (also in Oehler's corpus haeresiol. I), composed a. 428; the work remained unfinished, only the historical not the critical portion being completed. Augustine's authorities are the ἀνακεφαλαίωσις of Epiphanios and Philastrius (§ 422, 6); see LSchwabe, Herm. 19, 386. 388. There must also be mentioned the treatise against the Arian bishop Maximinus and the Pelagian Julianus, and especially De praedestinatione sanctorum and De dono perseverantiae.

5. At Carthage Augustine, about a. 380, wrote de pulchro et apto (2 or 3 bb.) *ad Hierium* (§ 426, 4) *romanae urbis oratorem* (conf. 4, 13, 20. 4, 14, 21). This youthful work is omitted in the retract., which begin with the three books contra academicos. Retract. 1, 1, *cum . . . me ad christianae vitae otium contulissem, nondum baptizatus contra academicos . . . primum scripsi* (a. 386), *ut argumenta eorum, quae . . . prohibent cuiquam rei assentiri et omnino aliquid tamquam manifestum certumque sit adprobare, . . . ab animo meo . . . amoverem.* He followed Cicero's work which bore the same title (§ 184, 7) in giving to his own work the form of a dialogue with his patron Romanianus, his son Licentius (see § 448, 3 sqq.) and another youth, Trygetius. Published in Orelli's ed. of Cic. Acad., Turic. 1827.

6. Retract., 1, 2 *librum de beata vita non post libros de acad. sed inter illos scripsi*, dedicated Manlio Theodoro (§ 442, 3), *quamvis docto et christiano viro*, (cui) *plus tribui quam deberem . . .*; simultaneously de ordine l.l. II, *in quibus magna quaestio versatur utrum omnia bona et mala divinae providentiae ordo contineat. sed . . . de ordine studendi loqui malui quo a corporalibus ad incorporalia potest profici. in his libris . . . nec illud mihi placet quod Pythagorae philosopho tantum laudis dedi* (1, 3). Then Soliloquia 2 bb. (unfinished, e.g. in Migne 32, 869; the so-called meditationes and soliloquia Augustini, e.g. in Migne 40, 864, are mediaeval) *de his rebus quas maxime scire cupiebam, me interrogans mihique respondens tamquam duo essemus, Ratio et ego, cum solus essem* (1, 4, 1). 1, 5, 1 *Mediolanum reversus scripsi librum De immortalitate animae. . . . qui ratiocinationum con-*

*tortione atque brevitate sic obscurus est ut fatiget cum legitur . . . vixque intellegatur a me ipso.* The *versus* (53 hex.) *S. Augustini de anima* of very defective construction, which RIESE AL. 489 published from Vatic. Regin. 215 s. VIII/IX and Paris. 4883 A s. XI, are a mediaeval dialectic parody on an Augustinian theme, which was easily adaptable. The first three lines of the poem occur in AUGUSTINE, civ. dei 15, 22 with the prefatory remark *quod in laude quadam Cerei breviter versibus dixi.*

7. Retr. 1, 6 *per idem tempus quo Mediolani fui, baptismum percepturus* (a. 387), *etiam Disciplinarum libros conatus sum scribere, interrogans eos qui mecum erant atque ab huiusmodi studiis non abhorrebant, . . . sed earum solum de grammatica librum absolvere potui, quem postea de armario nostro perdidi, et de musica sex volumina, quantum attinet ad eam partem quae rhythmus vocatur. sed eosdem sex libros iam baptizatus iamque ex Italia regressus in Africam scripsi* (cf. ib. 1, 11); *incohaveram quippe tantummodo istam apud Mediolanum disciplinam. de aliis vero quinque disciplinis illic similiter incohatis, de dialectica, de rhetorica, de geometrica, de arithmetica, de philosophia, sola principia remanserunt, quae tamen etiam ipsa perdidimus, sed haberi ab aliquibus existimo.* This encyclopaedic work was even in its title imitated from Varro (§ 166, 6a) and treated of the seven artes liberales. The part extant, six books de musica (cf. AUG. epist. 101), is in the form of a conversation between master and pupil: 'very wordy and superficial discussions on rhythm and metre' (WESTPHAL, griech. Metrik² 1, 129); it deviates from the general theories in assuming pauses to restore the equality of tact between unequal metrical feet, but is no doubt mainly derived from Varro. WESTPHAL l.l. and Fragmente d. griech. Rhythm. 19, with HWEIL, JJ. 85, 335. 95, 132. OHENSE, de Iuba 160. Aug. de mus. libri VI, tradotti e annotati da RCARDAMONE, Florence 1879. An early abridgment of this work is printed in MAI, collectio script. vett. 3 (Rome 1828), 116, with the additions of DURIEU, schedae Vatic. (Leid. 1860) 216. Of the portion De rhetorica we possess in the MSS. of Fortunatianus (§ 427, 5) a section of substantial value under the title of 'principia rhetorices,' this is printed e.g. in MIGNE patrol. 32, 1440, the best text in HALM's Rhett. lat. min. 137. Cicero and Hermagoras in particular are often mentioned in it. It is not in the form of question and answer. See on this AREUTER in the kirchengesch. Studd. f. HREUTER (Lpz. 1888), 321.—The Principia dialecticae, a work very creditable both in style and substance (in MIGNE 32, 1409 and especially Aug. de dialectica liber, recogn. et adn. WCRECELIUS, Elberf. 1857, cf. HHAGEN, JJ. 105, 757), itself contains a mention of Augustine as the author (c. 7 *ut cum Augustino nominato nihil aliud quam ego ipse cogitor ab ipso cui notus sum* etc.). The doubts formerly entertained as to the genuine origin of the work were founded chiefly on the deviations from Augustine's general manner (e.g. in the use of many Greek technical terms and avoidance of the form of a dialogue), which are of small importance in works based throughout on foreign models.—Of the section de grammatica two abridgments are extant, quite ordinary in substance, the first and more concise one is entitled Ars S. Augustini pro fratrum mediocritate abbreviata (edited by AMAI, nova patr. bibl. 1, 2, 165 and better by CFWEBER, Marb. 1861; some excerpts from it also GL. 5, 494), the other more detailed with the name Regulae Aurelii Augustini (printed in KEIL's GL. 5, 496; also in MIGNE 32, 1385). Besides the tradition, the allusion to matters relating to Africa which occurs in both abridgments (see GL. 5, 496, 10. 506, 22) is evidence in support of Augustine's authorship. Cf. also CASSIOD. de art. et discipl. 1 and JHUEMER, ZföG. 37, 256.—The 'Categoriae X ex Aristotele decerptae' (MIGNE 32, 1419) should probably be attributed to Praetextatus (§ 430, 1), as Aug. was remarkable neither for his knowledge of Greek nor for his admiration of Aristotle.

8. There follow De moribus ecclesiae and De moribus Manichaeorum, both against the Manichaeans (retr. 1, 7), De animae quantitate dialogus (1, 8), De libero arbitrio III (on the question *unde sit malum*), all written in Rome (a. 387), only de lib. arbitr. II and III being left to be finished at Hippo (1, 9). Here too were composed de Genesi II contra Manichaeos (1, 10), De musica ll. VI (n. 7), *quorum ipse sextus maxime innotuit* (1, 11), De utilitate credendi (1, 14), De duabus animabus (1, 15), Contra Fortunatum Manichaeorum presbyterum. The three last works were against the Manichaeans, the last being properly a disputation, *quae excepta est a notariis veluti gesta* (minutes) *conficerentur; nam et diem habet et consulem.* 1, 20 *psalmus contra partem Donati, liber unus volens etiam causam Donatistarum ad ipsius humillimi vulgi . . . notitiam pervenire . . . psalmum qui eis cantaretur per latinas litteras feci* (c. a. 393), *sed usque ad V litteram. tales autem abecedarios appellant. . . . hypopsalma etiam quod responderetur et prooemium causae . . . non sunt in ordine litterarum. ideo autem non aliquo carminis genere id fieri volui ne me necessitas metrica ad aliqua verba quae vulgo minus essent usitata compelleret. iste psalmus sic incipit 'Omnes qui gaudetis de pace modo verum iudicate', quod eius hypopsalma est.* This (MIGNE, 43, 23) is constructed quite rhythmically, with a frequent use of synaloephe and elision, mostly in half lines of 8 syllables, of which lines two combined form a long line. All the long lines (267) rhyme in short or long *e* (*ae*). Cf. EBERT, LdMA. 1², 250. MMEYER, Abhh. d. Münch. Akad. 17, 2, 284. Augustine retract. 2, 27 mentions as his first work against the Donatists the liber testimoniorum fidei contra Donatistas, first published from a MS. at Namur s. IX by JBPITRA, anall. sacra et class., Par. 1888, 147.

9. Retract. 2, 6 *confessionum mearum libri XIII . . . a primo usque ad decimum de me scripti sunt; in tribus ceteris de scripturis sanctis* (Genes. 1, 1–2, 2) *. . . multis fratribus eos multum placuisse et placere scio.* This work is written in simple unaffected language with a strong provincial tone, and is very interesting for the history of morals. The confessions are addressed to God (e.g. 4, 2 *malebam tamen, domine tu scis, bonos habere discipulos* etc. *et, deus, vidisti de longinquo lapsantem in lubrico*). The person of Christ does not appear conspicuously. EBERT l.l. 1², 219. They have often been edited separately, e.g. by ANEANDER (Berl. 1823); edited and explained on the basis of the Oxford edition (ed. PUSEY, Oxf. 1838) by KVRAUMER, Gütersloh² 1876. Translations e.g. by GRAPP (Stuttg. 1838), F MERSCHMANN (Frankf. 1866). WBORNEMANN, Gotha 1889.—AHARNACK, Augustins Confessionen, Giessen 1888.

10. Retract. 2, 43, 1 *interea Roma Gothorum irruptione* (a. 410) *. . . eversa est; cuius eversionem deorum falsorum multorumque cultores . . . in christianam religionem referre conantes solito acerbius . . . deum verum blasphemare coeperunt. unde ego . . . libros de civitate dei scribere institui. quod opus per aliquot annos me tenuit* (cf. c. d. 5, 26) *. . . tandem XXII libris est terminatum* (c. a. 426; cf. also de civ. d. 18 p. 345, *ex quo* [the consulship of Mallius Theodorus a. 399, § 442, 3] *usque ad hoc tempus per triginta ferme annos* etc.). *quorum V primi eos refellunt qui res humanas ita prosperari volunt ut ad hoc multorum deorum cultum . . . necessarium esse arbitrentur et quia prohibetur mala ista exoriri . . . contendunt. sequentes autem V adversus eos loquuntur qui fatentur haec mala nec defuisse umquam nec defutura mortalibus, . . . sed deorum cultum . . . propter vitam post mortem futuram esse utilem disputant* (cf. epist. 169, 1). *his ergo X libris duae istae vanae opiniones christianae religioni adversariae refelluntur.* (2) *sed ne quisquam nos aliena tantum redarguisse, non autem nostra asseruisse reprehenderet: id agit pars altera operis huius, quae libris XII continetur. . . . primi quattuor (XI–XIV) continent exortum duarum civitatum, quarum est una dei, altera huius mundi. secundi quattuor*

(*XV–XVIII*) *excursum earum sive procursum. tertii vero, qui et postremi* (*XIX–XXII*), *debitos fines. ita omnes XXII libri, cum sint de utraque civitate conscripti, titulum tamen a meliore acceperunt.* This Christian philosophy of history is dedicated to Marcellinus, no doubt the same who had been sent to Africa a. 410 to appease the disturbances of the Donatists and to whom other works of Augustine and epist. 128 sq. 133. 138 sq. 143 are also addressed. His chief sources are Cicero (esp. de rep.) and Varro (Antiquitates and de gente rom., perhaps also some logistorici); in matters concerning the East he avails himself of Hieronymus' version of the Chronicle of Eusebios; besides these works Plato, Sallust, Pliny the Elder and Solinus, Justinus, Julius Africanus, and Lactantius are used; among the poets Vergil is often quoted, next to him Terence, Horace, Persius, Lucan, Terentianus, Claudian and others. GKettner, varronische Studien 40. KFrick, d. Quellen Aug.'s in B. 18 de civ. d., Höxter 1886.—Principal manuscripts: Corbeiensis s. VII in Paris, Veronensis s. VI/VII, Monac. 6259. Separate editions e.g. by JLVivis (comment. illustr., Bas. 1522. 1555. 1570) and especially by BDombart (Lps.$^2$ 1887 II; cf. the same author JJ. 121, 149).—Redner, die civitas dei des h. Aug., Conitz 1856. Ebert l.l. 1$^2$, 223. GBoissier, rev. d. d. mondes 15 Jan. 1890.

11. Among the other works of St. Augustine we must notice as of special importance the dogmatic writings de doctrina christiana ll. IV (composed 397–426), de trinitate ll. XV (a. 400–416), de peccatorum meritis et remissione ll. III (c. a. 412), de gratia et libero arbitrio; de correptione et gratia; de praedestinatione sanctorum and de dono perseverantiae. In the domain of practical theology we may mention the works contra mendacium (the treatise de mendacio is not recognised by Aug. retract. 1, 27), de continentia, de patientia, de agone christiano, de bono coniugali, de nuptiis et concupiscentia, de adulterinis coniugiis, de opere monachorum, de unico baptismo, de cura pro mortuis gerenda and others. Not by Augustine is the treatise de omnibus virtutibus, edited by ABCaillau, suppl. II: sermones inediti Augustini (1842) p. 242 and HMüller, Z. f. wiss. Theol. 17, 238 (cf. ib. 464). The polemical works of A. are directed against the sects and heresies of the Manichaeans, Donatists, Pelagians, Priscillianists, Arians and Origenists. There are besides very numerous sermons, among which, however, are included many doubtful and spurious pieces, e.g. the homilia de sacrilegiis, i.e. on Pagan usages among the Christians (cf. § 494, 2), which is curious both as regards substance and diction; it was edited from an Einsidl. s. VII/VIII by CFCaspari, ZfdeutschAltert. 25, 314; Tidskr. f. d. evangel.-lutherske Kirke in Norge 9 (1883), 485 and esp. Christian. 1886. Though simple, they are often rhetorical and effective, sometimes also touching. RBeer, die anecdota Borderiana der augustin. sermonen, Wien. SBer. 1887. ARegnier, la latinité des sermons de St. Aug., Par. 1887. On the character of the audience see JVérin, St. Augustini auditores, s. de Afrorum christianorum circa Aug. ingenio ac moribus, Par. 1870. Part of them are devoted to the explanation of Biblical writings (as homilies). These exegetical writings of Aug. are relatively very inferior, owing to his imperfect knowledge of Greek (n. 3 ad fin.) and his complete ignorance of Hebrew. He wrote, however, especially on the Heptateuch, Genesis (de genesi ad litteram ll. XII; fragments of a MS. s. VI at Berne, EHauler, Wien. SBer. 117, 1; cf. also n. 8), Job, the Gospels (de consensu evangelistarum libri IV; quaestionum evangelicarum libri II), the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians. HNClausen, Aug. . . . sacrae scripturae interpres, Berl. 1827. On the quaestt. bibl. in V. et N. Test. see § 418, 5. 435, 4.—The Biblical passages are quoted by Augustine from the so-called Itala (§ 373, 9), and but rarely (e.g. doctr. christ. 4, 7) from Hieronymus' translation. The Speculum of Augustine, beginning *Quis ignorat* (best MS. Monac. 14513 s. IX),

printed 3, 1, 507 ed. Bened. and recently in WEIHRICH (n. 13) l.l. p. 3, does indeed give the Biblical quotations according to Hieronymus, but probably only after these had undergone subsequent alterations (WEIHRICH l.l. XIIII). The Speculum beginning *Audi, Israhel* (best MSS. Sessor. 58 s. VIII/IX, Abricensis 87 s. IX) in WEIHRICH l.l. 287, is not by Augustine.—Abundant excerpts from Augustine's work in Eugippius, see § 494, 3.

12. The collection of letters comprises (inclusive of those addressed to Aug.) 270 pieces. Only a few of these are brief; some (e.g. no. 147 de videndo deo) are so voluminous that they are sometimes quoted among his treatises. They deal with nearly all contemporary ecclesiastical questions, and several are written in the capacity of confessor. The work De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII (Retract. 1, 26) is of an epistolary character. The Benedictines have divided the letters into 4 classes: 1. of a. 386–395 (from the time of A.'s conversion to his election as bishop); 2. a. 395–410; 3. a. 411 (disputation with the Donatists) down to 430 (his death); 4. those which cannot be dated. JAGINZEL, der Geist des h. Aug. in s. Briefen, in his kirchenhistor. Schriften (Vienna 1872) I.

13. Editions of the complete works of Augustine e.g. Bas. 1506; Ex emend. DERASMI, Bas. 1528 X (often reprinted); per theologos Lovanienses (Antv. 1577 XI) with a supplement by HVIGNERIUS (Par. 1654 II); especially the edition by the Benedictines e congregatione S. Mauri, Par. 1679 sqq. XI.—Mere repetitions (in the main) of this edition are those by JPHEROPONUS (Clericus), Antv. 1700–1703 XII, and the two different edd. by JPMIGNE, Augustini opera omnia in 11 vols. (Paris 1835–1836–1839 XI) and Patrolog. vol. 32–47.—A new critical ed. in the Vienna collection of the Latin Fathers, beginning with Augustini speculum et liber de divinis scripturis sive speculum quod fertur Augustini, rec. FWEIHRICH, Vienna 1877 (Corp. Vindob. vol. XII). Compare FWEIHRICH, d. spec. des Aug. in s. hs. Überlief., Wien. SBer. 103, 33. CFVRBA, Beitr. zur Gesch. der augustinischen Text-kritik, Wiener SBer. 119.

441. At the beginning of the fifth century the Presbyter Sulpicius Severus (c. 365–425) in Aquitania, wrote a short account of universal history from the creation of the world down to his own time (Chronicorum libri II), from the best sources, with historical discrimination and in simple but polished diction, imitated from the best historians. His biography of Martinus of Tours († a. 397) on the other hand is a pious romance attesting his enthusiastic veneration of his hero, and full of miraculous adventures. The two dialogues in the manner of Cicero are likewise devoted to St. Martin.

1. GENNAD. vir. ill. 19 *Severus presbyter cognomento Sulpicius, Aquitanicae provinciae, vir genere et litteris nobilis et paupertatis atque humilitatis amore conspicuus* (cf. vita Mart. 24, 4), *carus etiam sanctorum virorum Martini Turonensis episcopi et Paulini Nolensis. . . . epistolas ad amorem dei et contemptum mundi hortatorias scripsit sorori suae multas, quae notae sunt* (not extant, see n. 5), *scripsit ad Paulinum praedictum duas et ad alios alias. sed quia in aliquibus etiam familiaris necessitas inserta est non digeruntur. composuit et chronica* (n. 2), *scripsit et ad multorum profectum vitam b. Martini monachi et episcopi* (n. 4). . . . *et collationem Postumiani*

*et Galli se mediante et iudice de conversatione monachorum orientalium et ipsius Martini habitam in dialogi speciem duabus incisionibus comprehendit* (n. 4) . . . *hic in senectute sua a Pelagianis deceptus . . . silentium usque ad mortem tenuit.* In the genuine works of St. Augustine Sulp. is never mentioned, but HIERONYMUS speaks of him (5, 422 Vall. *Severus noster*) and his name occurs frequently in PAULIN. NOL., e.g. epist. 5 (*Severo fratri*), 5 *tu . . . in . . . fori celebritate diversans et facundi nominis palmam tenens. repentino impetu discussisti servile peccati iugum. . . . neque te divitiae de matrimonio familiae consularis aggestae neque post coniugium peccandi licentia et caelebs iuventas ab angusto salutis introitu . . . revocare potuerunt.* (6) *tu ergo . . . relicto patre . . . Christum secutus es. . . . piscatorum praedicationes tullianis omnibus tuis litteris praetulisti. confugisti ad pietatis silentium* (when he retired into a monastery). Cf. ib. epist. 1 (from which it appears that Sev. lived *Elusione*, i.e. at Elsonne near Toulouse). 11. 17. 22. 23. 24. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31 (*ad basilicam quam modo apud Primuliacum . . . condideris*). 32; see § 437, 2. AEBERT, LdMA 1 [2], 327.

2. SULP. SEV. chronica 1, 1 *res a mundi exordio sacris litteris editas . . . constringere et cum distinctione temporum usque ad nostram memoriam carptim dicere aggressus sum. . . . non peperci labori meo quin ea quae permultis voluminibus perscripta continebantur duobus libellis concluderem, ita brevitati studens ut paene nihil* (? cf. BERNAYS l.l. 45) *gestis subduxerim. . . . non pigebit fateri me, sicubi ratio exegit, ad distinguenda tempora continuandamque seriem usum esse historicis mundialibus atque ex his quae ad supplementum cognitionis deerant usurpasse.* As he did not know Hebrew, he used the O. T. only in the translation of the LXX. He takes from it the historical events, frequently using them for polemical reference to contemporary incidents. Having been a jurist and advocate, he exhibits also a certain interest in the Mosaic law, both civil and criminal (BERNAYS l.l. 31). Cf. § 438, 3. On the date of the book of Judith see 2, 14, 1–6. The historical contents of the N. T. are purposely left aside (2, 27, 3), as he might have found it dangerous to use them as freely as he did in the case of the O. T. He never mentions his non-Biblical authorities, not even the Chronicle of Eusebios; cf. 2, 5, 7. Josephus has not been used, though Tacitus is employed; especially in the account of the destruction of Jerusalem Sulp. uses parts of the Histories now lost (BERNAYS l.l. 53). We rarely meet with traces of carelessness (BERNAYS, n. 81). The work dates by the consulate of Stilicho (a. 400) and was finished a. 403. The diction is successfully imitated from the classical writers, especially Sallust (BERNAYS n. 9. 15. 24. 33. 37. 45. 50. 59 and ges. Abhh. 2, 201. HPRATJE, above § 403, 4 ad fin.) and Tacitus (BERNAYS, d. Chronik. des Sev. n. 6. 70), also Velleius (n. 49); it does not however degenerate into a mere heterogeneous mosaic, and it preserves traces of the time (n. 58). MMANITUS, ZföG. 38, 813. On reminiscences of Vergil (esp. in the diall., see n. 4) and others see JFÜRTNER, BlfbayrG. 17, 97. 172 and Landshut 1885 (n. 6). KPAUCKER, kleinere Studien III: de latinitate Sulp. Sev., Berl. 1883. HGOELZER, gramm. in Sulp. Sev. obss., potissimum ad vulgarem lat. sermonem pertinentes, Par. 1883. Sulpicius neither intended nor furnished a scientific work on history, but a good and pleasant book for general reading. JBERNAYS, über die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus, Berl. 1861 and ges. Abhh. 2, 81 (see on this AVGUTSCHMID, JJ. 87, 710). HGELZER, Iul. Africanus 2, 1 (1885), 107.

3. The sole manuscript is Palat.-Vatic. 825 s. XI (KHALM, Münch. SBer. 1865 2, 37). According to the heading (*incipit prologus Sulpitii Severi in chronica. quae ipse fecit ab exordio mundi* [*usque ad tempus suum*]) 'Chronica' (see also n. 7) was probably the original title. As Sulp. several times (1, 36, 6. 1, 42, 1. 1, 46, 5. 2, 5, 7. 2, 6, 1) quotes Eusebios' Chronicle simply as *chronica*, BERNAYS (l.l. 71)

took 'A mundi exordio libri II' for the original heading.—Ed. princ. of the Chronicle (hist. sacra) by M(athias) F(lacius), Bas. 1556. Ed. VGiselinus (Antv. 1574), CSigonius (Bonon. 1851, with comm.), JDrusius (Arnhem. 1607).

4. The vita Martini gives a lively image of the religious excitement of the time, which produced even visions. The Saint has violent struggles with the Devil, hears and sees Christ and the angels, calls a dead man to life, performs other miracles, announces the approaching end of the world (dial. 2, 14) etc. The same subject is further developed in the two dialogues (formerly divided into three). Three letters ad Eusebium, Aurelium diaconum, Bassulam, serve as introductions to these dialogues. Cf. ep. 1, 1 *mentio incidit libelli mei quem de vita beati viri Martini episcopi edidi.* Paulin. epist. 11, 11. Cf. § 491, 6. JHReinkens, Martin von Tours, Bresl. 1866. The diction of these works is likewise comparatively pure and select, with even a certain degree of coquetry. They are extant in numerous MSS. (Halm p. viii; on their use during the Middle Ages see MManitius, NArchfädGesch. 14, 165): the oldest and most important is a Veronensis s. VI (a specimen of the writing in Zangemeister-Wattenbach's Exempl. codd. latt. t. 32).

5. From these three genuine letters we should distinguish the seven which bear the name of Sulpicius on very doubtful evidence (appendix in Halm), and the second of which is also found among the letters of Hieronymus, the third, written with monkish humour, being also given in Paulin. Nol. epp. 22. They differ greatly from the tone of Sulpicius. The first two (ad Claudiam sororem de ultimo iudicio and de virginitate) are detailed and edifying. Harnack l.l. considers them genuine.

6. Complete editions by JVorst (cum notis, Berlin 1668 and subsequently), HdePrato (Veron. 1741–54 II), in Migne 20, 95, and especially by CHalm (rec. cum comment. crit. instr., Vienna 1866, cf. the same author Münch. SBer. 1865 2, 37).—In general on Sulp. Sev. AHarnack in Herzog's theol. Realencykl. $15^2$, 62.—Criticism JFürtner, textkrit. Bemm. zu Sulp. Sev., Landshut 1885. ThStangl, phil. Rundsch. 1885, 1523.

7. The name of Sulpicius Severus is erroneously given to a universal chronicle (epitoma chronicorum Severi cognomento Sulpicii; on the sole existing MS. s. XIII in Madrid see KZangemeister, RhM. 33, 222). It comes down to a. 511, is not without importance for Western Gothic history from a. 450–500, and was used by Isidorus, Marius of Avenches (§ 484, 6), Jordanis and Gregory of Tours. Printed in Florez, España sagr. 4, 430 ($^2$428) and the portion after a. 379 in OHolder-Egger, üb. d. Weltchronik des sog. Severus Sulpicius und südgallische Annalen des 5. Jahrh., Gött. 1875. PEwald, N. Arch. f. deutsche Gesch. 1881, 323.

442. Q. Iulius Hilarianus, a contemporary and compatriot of Sulpicius Severus, composed a. 397 a work on chronology and in particular a treatise on the duration of the world; the Donatist Tichonius from Africa wrote three books on the spiritual warfare, besides other works. About the same time Flavius Mallius Theodorus (cos. 399) wrote, not without originality, his extant work de metris.

1. Hilarianus' short treatise de duratione mundi (or de cursu temporum, best MS. Leid. Voss. 5), though barbarous in contents and diction, yet shows daringly

independent research, in MIGNE 13, 1097. Cf. AVGUTSCHMID, JJ. 87, 714. HGELZER, Iul. Africanus 2, 1, 121. His dissertation de ratione paschae et mensis, published from a Turin MS., together with a fragment from an unknown writer de origine generis humani, by CHRMPFAFF (with the Inst. of Lactantius, Par. 1712; in MIGNE 13, 1115; cf. FFFLECK, wissensch. Reise durch Deutschl. etc. 2, 3), was according to the subscription (AREIFFERSCHEID, bibl. patr. 2, 140; de latt. codd. subscriptt., Bresl. 1872, 6) composed a. 396 and published, after being revised a second time, in the following year.—HNOLTE, Tüb. Quartalschr. 50, 443.

2. GENNAD. vir. ill. 18 *Tic(h)onius, natione Afer, in divinis litteris eruditus iuxta historiam sufficienter et in saecularibus non ignarus fuit . . . scripsit De bello intestino libros III et Expositiones diversarum causarum, in quibus ob suorum defensionem antiquarum meminit synodorum. e quibus omnibus agnoscitur Donatianae partis fuisse. composuit et Regulas ad investigandam . . . intellegentiam scripturaram VII, quas in uno volumine conclusit* (in MIGNE 18, 15; JBPITRA, spicileg. Solesm. 1, 294). *exposuit et Apocalypsin Ioannis* (now lost, cf. § 494, 5. JHAUSSLEITER, Z. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. Leb. 1886, 239) etc. *floruit hic vir aetate qua iam memoratus Rufinus* (§ 435, 1), *Theodosio et filio eius regnantibus.*

3. Flavius Manlius (Mallius) Theodorus, cos. 399 (CIGr. 6232 and elsewhere, cf. above § 439, 3. 6. 440, 6), pursued philosophical and astronomical studies and wrote on subjects of the same nature. CLAUDIAN. 17, 253 *qualem te legimus teneri primordia mundi scribentem aut partis animae per singula, talem cernimus et similes adgnoscit pagina mores;* 115 *nascentes ibant in saecula libri;* cf. 68. 100. 275. A now lost liber de natura rerum by this author was at one time in manuscript in the library of Cujacius; AREIFFERSCHEID on SUET. relig. p. 447. There is extant only the book de metris addressed to his son Theodorus, of all the manuals of this period the most original and independent in its method (HWENTZEL, symb. crit. 64. RWESTPHAL, griech. Metr. $1^2$, 130), largely exploited by Baeda, who mentions the author in a single instance (GL. 7, 257, 13 *ut scribit Mallius Theodorus*=GL. 6, 593, 6). Among his predecessors Th. mentions Juba (OHENSE, de Iuba 146) and Terentianus. First published by JFHEUSINGER (together with De pedibus expositio by an unknown Julius Severus), Wolfenb. 1755, (cura Ruhnkenii) Leid. 1766; recently in KEIL's GL. 6, 579 (Julius Sev. ib. 641).—ARUBEN, de vita Fl. M. Th., Utr. 1694; Lps. 1754. LJEEP's Claudian 2, 255.

443. Among the numerous friends and enemies of Augustine the following contributed to literature (besides those already mentioned): the well-known founder of Pelagianism, the highly estimable Briton Pelagius, of whose writings we have in particular a well-written confession of faith addressed to Innocentius; his compatriot and younger friend Caelestius; the translator Anianus, and Bishop Julianus, known through the polemical writings of Augustine. Among the other Christian writers of this time Bachiarius, Sabbatius, Helvidius, Vigilantius, Simplicianus, Innocentius deserve mention.

1. Extant works of Pelagius: Commentarii in (XIII) epistolas Pauli (in MIGNE 30, 644); Epistola ad Demetriadem (ib. 30, 15 and 33, 1099); Libellus fidei ad Innocentium (45, 1716 and digested to form a sermo 39, 2181); probably also

the Epist. ad Celantiam matronam de ratione pie vivendi (among the letters of Hieronym. no. 148, in MIGNE 22, 1201). His works De natura and De libero arbitrio libri IV are merely known from Augustine's replies. He also wrote De trinitate libri III and other works.

2. GENNAD. vir. ill. 44 *Caelestius . . . adhuc adolescens scripsit ad parentes suos de monasterio epistolas in modum libellorum tres.* His works are only known so far as Augustine mentions or uses them; e.g. Contra traducem peccati, Definitiones (see AUG. de perf. iust. hom.), and his confession of faith addressed to Zosimus (libellus fidei; see AUG. de peccato orig.).

3. Julianus, a. 416 Bishop of Aeclanum, but deposed a. 418 as a Pelagian. GENNAD. vir. ill. 45 *vir acris ingenii, in divinis scripturis doctus, graeca et latina lingua scholasticus. . . . scripsit Adversus Augustinum libros IV et iterum libros VIII. est etiam liber altercationis amborum partes suas defendentium* (i.e. Augustini c. secundam Iuliani responsionem imperfectum opus sex libros complectens, in MIGNE 45, 1049). At the time of a famine he distinguished himself by charity. *moritur Valentiniano et Constantino filio eius imperante.* Cf. § 440, 4 ad fin.

4. Anianus, diaconus Celedensis (Celennensis) in Campania, translated some homilies of Chrysostom, printed in the editions of the latter. Is the Latin translation of Chyrostom *περὶ καταν ύξεως* also by him? cf. § 400, 6.—On Tichonius and Cresconius see § 442, 2. 435, 5. A Passio by the Donatist presbyter Marculus, written in the inflated African style, in MABILLON, vett. analecta 4 (Par. 1685), 105.—A pupil of Augustine, who mentions him de cura pro mortuis 11, was Favonius Eulogius, *orator almae Karthaginis*, of whose works there is still extant a short treatise relating to Cicero's somn. Scip. (§ 184, 1, 4), last printed in ORELLI's Cicero 5, 1, 397. WHDSURINGAR, scholl. Lat. 1, 170.

5. GENNADIUS vir. ill. 20 sqq. mentions the following among others as Christian writers of the time: 22 Niceas; 23 Olympius, *natione Hispanus, episcopus;* 24 Bachiarius (*vir christianae philosophiae.* On his latinity see KPAUCKER, ZföG. 32, 481); 25 Sabbatius, *gallicanae ecclesiae episcopus;* 27 Macarius, *monachus (scripsit in urbe Roma adversus mathematicos librum)*; 31 Paulus episcopus; 32 Helvidius, *Auxentii* (the Arian) *discipulus, Symmachi imitator* (Hieronymus wrote against him, § 434, 2); 35 Vigilantius presbyter, *natione Gallus, Hispaniae Barcilonensis parochiae ecclesiam tenuit (huic et b. Hieronymus presbyter respondit;* cf. § 434, 2 in fin.); 36 Simplicianus *episcopus Mediolanensis* (the successor of Ambrosius, cf. AUGUST. retr. 2, 1 ep. 37). . . . *multis epistolis hortatus est Augustinum adhuc presbyterum ut* etc. 37 Vigilius episcopus (of Trent c. a. 400; *scripsit . . . epistolam continentem gesta sui temporis apud barbaros martyrum)*; 41 Petronius, *Bononiensis eccl. episc. († Theodosio Arcadii filio et Valentiniano regnantibus)*; 43 Innocentius *urbis Romae episcopus* (a. 401–417), author of a number of extant letters (COUSTANT, epist. pontiff. rom. 1, 739. GALLANDI, bibl. patr. 8, 545); 47 Avitus *presbyter, homo Hispanus genere* (cf. § 455, 1).

444. At the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, Macrobius Theodosius lived and wrote his commentary on Cicero's dream of Scipio in two books still extant, and seven books of Saturnalia which we possess (imperfect). The latter work, which is derived entirely from earlier sources, consists of a large number of notices, often highly valuable in sub-

stance, on literary questions, especially relating to Vergil, on the Italian cults, Roman customs, antiquities etc., arranged according to subjects and framed in the form of a friendly dialogue between scholars.

1. According to the Bamberg. s. IX the name is in the Saturn.: *Macrobius Theodosius v. c. et ill.*—according to the Paris: *Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius v. c. et ill.;* in the Somm. Scip. according to Bamb. s. XI and Paris.: *Macr. Ambr. Theodos. v. c. et inl.;* in b. de diff. (n. 9): (*Ambrosius*) *Macrobius Theodosius.* As he thus appears to have been of high rank, he is probably the same Macrobius who was a. 399 sq. praef. praet. Hispaniarum (cod. Theod. 16, 10, 15. 8, 5, 61), a. 410 procos. Africae (ib. 11, 28, 6) and is called vir illustr. as late as a. 422, and held the position of praepositus sacri cubiculi (ib. 6, 8, 1). This presupposes him to have been subsequently converted to Christianity, as he could not have attained to the latter high office without this. In his works he appears still to be a Pagan (see n. 3); they were, therefore, probably composed or planned previously to his appointment to those offices, the complete titles of the author being added afterwards. Cf. also § 450, 1.

2. Macrob. sat. praef. 11 *sicubi nos sub alio ortos caelo latinae linguae vena non adiuvet. . . . si in nostro sermone nativa romani oris elegantia desideretur* (cf. § 366, 6 l. 4). His enthusiasm for Cicero and Vergil, and his frequent mistakes in translating Greek passages (Wissowa, l.l. 15) render it less probable that he was a native of some Hellenic or Hellenistic country; he may rather have been of African descent (LvJan, ThVogel, JJ. 127, 180).

3. He admires Symmachus (§ 425, for Macr.'s connection with his family see also n. 9. 8), Nicomachus (above 428, 1) and Praetextatus (above 430, 1); see sat. 1, 1, 4. All these belong to the Pagan party. There is no trace of Christianity in Macrob. (the passage sat. 1, 13, 15 quoted by GFUnger in IwMüller's Handb. 1, 598, 3 is no evidence of Christian tendency), but he everywhere exhibits great interest in the gods of Paganism (esp. 1, 17 sqq.) and a leaning to Neoplatonism (n. 4). Cf. sat. 1, 12, 8 *cum hodieque in sacris Martem patrem, Venerem genetricem vocemus.* 1, 24, 1 *laudare . . . cuncti religionem* (of Praetext.), *adfirmantes hunc esse unum arcanae deorum naturae conscium, qui solus divina et adsequi animo et eloqui posset ingenio.* He is a younger contemporary of Servius (see § 431, 1). Cf. n. 6.

4. Commentary on Cic.'s somnium Scipionis: § 184, 1, 4. After an introduction on the relation of Cic. de rep. to Plato's Republic and on the significance of dreams, the commentary proper begins, in which the Platonic tenets (on number, sound, the soul, the motions of the stars, the zones etc.) are tacked on Cicero's works in rather a loose and uneven manner. Cf. 1, 5, 1 *discutienda nobis sunt ipsius somnii verba, non omnia, sed ut quaeque videbuntur digna quaesitu*; hence Macr. often quotes long passages of the Cic. text, but does not give the text entire. Many writers are mentioned, especially Greek authors (LvJan p. xi), but rather for show than for real use. No doubt Macr. follows principally one authority. He thus addresses his son: 1, 1, 1 *Eustachi fili, vitae mihi dulcedo pariter et gloria;* 2, 1, 1 *superiore commentario, Eustachi luce mihi dilectior fili, usque ad stelliferae sphaerae cursum . . . sermo processerat.* We possess the work complete: 2, 17, 15 *sed iam finem somnio cohibita disputatione faciamus, hoc adiecto quod conclusionem decebit* etc. LPetit, de Macrobio Ciceronis interprete philosopho, Par. 1866. HLinke in the Abhh. für MHertz, Bresl. 1888, 240. PSchwenke, JB. 1886 2, 310

On Macrobius as a Neoplatonist see EZeller, Phil. d. Gr. 3, 2³, 885. AWissowa, l.l. 37.

5. Title in the Bamb.: *Conviviorum primi diei Saturnaliorum* (on this form see Macr. 1, 4, 3) *liber I*, the Paris. rightly omits *conviviorum*. From the preface: (1) *multas variasque res in hac vita nobis, Eustachi fili, natura conciliavit;* but nothing surpasses love for one's children. (2) *hinc est quod mihi quoque institutione tua nihil antiquius aestimatur, ad cuius perfectionem . . . quidquid mihi vel te iam in lucem edito vel antequam nascereris in diversis seu graecae seu romanae linguae voluminibus elaboratum est, id totum sit tibi scientiae supellex* etc. (3) *nec indigeste . . . congessimus digna memoratu, sed variarum rerum disparilitas . . . ita in quoddam digesta corpus est ut quae indistincte atque promiscue ad subsidium memoriae adnotaveramus in ordinem . . . convenirent.* (4) *nec mihi vitio vertas si res quas ex lectione varia mutuabor ipsis saepe verbis quibus ab ipsis auctoribus enarratae sunt explicabo, quia praesens opus non eloquentiae ostentationem, sed noscendorum congeriem pollicetur.* (6) *nos quoque quidquid diversa lectione quaesivimus committemus stilo.* For M.'s apology concerning his diction see n. 2.

6. The subject treated in the Saturnalia is put in the shape of dialogues which are supposed to have taken place on the three days of the Saturnalia and the preceding day, sometimes before and sometimes during dinner, between Praetextatus (§ 430, 1) and his friends, though the author claims the privilege of going also beyond that person's time (1, 1, 5 *nec mihi fraudi sit si uni aut alteri ex his quos coetus coegit matura aetas posterior saeculo Praetextati fuit*). He appears, therefore, to write a considerable time after P.'s death (a. 385). Euangelus represents the opposition, especially in attacking Vergil, while Eustathius (§ 430, 3) praises him as a philosopher and skilful imitator of the Greeks, Nicomachus Flavianus and Praetextatus as an expert in ius augurale and pontificium, the two Albini (cf. § 407, 5. 431, 4) as an antiquarian, Avianus and Servius for his other qualities. This discussion on Vergil forms the chief part of the work, a variety of subjects being, however, treated in the table talk.

7. Sources of the Saturnalia. Only the form and arrangement of the work were originated by Macrobius, and the form itself was suggested by Gellius and Plato (sympos.): the subject-matter is entirely borrowed from predecessors, who are followed faithfully and carefully as regards substance, if not always verbally. As a rule Macr. employs his authorities one after the other without attempting to collate them. He habitually suppresses the names of authors, where he is borrowing from them, and elsewhere they rarely fall from him (e.g. Plutarch [and Apuleius ?]; cf. 7, 3, 24); on the other hand he quotes by name the authorities in his list, and takes pride in this borrowed erudition. He especially exploits Gellius, and next to him various Vergil-commentaries (perhaps that of Aelius Donatus, § 409) and separate treatises in explanation of Vergil (on the other hand Macr. did not use the commentary of Servius; did the so-called scholia Danielis copy Macrobius? cf. § 431, 2 in fin.), and amongst others Suetonius de anno Rom. (§ 347, 3), and Seneca the philosopher; among Greek works in particular Plutarch's quaestt. convivales, which Macr. knew in an earlier version, and Athenaios' Deipnosophistai (cf. Kaibel introd. to his ed. 1, xxxii). Other Greek sources, such as the problem. phys. et med. of the so-called Alexander of Aphrodisias (in Ideler's phys. et med. gr. min. 1, 1), a Neoplatonic work on the philosophy of religion (Iamblichos *περὶ θεῶν*? Wissowa l.l. 40; Porphyrios *περὶ ἀγαλμάτων*? LTraube, var. libamenta crit., Munich 1883, 23); lastly fragments of Didymos appear to have been known to Macr. through the medium of Latin

versions now lost (e.g. the above-mentioned problem. through Apuleius' quaestt. conviv. [§ 366, 8 ad fin.]? see Linke l.l. 52). Cf. GWissowa, de Macr. Saturn. fontt. capita III, Bresl. 1880; Herm. 16, 499. HLinke, quaestt. de Macr. Sat. fontt., Bresl. 1880. See also GThilo on Serv. 1, p. xxv. Klotz-Halfpar, quaestt. Serv., Greifsw. 1882. WKahl, Phil. Suppl. 5, 726.

8. The manuscripts (enumerated in Jan 1, lxii) of the Saturn. are all derived from the same source, as they have the same gaps in common. The end of b. 2 and beginning of b. 3, the second half of b. 4 and the close of b. 7 are lost. In addition most of the MSS. omit the Greek passages. The most complete is Paris. 6371 s. XI, the best a Bamberg. s. IX, which however now contains only b. 1 and 2, and the greater part of b. 3. Nearly related to the Bamb. is Vatic. Regin. 1650 s. IX/X (see on this GGoetz, commentatiuncula Macrob., ind. schol. Ienens. 1889/90). For the comm. on the Somn. Scip. another Bamb. (s. XI) is, together with the Paris., the principal authority. In the Paris. after b. 1 occurs the subscriptio: *Aur. Memm. Symmachus v. c. emendabam vel disting(uebam) meum* (i.e. *exemplum*) *Ravennae cum Macrobio Plotino Eudoxio v. c.*, which shows how long the intimate family relations between the Symmachi and Macrobii (n. 3. 9) had subsisted. Cf. § 425, 9. 477, 4.

9. Of the treatise 'De differentiis et societatibus graeci latinique verbi' there are extant only various mediaeval excerpts, transmitted esp. in the Paris.7186 s. XI and Vindob. (Bobiensis) 16 s. VII/VIII, printed in LvJan's Macrob. 1, 229 and last in Keil's GL. 5, 599. Subscriptio of the reviser in the Paris. (GL. 5, 629): *explicuit defloratio de libro Ambrosii Macrobii Theodosii quam Iohannes carpserat ad discendas graecorum verborum regulas . . . quoniam Macrobius Theodosius librum de differentiis deque societatibus verborum utriusque linguae, graecae scil. et latinae, composuit . . . visum mihi est eundem eiusdem eodem quo ipse usus est ordine breviter deflorare* etc. On the connection of the collection of *barytona secundum Macrobium* GL. 5, 655 with the Cyrill-glosses (§ 42, 7) see GGoetz, comment. Macrob., ind. lect. Ien. 1889/90 p. vii. These differentiae (in addition to what is contained in the bilingual glossaries and so forth [§ 42, 7]) are about the only representatives of a comparative study of Greek and Latin. The Rhematikon of Apollonios Dyskolos was frequently used as an authority. GUhlig, RhM. 19, 39. GFCSchömann, commentatio Macrobiana, Greifsw. and Lpz. 1871. Dedication (in the Vind. 16) in epistolary form (Theodosius Symmacho suo) to a certain Symmachus (a son or grandson of the orator, see § 425, 3). The fragment of an anonymous author De verbo (from Vindob. 17 s. VIII printed in Jan p. 278, in Keil's GL. 5, 634) makes great use of Macr. It is addressed to *Severus, disertissimus studiosorum.*

10. Editions (enumerated in Jan 1, lxxxviii). Ed. princ. Ven. 1472. Aldina Ven. 1528. Hervagiana Bas. 1535; ed. JJPontanus (Leyd. 1597 and at other times; cf. Jan p. xxxii). Cum notis JMeursii, JGronovii, Leyd. 1670. Emendavit, app. crit., adnotationes . . . adiecit LIanus, Quedlinb. 1848–52 II. Recogn. FEyssenhardt, Lps. 1868.—Criticism inter al.: RBentley, RhM. 36, 324. RBitschofsky, ZföG. 29, 88. 259. 335.

445. To nearly the same time we assign some poor treatises for school use, viz. an alphabetical list of the names of localities occurring in the most popular poets by Vibius Sequester, and Julius Exuperantius' scanty account of the first Civil War after Sallust. Other grammarians and rhetoricians of this time

were Rufinus, Donatianus, Grillius, Julius Honorius, Papirianus etc. We may realise at what stage grammar had arrived at this period e.g. from the fact that Rufinus is at pains to demonstrate in detail and with appeals to other authorities, that the plays of the early comic and tragic writers were composed in metre.

1. The title: 'Vibii Sequestris de fluminibus, fontibus, lacubus, nemoribus, paludibus, montibus, gentibus per litteras.' The name of Vib. Seq. is possibly a jocular fiction from Cic. Cluent. 25 *Sex. Vibium, quo sequestre . . . dicebatur esse usus.* So Hessel (n. 2), MHertz (JJ. 93, 275), FLüdecke; against them Bursian p. III not. None of the names occurring in the work leads us beyond saec. IV, and the complete absence of all traces of Christianity as well as the frankness with which the author speaks of the Pagan worship as a thing of the present e.g. p. 2, 15 Bu. *Almon Romae, ubi mater deum VI kal. apr. lavatur*, p. 12, 13 *Angitiae* (nemus) *Lucaniae*, would even suggest a much earlier time of composition, if the author's stupidity did not oblige us to limit this to his authorities. Preface: *Vibius Sequester Virgiliano filio salutem. Quanto ingenio ac studio, fili carissime, apud plerosque poetas fluminum mentio habitast, tanto labore sum secutus eorum et regiones et vocabula et qualitates in litteram digerens, . . . cum tuae professioni sit necessarium.* The poets taken into account are especially Vergil, Ovid's Met. and Fasti and Lucan's Phars. About thirty names are not now discoverable in the extant Latin poets: attempts to account for this are made by Bursian p. V and HBlass, RhM. 31, 133. Whenever the author attempts to give more than a mere register, he becomes absurd. Numerous technical errors attest his ignorance, and his style proves him to be a barbarian. The text has, however, come down to us in a very corrupt state.—For its substance may be compared the school-book on the names of the seas, rivers, lakes, mountains, towns etc., which was done into verse by Nicetas, bishop of Serrai (s. XI), published by LCohn, JJ. 133, 649.

2. The earliest manuscript and source of all the others is Vatic. 4929 s. X (see § 296, 3).—Ed. princ. by JMazochii, Rome (time unknown); Aldina (with Mela etc.), Ven. 1514. 1518 (= Iunt. 1519); then with a commentary by FHessel (Rotterd. 1711), JJOberlin (Strassb. 1778), LBaudet (with a French translation, Paris 1843); esp. recogn. CBursian (Zür. 1867; cf. FLüdecke, Gött. gel. Anz. 1868, 561) and in Riese's geogr. lat. 145.

3. 'Iulii Exuperantii opusculum' has been preserved as an appendage to a Sallust MS. Paris. 6085 s. XI, from which it was first published by FSylburg (1588) and subsequently in many editions of Sallust, last separately by CBursian, Zür. 1868. On a manuscript formerly at Basle (perhaps similar to the present one in Paris?) and JDoring's copy of it, see MHaupt, op. 3, 441. FLüdecke, Gött. gel. Anz. 1869, 77. Cf. also JMähly, JJ. 105, 143.—Several persons of the name of Exuperantius are known to have lived in the 4th and 5th centuries (Bursian l.l. IV), but the author cannot be identified with any one of them.

4. That the opusc. of Jul. Exup. belongs to saec. IV–V is probable partly from the fact of its exclusive use of Sallust, who was then again in fashion, partly from the mode in which he is employed. Not only the subject-matter is taken from Sallust (esp. Jugurtha and Historiae), but also numerous phrases. The author shows, however, but a confused idea of the constitution of the Republic, commits several flagrant historical errors (e.g. in confounding the younger Marius with

the elder), and is both trivial and awkward in his style and diction. He lacks tact in arranging his words and choosing his expressions, e.g. in saying *praelium* instead of *bellum*, *leges ac iura praescribere*, *comportatur exercitus* ('brought together') etc. Cf. GLinker, Wien. SBer. 13, 286. Bursian p. VI.

5. Rufinus, v. c., grammaticus (*litterator* GL. 6, 565, 9) Antiochensis, wrote commentarium in metra Terentiana and de compositione et de metris oratorum: both (incompletely preserved) contain excerpts collected by the author from the works of earlier grammarians and memorial verses founded on these, composed by Rufin. himself: last printed all together in Keil's GL. 6, 554 (de comp. et de metr. orat. also in Halm's rhett. 575). The comm. in metr. Ter. is used by Priscian de metris Terent., see Keil l.l. 553; on the MSS. see the same author l.l. 549; also on Einsidl. 338 s. X HHagen, JB. 1873, 1432. We find quoted among later authors Terentianus, Euanthius, Victorinus, Donatus, Charisius, Diomedes and Servius; also Firmianus (=Lactantius § 397, 2, l. 12, *sic dicit*, p. 564, 7 [there follows, however, a passage from Victorinus]. 565, 2), Pompeius Messalinus (*de numeris et pedibus oratorum sic dicit* p. 575, 12. cf. 16), also a certain Victor, who is probably also referred to by Priscian GL. 2, 14, 13 (*a Victore in arte grammatica*). Is the same person alluded to by the epigram AP. 9, 711 (Αὐτὴν γραμματικὴν ὁ ζωγράφος ἤθελε γράψαι, Βίκτορα δὲ γράψας 'τὸν σκοπὸν' εἶπεν 'ἔχω')? FBücheler, RhM. 36, 330.—To Rufinus have been attributed on insufficient evidence the 22 lines on Pasiphaë composed in the whole of the Horatian metres (AL. 732. PLM. 5, 108).—See besides § 451, 2.

6. 'Ars grammatica accepta (? excepta) ex auditorio Donatiani' (son of Ti. Donatus, see § 431, 5), transmitted in a Bobiensis now lost (§ 405, 5), a confused medley of grammaticalia of all kinds, derived esp. from Charisius. Printed in Keil's GL. 6, 275.—A quotation from *Donatianus in senatu pro se* in Prisc. GL. 2, 225, 10.

7. Excerpta ex Grillii commento in Cic. libr. de inventione in Halm's rhett. latt. min. p. 596. Grillius quotes (p. 598, 20) the rhetorician Eusebius (§ 426, 3) and is himself quoted by Priscian GL. 2, 35, 27 (*Grillius ad Virgilium de accentibus*). His diction also suits the 4th to 5th century.—Cf. MHaupt, op. 339.—Flavius Magnus was a distinguished rhetorician at Rome in the first half of the 5th century (JBRossi, bull. di arch. crist. 1, no. 2 p. 14). On Iulius Honorius orator see § 453, 5.

8. Prisc. GL. 2, 27, 11 *quod testatur Papirianus de orthographia.* ib. 593, 14 *teste Papiriano, qui de orthographia hoc ostendit.* Cf. ib. 31, 2 (*auctore Plinio et Papiriano et Probo*). 503, 16 (*Nisus et Papirianus et Probus*). On the use of Papir. in Priscian see HNeumann, de Plin. dub. serm. librr. (Kiel 1881) 55. An extract from this work in Cassiod. de orthogr. 4=Keil's GL. 7, 158. Pap. himself ib. p. 161, 14 mentions Donatus and was used by Cassiodorus (see also div. inst. 30=GL. 212, 25). He must, therefore, at the earliest, have written a. 400. To the same author probably belongs the short fragment (on the pronunciation of *ti*=zi) with the heading 'Quinti Papirii orthographia,' transmitted in the Palatino-Vatic. 1753 s. IX, last printed GL. 7, 216, 7. In the Bobbio library catalogue s. X (in GBecker, catalogi biblioth. antiq. p. 69 no. 424) we find registered: *Papirii de analogia liber* I. The Papperinus who wrote de analogia (§ 41, 5 ad fin.) is probably the same person; see HKeil, de gramm. inf. aet. 15; on GL. 7, 135; HHagen, anecd. Helv. cclii. Also Brambach, lat. Orthogr. 55. The numerous fragments from Papirianus de orthographia given by ITortelli (commentarii gramm. 1471) are fabricated, see HKeil on GL. 7, 135.

9. On Julius Paris see § 279, 9 and 11. On the Scholia Bobiensia on Cicero's orations see § 295, 4; on Ps.-Asconius § 295, 3.

446. Under the name of Marcellus of Gaul, ex mag. officiorum under Theodosius, we possess a book on medicines, the chief authority for which, Scribonius Largus, is augmented by a mass of superstitious additions. Of a purely superstitious character, and with a flavour of coarseness, is the collection of remedies from the animal kingdom, which bears the name of Sextus Placitus (Papyriensis) and is also extant in an abridgment (by Constantinus Africanus). The medical work of Theodorus Priscianus, on the other hand, aims in its way at scientific treatment.

1. Preface: *Marcellus vir. ill. ex mag. off. Theodosii sen. filiis suis s. d.* Hence he wrote under Theodosius II, and therefore not before a. 408. He is probably the magister off. a. 395 mentioned in the Cod. Theod. 6, 29, 8 and 16, 5, 29 (where he is charged with the proceedings against Pagan court officials). Cf. SUIDAS s. v. Μάρκελλος, *μάγιστρος Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ βασιλέως, κόσμος ἀρετῆς ἁπάσης* etc. As he (in the praef.) names Ausonius (physician to Valentinian and father of the poet, see § 421, 1) among his fellow-citizens, he is designated as Burdigalensis (see n. 2), while by others he is called Empiricus on account of his purely empirical method. He was not a professional physician, but as a good Christian he wrote for strangers and for the poor *libellum hunc de empiricis undeunde collectis.*

2. The book de medicamentis: a single very incomplete MS. Laudun. 420 s. IX, see VROSE, Herm. 8, 30, GHELMREICH pref. to his ed.; from a similar but more complete MS., which has now disappeared, is derived the ed. princ. of ICORNARIUS, Bas. 1536. This is also given in the medici antiqui of ALDUS and STEPHANUS, see § 55, 5 and recently esp. ed. GHELMREICH, Lps. 1889. It comprises in 36 chapters simple, compound and magic remedies for all diseases from top to toe. Alleged sources: *non solum veteres medicinae artis auctores latino dumtaxat sermone perscriptos* (§ 55, 3) . . . *lectione scrutatus sum sed etiam ab agrestibus et plebeiis remedia fortuita atque simplicia quae experimentis probaverant didici.* In reality the author has generally first copied out Scribonius Largus (§ 294, 2) and then has freely reproduced and put together from other sources, esp. the Medicina Plinii (§ 411; cf. in HELMREICH's ed. p. 410 the list of passages borrowed from Scribon. and Ps.-Plin.), but also from Jewish superstition (*Deus Sabaoth* etc., VROSE, Herm. 8, 25), a mass of additional remedies, especially popular medical spells and charms. Noteworthy are the numerous names of plants (EMEYER, Gesch. d. Botanik 2, 305), given partly with their Celtic designations (e.g. p. 48: *herba quae graece chamaeacte, latine ebulus, gallice odocos dicitur*); JGRIMM, über Marcellus Burdig., kl. Schr. 2, 114. 152. The preface ends: *epistulas quoque eorum quorum studium aemulatum me esse scripsi huic operi . . . adieci* (n. 3) . . . *versiculis quoque lusimus migmatum et specierum digestione compositis. . . . quod opusculum in infima parte huius codicis collocavi* (see n. 4), *et ut sermone nostro opera haec . . . claudantur et nugas nostras multiplex foliorum celet obiectus.*

3. After the praef. and a sketch of the Greek and Roman measures there follow *Epistulae diversorum de qualitate et observatione medicinae* (cf. n. 2), first of

Hippokrates (rather of Diokles) to king Antiochus (Antigonus), of Largius Designatianus (cf. § 294, 2) translated for his sons, then *eiusdem alia, eiusdem Hippocratis ex graeco translata ad Maecenatem, Plinii Secundi* (§ 411, 1) *ad amicos de medicina*, of Scribonius Largus to Callistus (§ 294, 3), under the erroneous heading *Cornelius Celsus C. Iulio Callisto s. d.*; next *Cornelius Celsus Pullio Natali s. d.* (commencing: *Lectis duobus libris compositionum graecis, P. N., quos misisti mihi ut in latinum sermonem converterem, libenter parui tuae voluntati* etc.); lastly *Epistula Vindiciani comitis archiatrorum ad Valentinianum Imp.;* see § 432, 12.

4. The poetical epilogue (see n. 2) enumerates in 78 hexameters all kinds of remedies. Envoi to the reader: *quotque his sunt versus, tot agant tua tempora Ianos.* The prosody of Greek names is arbitrary, e.g. *Abděra* (5). Cf. EMeyer, Gesch. d. Botanik 2, 301. Printed in editions of Marcellus and of Celsus, frequently under the name of Vindicianus (§ 432, 12) or even of Serenus Sammonicus; in Riese's AL. 910.—On Marc. Emp. see GHelmreich, BlfbayrGW. 18, 392. 460.

5. Heading according to the MSS.: *Sexti Placiti Papyriensis de medicina ex animalibus liber.* In 34 chapters (cf. n. 6) are enumerated remedies for every kind of malady derived from 22 varieties of mammalia (c. 17 *de puello et puella virgine*), and from 12 birds, in such a way as usually to begin with the brain of the animal under consideration, descending gradually to its extremities. Among the maladies prominence is given to impotence, sterility etc., among the remedies to the partes obscenae, excrementa etc. The author's assertion that he had himself successfully used some of these remedies (27, 2 cf. 2, 12) does not, considering their nature, prove him to have been a physician.—As the author employs Pliny's nat. hist. (esp. b. 28) as his principal source, he is probably a Roman. Cf. 17, 19 *dicens: Tollo te ut ille Gaius febribus liberetur.* 24, 12 *Ad pediculosos, quem affectum Graeci phthiriasin nominant.* Cf. 16, 22 *Ad phthiriacos, i.e. pediculosos.* No argument against this assumption is furnished by the numerous Greek technical terms and his computation by drachms and oboli (as weights); cf. Hultsch, Metrol. 114. The work does not contain any direct chronological data; but both its superstitious character and the relative simplicity and correctness of the diction are in favour of our assigning it to saec. IV (cf. also 18 *de catta seu fele*). If however in the work when complete Octavian had already dwindled to a legendary figure (see n. 6), we should have to regard it as of much later date.

6. The commencement is wanting and in the abridgment by Constantinus Africanus (c. a. 1087) it reads thus: *Regi Aegyptiorum Octaviano Aug. salutem. Plurimis exemplis expertus sum victoriam tuam et prudentiam tuam, tamen arbitror numquam incidisse in manus tuas tantae utilitatis virtutem, quae ab Aesculapio acceptas* etc. With the dedication has also been lost the first chapter (de taxione) of Sex. Plac. and it has been preserved only by the author of the abridgment, unless it is a later addition, of which there are many in this short treatise.—Editions by FEmericus (Nürnb. 1538), ATorinus (Bas. 1538), GHummelberg (Zür. 1539), in the collections of Stephanus, Rivinus and Ackermann (§ 55, 5); in Ackermann the text is given p. 23, the epitome of Constantinus p. 115.

7. By the archiater Theodorus Priscianus, a pupil of Vindicianus (§ 432, 12), we still possess five books Medicinae praesentaneae, a Latin version of a (lost) Greek work by the same author. He still professes the ancient belief. He is quoted already by Alexandros of Tralles (saec. VI). Published (incomplete) by SGelenius, Bas. 1532, and simultaneously (here the author is wrongly called Q. Octavius Horatianus) by HNeuenar, Strassb. 1532, then by JMBernhold (I, Ansbach 1791), the complete work in Experimentarius medicinae, Strassb. 1544.

Also in the medd. vett. of ALDUS, Ven. 1547 sq. 291.—Th. Priscianus' Antidotarium and his book de simplici medicina are lost. EMEYER, Gesch. d. Botanik 2, 286. His name on the other hand is wrongly given to a badly written treatise Diaeta (20 chapters), published by GESCHREINER (Halle 1632) and subsequently. CHOULANT, Handb. der Bücherk.—Emendations to ThPrisc. by KPAUCKER, ZföG. 25, 577.

447. At about this period lived several commentators on earlier works on the art of surveying, such as Aggenus Urbicus and Innocentius.

1. By Aggenus Urbicus we possess commentum de agrorum qualitate (on Frontinus, § 327, 3; 'the wretched work of some Christian schoolmaster,' LACHMANN l.l. 2, 104), printed in LACHMANN and others' ed. of the Roman agrimens. 1, 1–58; also de controversiis agrorum ib. 1, 59–90. Cf. liber colon. I (ib. 1, 246) *ex commentario Urbici edictorum VI Caesaris Quinto Pedio Camidiano quae oppresit illa agrorum.*

2. Schrr. d. röm. Feldm. 1, 310 under the heading: *Ex libro XII. Innocentius v. p.* (vir perfectiss.) *auctor de litteris et notis iuris exponendis. Casa per A nomen habens* etc. *Casa per B nomen habens* etc. Cf. RUDORFF l.l. 2, 406 'the casae litterarum, . . . the most peculiar piece in the whole collection of the Agrimensores, and which has suffered most from long use in schools,' in quite barbarous Latin, see ib. 408. Cf. *de sub rivo latus* (from the brook-side) p. 316, 17 and other instances ib. n. 452. The author is not to be identified with the jurist Innocentius at the end of the 3rd century (PKRÜGER, Q. u. Litt. d. röm. R. 260).—Similar compositions from a Milan MS. s. X in the Berl. SBer. 1861, 1014.—On Frontin. Strateg. b. 4 see § 327, 5.

448. At about this time the Gallic rhetorician Severus Sanctus Endelechius composed at Rome a poem in elegant asclepiadean strophes and flowing diction, viz. his graceful idyl de mortibus boum. Likewise at the beginning of the fifth century Augustine's fellow-countryman and pupil, Licentius, addressed from Rome to his master, who had returned to Africa, a poem of 154 hexameters, interlarded with archaic and with brand-new phrases, confused in thought and very unclassical in prosody. There are extant by Audax, another contemporary, a few tiro-like verses on Augustine. On the other hand the satires composed by Lucillus are lost.

1. PPITHOEUS (vett. aliquot Galliae theologorum scripta, Par. 1586, 144= Epigramm. Lugd. 1596, 573) published from an unknown source a Christian idyl with the heading *Incipit carmen Severi Sancti id est Endelechi rhetoris de mortibus boum.* It is possible that the author did not assume the names Severus Sanctus until after his conversion to Christianity (EBÄHRENS, RhM. 31, 264 argues otherwise). There is no doubt that he is identical with the orator Endelechius who a. 395 taught at Rome in foro Martis (see § 367, 7). He was on friendly terms with Paulinus Nol.; see the latter's epist. 28, 6 *alius libellus ex his est quos ad benedictum*

*i.e. christianum virum, amicum meum Endelechium scripsisse videor* (the panegyric on Theodosius; see § 437, 1). . . . *is enim mihi auctor huius . . . opusculi fuit, sicut ipsius epistola, quae libello meo pro themate praescribitur, docet.* It is very probable that End. was a Gaul: see 21 *haec iam dira lues serpere dicitur. pridem Pannonios, Illyrios quoque et Belgas graviter stravit et impio cursu nos quoque nunc petit.* Cf. JBernays, Chronik des Sulp. Sev. p. 2 (=ges. Abhh. 2, 83).

2. The poem is a dialogue between two cowherds. Aegon asks Buculus concerning the cause of his sadness; the latter replies that it is because of the loss of his herd owing to the cattle-plague, which he describes touchingly. Tityrus then drives past his healthy flock and, asked to say what remedy he had used, he answers: *signum quod perhibent esse crucis dei, . . . mediis frontibus additum, cunctarum pecudum certa salus fuit* (cf. Greg. Tur. 3, 18), upon which Aegon and Buculus immediately resolve also to become Christians. The 33 strophes are in the metre of Horace c. 1, 6. If the epidemic be the *lues pariter boum atque hominum* of which Ambrosius speaks (comm. in Lucam 10, 10), the poem would appear to date from before the end of saec. IV; cf. also § 432, 8, l. 9.—Besides being printed in Pithoeus (n. 1) the poem is given e.g. in Wernsdorf, PLM. 2, 218, in Riese's AL. 893; separate editions by FPiper (Gött. 1835) and JAGiles (Lond. 1838).

3. Licentius (the son of the Romanianus to whom Augustine dedicated his books de academicis, § 440, 5; cf. Aug. epp. 27, 4), a pupil of Augustine at Carthage, Rome and Milan, but who had remained at Rome on A.'s return to Africa in order to continue his rhetorical and poetical studies (cf. also Aug. c. acad. 2, 3. 3, 1. de ordine 1, 2. 5. 8). From Rome he addressed to Augustine a letter (not extant) and the poem (in Aug. ep. 39=26, from which it is printed esp. in Wernsdorf's PLM. 4, 516 and in Bährens, FPR. 413), in which, having first spoken of his difficulties in studying that section of Varro's encyclopaedia which treated of music, he asks his old master for advice and to send him his work de musica, and shows himself to be an industrious, but shallow student of rhetoric, displaying much cheap erudition in a patchwork of phrases. Biblical expressions v. 44. 102. But side by side with these v. 26 *clari rector Olympi* and 32 *tibi noster Apollo corda replet* (cf. Claudian 81, 4 *si me meus implet Apollo*), in allusion to Christ. A similar want of taste 148 *conceptum in lucem vomuisti nectareum mel.* Reminiscences of Vergil v. 52 (*o mihi transactos revocet si pristina soles* etc.). 97. 132 sq. (*non si mihi murmura centum det Boreas* etc.!) 141; of Persius v. 47; especially of Claudian, sometimes carried so far as to suggest that the author attempts to deck himself with borrowed plumes; see v. 60. 98 sq. 114 sq. 132. In Claudian Lic. chiefly admires and imitates his Alexandrine phrases. v. 98 sq. is taken from Claudian de cons. Probini (a. 395); v. 114 from his bell. Pollent. (a. 402); see LJeep's Claudian 2, p. xiv. Lic. however deviates from Claudian in his shortening of long final *o* (e.g. *scrutandŏ, omninŏ*), the scansion *Pelŏpum* (125), the hiatus *spem ac* (29) and so forth.—As Lic. though strongly asserting his Christianity (137 *sed nos, praeterea quod ab una exurgimus urbe, quod domus una tulit, quod sanguine tangimur uno saeclorum, christiana fides conexuit*) was yet simple enough to confess *et nunc Romulidum sedes . . . desererem, . . . ni mens coniugio incumbens retineret euntem* (71 sqq.), and probably expressed his views more fully in his letters, Augustine and Paulinus of Nola exerted themselves to bring back the straying sheep to the fold. See Augustine ep. 26 Bened.=39 *mi Licenti, . . . timeo te rebus mortalibus . . . compediri. . . . imaginationibus mortiferarum voluptatum aurem accommodas. . . . ornari abs te diabolus quaerit.* Paulinus ep. 8=46: in Aug. epp. 32=36: e.g. *tu thalamos licet et celsos mediteris honores, . . . vive, precor, sed vive deo; nam vivere mundo mortis opus; viva est vivere vita deo.*

4. The five hexameters of Audax (among them one in seven feet) in his letter in Augustine's epp. 260=139; in WERNSDORF PLM. 4, 514.—*Versus Bassi excōsule scripti in tumulo . . . Mănice* (Monicae) *matris scti Augustini*, from Paris. 8093 s. IX, in RIESE'S AL. 670.

5. RUTIL. NAM. 1, 599 *huius* (i.e. Lucillus, the father of Decius, consularis Tusciae a. 416) *vulnificis satira ludente Camenis nec Turnus potior nec Iuvenalis erit. restituit veterem censoria lima pudorem, dumque malos carpit praecipit esse bonos.* His satires appear, therefore, to have treated of ethical subjects in a polemical manner.

449. The hundred riddles attributed in the manuscripts to a certain Symphosius were probably composed about the 4th or 5th century; they consist of three hexameters each. His diction and prosody are correct and in good taste.

1. Title in the MSS. Enigmata *Sy(i)mphosii*, in the Salm. s. VII/VIII *enigmata Symfosi scolastici* (ib. subscriptio *expl. enigmata sinfosi*), in the Petropol. s. VIII *incipiunt in enigmate simphosi uel lucani*, also a marginal note in the Palat.-Vatic. 1753 s. IX at the beginning of the text: *Incanus firmianus* (KSCHENKL, Wien. Studd. 3, 147) and a gloss in the cod. Cassin. 90 s. X: *simposium vel simphosium* (*simphonium* in the MS.) *aenigma quod Firmianus* (*et* is added in the MS.) *Lactantius composuit* (*composuerunt*, the MS.) in GGOETZ, RhM. 41, 318. This gloss makes it very probable that instead of *vel lucani* and *Incanus* we should read *vel Lactanti* and *Lactantius* (GOETZ l.l.) and it puts in a different light the statements of Accursius and Pithoeus (though these indeed are erroneous in substance) concerning the MS. evidence for 'Caelius Firmianus Simphosius' as the author of the poems de fortuna and de livore (AL. 629. 636 PLM. 4, 148. 153; these belong rather to the Asclepiadius and Vomanius in the series of the XII sapientes § 421, 9). From this gloss we only learn that these 100 riddles were already at an early time attributed to Lactantius, being regarded as his symposium (§ 397, 2 init. and 8 ad fin.). Whether however this view, which CHAHEUMANN (n. 2) has zealously defended (hence the riddles in edd. of Lactantius e.g. in MIGNE 7, 285 and in that of FRITZSCHE 2, 298), is correct is very doubtful, as in order to sustain it a number of desperate assumptions must be made. The prologue in 17 hexameters preceding the riddles, rather involved in style, attempts to persuade the reader that the collection originated in so many riddles improvised at a Saturnalian festival; cf. [1 *haec quoque Symphosius de carmine lusit inepto. sic tu, Sexte, doces, sic te deliro magistro.*] 15 *hos versus feci subito de carmine vocis.* 17 *da veniam, lector, si non sapit ebria Musa.* The author dwells in the ancient world of thought, showing no trace of Christian influence. The name *Symposius* does not appear before the 4th cent. A quotation from Symphosius in the little book de dubiis generibus (§ 495, 8) GL. 5, 577, 1 *Valentinus 'nullus mea carmina laudat'* (=Symph. 19, 3); with this quotation from Valentinus (who is otherwise unknown) the name of Symphosius has been omitted. Symp. is used in the novel by APOLLON. TYR. (§ 489, 2) and the riddles of ALDHELMUS (§ 500, 2), who also mentions him by name. WTHPAUL, de Symposii aenigmatis, Berl. 1854 and SCHENKL (see n. 2) assign Symposius to saec. IV–V; LMÜLLER (metr. lat. p. 55) to saec. II–III on account of his good versification. Cf. also HAUPT, op. 3, 31. Imitation of Horace: AZINGERLE, zu spät. lat. Dichtern 1 (Innsbr. 1873), 4. 11. 12.

2. The text is contained in numerous early (s. VIII–XI) manuscripts, which

are divided between two recensions. The oldest MS. is the Paris. 10318 (Salmasianus) s. VII/VIII (§ 476), then Petropolitanus s. VIII (a collation in Wien. Studd. 3, 143), Palat. 1753. 1719 s. IX, SGall. 273 s. IX, 196 s. X etc. Cf. ARiese, ZföG. 19, 483, AL. 2, p. lviii. KSchenkl, Wien. SBer. 43, 11; Wiener Studd. 2, 297. 3, 143. LMüller, JJ. 93, 266. JKlein, RhM. 23, 525. Bährens introd. to his ed.—Editions: e.g. by PPithoeus in his Poematia vetera, Par. 1590 and frequently. L. Caelii Firmiani Lactantii symposium seu C epigrammata quae vero suo auctori (n. 1) reddidit et notis ill. ChAHeumann, Hanov. 1722. In Wernsdorf's PLM. 6, 2, 473. Symp. énigmes revues sur plusieurs manuscripts et traduites par EFCorpet, Par. 1868. AL. 286. PLM. 4, 364.

450. Probably at about the same time Avianus or (Avianius) composed 42 Aesopian fables in elegiac metre and dedicated them to a certain Theodosius. They were used as a school-book, frequently copied, augmented, paraphrased and imitated.

1. From the preface: *Dubitanti mihi, Theodosi optime, quoniam litterarum titulo nostri nominis memoriam mandaremus fabularum textus occurrit. . . . nam quis tecum de oratione, quis de poemate loqueretur, cum in utroque litterarum genere et Atticos graeca eruditione superes et latinitate Romanos? huius ergo materiae ducem nobis Aesopum noveris*, after which Sokrates, Flaccus (Horace), Babrius and Phaedrus are mentioned as predecessors (see § 27, 2). *de his ego ad XLII in unum redactas fabulas dedi, quas rudi latinitate compositas* (i.e. probably 'after a prose collection of fables,' perhaps that of Titianus [§ 379, 8]? OCrusius, Lpz. Studd. 2, 238; JJ. 139, 650) *elegis sum explicare conatus.* Perhaps the person addressed is Macrobius Theodosius (§ 444). The author is called in the MS. *Aviani* (genitive), hence Avianus or Avianius (WFröhner, Phil. Suppl. 5, 60. Avianii see PRE. $1^2$, 2147. CIL. 1, 577a. 3, 752. 6, 12877–82. 8, passim, etc.; cf. also § 452, 6). Flavius Avianus, the name formerly given to him, is unsupported.

2. The author moves without constraint among the creations of Pagan belief (Juppiter, Phoebus, Neptune, Fortuna etc.), mentions both the erection of altars (12, 5), of statues of the gods on tombs or in temples (23), and sacrifices (29, 25), speaks simply of the *campus* (10, 3), and therefore seems to have lived at Rome and in a heathen sphere. The metre, which in itself is but ill suited to the subject-matter, is correct, sometimes even elegant, the diction is generally pure, but rhetorically inflated, which is specially noticeable in contrast with the simplicity of the subjects. Av. is most correctly assigned to the 4th or 5th cent. (Wernsdorf's PLM. 5, 2, 663. OKeller, PRE. $1^2$, 1326; JJ. Suppl. 4, 410. WFröhner l.l. p. xii. LMüller, de Ph. et Aviano 32. OCrusius, Leipz. Studd. 2, 238. OUnrein, de Av. aetate, Jena 1885. Ellis intr. to his ed. p. xv). Lachmann, de aetate Flavi Aviani (kl. Schrr. 2, 51) follows Cannegieter in his ed. p. 254 and assigns the author (after important alterations and abridgments) to the 2nd century.

3. There are numerous MSS. beginning with s. IX (e.g. Paris. 8093. SGerm. 1188, then Leid. Voss. Q. 86, Karoliruh. 85, all s. IX); cf. Fröhner's, Bährens', Ellis' praeff., KSchenkl, ZföG. 16, 397. LMüller, de Phaedr. et Aviani fabb., Lps. 1875, 33. JHuemer, Wien. Studd. 2, 158 (on fragm. SGall. s. XI/XII).—Editions with Phaedrus and others. Separately by HCannegieter (Amst. 1731), CHTzschucke (Lps. 1790), CLachmann (Berl. 1845), WFröhner (Lps. 1862), EBährens (PLM. 5, 33), REllis (with prolegg., crit. app., commentary, excursus,

index, Lond. 1887).—Criticism: EBährens, miscell. crit. 176. JEBMayor, Class. review 1, 188. OCrusius, JJ. 139, 649.

4. These fabulae were chiefly enlarged by the addition of epimythia; see Fröhner p. 50. In part they betray their mediaeval origin even by their leonine rhythm. This appears also in the paraphrase (perhaps of saec. XI) entitled Novus Avianus (edited from a Munich and Brussels MS. by EGrosse, Königsb. 1868). In saec. XII we have the Novus Avianus of Alexander Neckam († 1227), the extant fragments being given by Fröhner p. 55. A paraphrase of Av. in prose and verse from 347[c] s. XIV in Fröhner p. 65.

## 451. To this time we may also ascribe some didactic poems, among which the most important is on rhetoric (carmen de figuris) by an anonymous writer.

1. The carmen de figuris (186 hexx.) was discovered in Paris. 7530 s. VIII, first published by LQuicherat (Bibl. de l'école des chartes 1, 51), then by HSauppe (Epist. crit. ad GHermann. 152), FWSchneidewin (Gött. 1841), the best edition being in KHalm's rhett. lat. min. 63, where are also used the critical observations of HLAhrens, ZfAW. 1843, 162, ThBergk and ThMommsen, ib. 1845, 81, FRitschl, op. 3, 802 and others. The last ed. in Riese's AL. 485 and in Bährens' PLM. 3, 272. It treats of the figurae lexeos. Each figure receives three lines, one of which generally contains the definition and two the illustrations. After a preface in three lines (*Collibitum est nobis in lexi schemata quae sunt trino ad te, Messi, perscribere singula versu et prosa et versu pariter † placare virorum*), the author treats first of the three principal terms κόμμα, κῶλον and περίοδος, which Aquila also has from Alexander Numenius; then of the respective figures in the alphabetical succession of the Greek technical terms, the method being that under each letter they are first taken from Rutilius Lupus, his arrangement being observed, then from other sources (especially Alexander Numenius) others are added (Dzialas, quaest. Rutil. 21, cf. FHaase l.l. 389). With v. 151 follows a further supplement of (less important) figures previously passed over. The examples are generally happy and partly original, partly derived from Greek and Roman writers, both poets and prosaists, merely transformed so as to suit the arrangement and the hexameter. Thus we have examples from Sallust (Catil. 20, 4) v. 8 sq., Ennius (trag. 47 Vahl.) v. 51 (also in Rutilius Lupus), Vergil (Aen. 1, 664 sq.) v. 78, from Horace (sat. 1, 5, 23) in the supplement v. 179. The poem has a pronounced archaic character, not only in ignoring final *s* in prosody and using such forms as *dixem*, *indupetravi*, *prosiet*, *sūāsi*, but also in divisions of words such as (v. 10) *peri quam dicunt odos;* Lucretius especially seems to be often used (*differitas*, *bucera saecula* etc.). These archaisms are so extraordinary as to deserve the appellation of far-fetched. While, therefore, the first editors ascribed the poem to the Augustan period, FHaase places it at earliest in the time of the Antonines, whilst WChrist (RhM. 20, 67) has transferred it to the age after the Antonines. But the constant shortening of final *o*, and at v. 167 the erroneous use made of a late epigram itself of a trifling character (AL. 392 PLM. 4, 111) lead us to even a later date. The poem appears, therefore, to be a playful experiment in verse by a schoolmaster well versed in Greek (*lemodes* 150=λημώδης) and in the archaic and classical literature of the Romans, of the time of Julius Rufinianus, Ausonius and Paulinus of Nola, when we also meet with other instances of the dropping of final *s*, and the Messius to whom the poem is addressed is probably Messius Arusianus (§ 427, 4). MHaupt, op. 3, 634. EHaase Hall. allg. Lit. Ztg. 1844, 386. Cf. Bresl. Ind. lect. 1856, 10

LMüller, metr. p. 345 and RhM. 23, 683. MHaupt op. 3, 559. A schoolman might also venture on such formations as *parimembris* (*ισόκωλος*), *distribuela*, *suffragiolum*. — MKrupp, de carmine incerti auctoris de figuris, Jena 1874. RSchmidt, carm. de fig. qua sit aetate conscriptum, Jena 1874. On the sources see also JMüller, de figuris quaestt. crit. I, Greifsw. 1880, 14.—The carmen de figuris, published by MHaupt, Lpz. SBer. 2, 53, is a work by Marbod († at Angers a. 1123; cf. JAFabricii bibl. lat. med. et inf. aet. 5, 16), see Hildeberti Cenoman. opp. ed. Benedict., Par. 1708, p. 1857.

2. The carmen de ponderibus et mensuris which, transmitted mainly in MSS. of Priscian, is for this reason frequently ascribed to him, was probably composed as early as the end of saec. IV or the beginning of V (KSchenkl, Wien. SBer. 43, 35). WChrist (RhM. 20, 66) places it as early as under Diocletian. Cf. LMüller, JJ. 93, 559. In the earliest (and most complete) MS., the Vindob. 16 (Bobiens.) s. VIII, the author's name is missing, in others we read: *Prisciani liber de ponderibus et mensuris ex opere Rufini vel Faviani* (Leid. Voss. Q. 33 s. X) or *Remi Favini de ponderibus et mensuris* (Guelferb. Gud. 64 s. X) or, which is especially noteworthy, *Remi Favini epistola de ponderibus ex sensu eiusdem clari auctoris* (*oratoris* in the Voss.) *ad Symmachum metrico iure missa* (Paris. 7498 s. IX, Leid. Voss. 15, see LMüller, JJ. 93, 563). Accordingly it is very probable that a certain Remmius F(l)avi(a)nus was the author and one of the younger Symmachi (§ 425, 3) the recipient. The suggester was therefore probably the Rufinus who is mentioned as the author (§ 445, 5). He might be designated by the words *eiusdem clari oratoris* in the Paris., as the commentarium of Rufinus comes immediately before in this MS. (see Keil's GL. 3, 396). Printed in FHultsch, scriptt. metrolog. rom. 88, then AL. 486 (cf. ib. 2, p. ix). PLM. 5, 71. On a Cantabr. s. X HSchenkl, Wien. Studd. 7, 341.—On the scholastic poem of the XII sapientes see § 421, 9; on the hymn to Sol § 21, 3. 475, 5 in fin.

3. In a catalogue of MSS. of the Murbach monastery of a. 1464 there is the record: *Olibrii bucolicon*. Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius cos. a. 395 is probably intended as the author of this now lost poem (§ 427, 4); son of Sex. Petronius Probus, cos. a. 371 mentioned § 422, 3 l. 16. An epigram addressed to this same Olybrius and one by him is extant AL. 772 (cf. § 41, 2 l. 25). On him see Claudian. ad Olybr. 3 *tam prona facultas, carmina seu fundis seu Cicerona tonas*. EZarncke, commentatt. in honor. Studemundi 197.

452. In the North of Africa and before it was conquered by the Vandals, Martianus Capella wrote his encyclopaedia of the seven artes liberales in nine books. The writer's strange device of introducing the various Arts at the nuptials of Mercury and Philologia is worked out in a tasteless manner. For the chief part of the subject-matter and its treatment Varro was the principal source; for rhetoric (b. V) he used especially Aquila Romanus; for geometry and geography (b. VI) Solinus and Pliny; for music (b. IX) Aristides Quintilianus. Many passages are in poetical form, likewise in imitation of Varro. These parts are relatively more enjoyable than those in prose, which on the one hand disgust the reader with their pedantry and on the other

hand exaggerate the ornate and conceited style of Apuleius to an unbearable degree.

1. Subscription in the Bamberg. and Reichen. *Martiani Minnei Felicis Capellae Afri Carthaginensis . . . liber VIIII explicit.* According to Cassiodorus he was a native of Madaura. On the author and his work the epilogue contains the following statement (9, 997): *habes senilem* (the author also alludes to his age at 1, 2), *Martiane* (the son), *fabulam, miscilla lusit quam lucernis flamine Satura; Pelasgos dum docere nititur artes creagris vix amicas Atticis sic in novena decidit volumina. haec quippe lŏquax . . . immiscuit Musas deosque, disciplinas cyclicas garrire agresti cruda finxit plasmate. . . . Felicis sed Capellae flamine* (cf. 8, 806 *ne tu Felix vel Capella vel quisquis es*), *indocta rabidum quem vĭdere saecula iurgis caninos blăteratus pendere, proconsulari † vero dantem culmini, . . . beata alŭmnum ŭrbs Elissae quem videt iugariorum murcidam viciniam parvo obsidentem vixque respersum lucro, nictante cura somnolentum lucibus . . . testem* (the satura) *ergo nostrum quae veternum prodidit secute nugis nate ignosce lectitans.* The author was, therefore, an advocate (cf. 6, 577 *ex quo desudatio curaque destrictior tibi forensis rabulationis partibus inligata aciem . . . obtudit*) in Africa (Carthage) while it still had its proconsuls i.e. before Geiseric's capture of Carthage (a. 439) or landing in Africa (a. 429), and lived in modest circumstances. In agreement with this we have the designation of Carthage 6, 669 as *inclita pridem armis, nunc felicitate reverenda.* It remains a question how long before a. 439, or a. 429, we should place Martianus. It is however certain that (as he used or quoted the works of Aristides Quintilianus and Aquila, see n. 3) he cannot have written previous to the 4th century. The most probable conjecture is that 6, 637 *caput gentium Roma armis viris sacrisque quam diu viguit caeliferis laudibus conferenda* alludes to the period after Alaric's capture of Rome (a. 410). It is certainly very strange to find the following description of Constantinople by an author of the 4/5 century: *illic promunturium Ceras chryseon Byzantio oppido celebratum, quod a Dyrrhachio* DCCXI *milibus distat;* we can only suppose he borrowed mechanically from his original (Solin. p. 76, 10=Plin. NH. 4, 46). Martianus completely passes over Christianity (except perhaps *sacrisque* l.l.): this is in keeping with the easy diffuseness with which he spins out his theme.—Cf. LMüller, JJ. 93, 705. FLüdecke, Gött. gel. Anz. 1867, 82.

2. The first two books contain the setting. Satura personified has inspired the author with the whole story: 1, 3 (see below); 6, 576 *ut lepidula est et quae totam fabellam ab inchoamentorum motu limineque susceperit, Satura iocabunda . . .*; 8, 806 *Satura illa quae meos semper curae habuit informare sensus*, 807 *Satura . . . lepidula* (809) *. . . inrisoria semper lepidaque versutia inter insana semper deridens vatum tumores dicabulis cavillantibus* etc. Hence the author looks upon his work as a satura and on account of the mixture of prose and verse (n. 5) as a kind of satura menippea. Martianus' work of course differs essentially from that of Varro, even in its general motive, see § 28, 3.—*Fabellam tibi quam Satira comminiscens hiemali pervigilio marcescentes mecum lucernas edocuit . . . explicabo. Cum inter deos fierent sacra coniugia* (1, 3), *. . . Cyllenius . . . uxorem ducere instituit* (1, 5). After several failures in his wooing Mercury consults Apollo, who advises him to marry a *doctissima virgo* of the name of *Philologia.* Mercury agrees and obtains permission to marry her. The bride is then elevated to divine state and, after some reluctance on her part, wafted to heaven, accompanied with songs of the Muses, but first has to give up all her learning (2, 135). They journey by the milky way and after various festivities the contract is concluded (2, 217). The description strongly resembles Apuleius'

Met., but is most tastelessly overloaded with erudite details. The second book terminates: *nunc ergo mythus terminatus, infiunt artes libelli qui sequentes asserent. nam fruge vera omne fictum dimovent et disciplinas annotabunt sobrias* etc. But even at the beginning of the third book the author repents his purpose and resolves to adhere consistently to the setting. The various forms of learning are accordingly introduced as personages in the suite of the bridegroom (*dotales virgines* 8, 810; *Mercuriales* 9, 897. 899) and described in most minute detail, sometimes wittily enough, but on the other hand the subjects which they represent are discussed very drily; in b. 3 grammar, 4 dialectic, 5 rhetoric, 6 geometry, 7 arithmetic, 8 astronomy, 9 music (medicine and architecture, the two arts added by Varro, are not speaking personages, see 9, 891). Table of contents in EBERT, LdMA. 1 [2], 483. The undue space given to the setting (even at the very close we have Harmonia conducting the bride to her thalamus) and the frequent insertion of poetical pieces render the contrast with the pedantry of the theoretic passages much more glaring, and the whole thus becomes painfully heterogeneous. The order in which the various arts are introduced agrees with Varro (see § 166, 6 a), the number of books also being the same, as the omission of medicine and architecture is compensated by the two books of the introduction. It is therefore probable that the works agreed also in the title (Disciplinae). But at the end of b. 2 Bamberg. has the subscription: *Martiani Minnei Felicis Capellae de nuptiis philologiae lib. II explicit*, and then the title: *incipit de arte grammatica lib. III.*

3. On the sources of the different books, frequently used very carelessly and with a lack of technical knowledge (vid. inf.), see EYSSENHARDT'S edition p. XXXI, on the sources of b. 3 see JÜRGENSEN (n. 9). The setting (b. 1. 2) is probably the author's own invention, though even here some unusual statements concerning the gods (e.g. such as were peculiar to the Orphics) have been taken chiefly from Varro. This is especially the case in the incidental identification of the gods with constellations and the corresponding division of the latter into 16 regions. It is probable on other grounds that Mart. directly made use of Varro (esp. b. 7 and 8). In rhetoric Aquila is copied in the doctrine of the figurae (§ 338); but Fortunatianus (§ 427, 5) may just as well have borrowed from Mart. or from his sources as vice versa, though the greater detail in the portions of Fortunatianus in question is an argument for that writer having been used by Martianus. In later literature the work which most nearly resembles that of Mart. is the Disciplinarum libri of Augustine (§ 440, 7).—B. 6 is from Pliny and Solinus; see FLÜDECKE, de M. C. libro sexto, Gött. 1862; Gött. gel. Anz. 1867, 88. Where we are able to check Mart.'s use of the sources, we always find traces of haste and ignorance. So especially in his theory of harmony and rhythm (b. 9), generally a verbal translation from Aristides Quint. (perhaps also from Latin sources, e.g. Varro?) with numerous errors; see RWESTPHAL, griech. Rhythmiker (1861) 47. HDEITERS, Studien zu den griech. Mus., on the relation of Mart. Cap. to Arist. Quint., Posen 1881.

4. The illustrations are mostly taken from Cicero (esp. in b. 5), then from Vergil, Terence, and also from Sallust, Ennius and others, the latest from Septimius Serenus (§ 353, 5) and Terentianus (§ 373 [a], 1). Mart.'s prose recalls in many respects that of Apuleius, who however appears simple in comparison with Martianus' inexhaustible bombast, which is intended to compensate for his utter lack of imaginative power and exhibits the author's awkward pedantry in an insufferable jumble of abstractions, of old and new Latin, of poetical and prosaic phraseology, which the beclouded reader is hardly expected to understand save

vaguely and partially. The diction of the poetical pieces imitates Vergil in particular, see STANGE l.l. 45. On M.'s diction see in general CBÖTTIGER l.l. 620.

5. Each book opens and generally also terminates with a poetical piece. Not only are many poems inserted (esp. in b. 2 and 9), but the prose also often passes into poetry, even in the most abstruse discussions (e.g. 3, 289). Dactylic verses are the most frequent (hexameters, distichs, once even 28 pentameters *κατὰ στίχον* 9, 907 sqq.; also stichic adonii 2, 125) and iambics (senarii, dimeters): there also occur choriambic (asclepiads, tetrameters as in AUSON. Bissula 5 p. 226 Sch.), phalaecic, ionic, anapaestic and trochaic lines. These are on the whole remarkably correct and constructed after classical models; in the quantity of syllables, synaloephe and hiatus (only in the caesura) Martianus likewise shows commendable strictness. But especially in foreign words there occur many of the mistakes peculiar to the time, such as *Sérăpis*, *Cánŏpos*, *trígŏnus*, *axĭŏma*, *Arcās*, *ἑπτᾶς*; and as here accent has overpowered quantity, so also in scansions such as *lŏquax*, *flăgitáret* (side by side with correct ones *lòquáces*, *flāgitat*), *cérnerĕs*, *fescĕnína*, *mortălibúsque*. The mass of mistakes in the closing poem is remarkable (see specimens n. 1). On details see FOSTANGE, de re metrica Mart. Cap., Lps. 1882.

6. Below b. 1 in the MSS. (Bamb., Reichenaug., Darmst.) occurs the subscriptio: *Securus Memor Felix v. sp(ectabil.), com(es) consist., rhetor (urbis) R. ex mendosissimis exemplaribus emendabam contra legente Deuter(i)o scholastico, discipulo meo, Romae ad portam Capenam cos. Paulini v. c. sub d. non. Martiarum Christo adiuvante.* This cos. Paulinus is probably the one of a. 534 rather than of a. 498, and the Felix here mentioned is identical with the *magister Felix orator urbis Romae* (cf. § 477, 3) alluded to in the subscriptio of the Horatian MSS. (§ 240, 6), but this Deuterius cannot well be the same who is mentioned in Ennodius (§ 477, 5). OJAHN, Leipz. SBer. 1851, 351. An epigram *Laeti Aviani* (AL. 925 PLM. 5, 425) on the work of Mart. Cap. is very suspicious as having been published by CBARTH (§ 323, 5).—ENARDUCCI, intorno a vari commenti fin qui inediti o sconosciuti (e.g. by Hadoardus [cf. § 183, 5 l. 8], Scotus Erigena, Alexander Neckam, Remigius of Auxerre) al Marz. Cap., in the Bull. delle scienze matem. 15 (1882), Rome 1883.—An old-high-German translation of Mart. Cap. from Notker's († 1022) school is printed in PPIPER, Schriften Notker's etc. (Freib. 1882), 685.

7. The work of M. C. was used as a school-book during the Middle Ages. Already Gregory of Tours (§ 486) hist. Franc. p. 449, 14 init. *si te . . . Martianus noster septem disciplinis erudiit* etc. Hence the great number of MSS.; see EYSSENHARDT l.l. x. xx. The extant MSS. are all derived from one original, as they agree in the corruptions of the text. Most important MSS.: Bern. 56 [b] s. X (ADICK l.l. 1, 8), Bamberg. s. X and agreeing with this Reichenaug. (now at Carlsruhe), then Darmstad., the last two s. X/XI; also a Cantabrigiensis s. VIII (with Keltic glosses, see WSTOKES in Kuhn's Beitr. z. vgl. Sprachforsch. 7, 385) and Monac. 14729 s. X.—Editions: ed. princ. by FVITALIS BODIANUS, Vincent. 1499, then by BVULCANIUS (Bas. 1577, with Isidorus), HGROTIUS (Lugd. 1599), UFKOPP (Frankf. 1836) and FEYSSENHARDT (rec., Lips. 1866). B. 5 also in HALM's rhett. latt. p. 449 (cf. p. XI); b. 9 in MEIBOM's auct. mus. (1652) 2, 165.—CBÖTTIGER, Mart. C. u. s. Satira, Jahn's Arch. 13, 590.—Criticism: RBENTLEY, RhM. 36, 157. BÖTTICHER l.l. 607. FEYSSENHARDT, RhM. 17, 638. 18, 323. 637. 29, 152. 479 and comment. crit. de M. C. particula, Berl. 1861. FJPETERSEN, de M. C. emendando, Helsingf. 1870. ADICK, de Mart. Cap. emendando, Berne 1885; St. Gallen 1889 II. JJÜRGENSEN, de M. C. libro III in the Commentt. phil., Lps. 1874, 59.

## E. The Fifth Century.

453. With the fifth century we are in the midst of the migration of tribes. One country of the West after another was seized and swallowed up by this torrent of populations, the ancient culture perishing with it. At the beginning of this century (a. 406 sqq.) Gaul was flooded by the hordes of Radagais; a. 410 Rome was taken by Alaric, king of the Visigoths; a. 415 his successor Wallia founded the kingdom of the Visigoths in Southern France and Spain; a. 429 the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa was founded by Geiseric. Italy was devastated by the Huns under Attila a. 452, Rome hardly escaping the fate which, however, overtook her a. 455 at the hands of Geiseric. After a series of feeble Emperors, the West-Roman Empire received its coup de grâce (a. 476) from the Herulian Odoacer, and a. 486 Gaul north of the Loire passed into the possession of the Franks under Clovis, who, at the beginning of the sixth century, wrested southern Gaul from the Visigoths and the South-east from the Burgundians. The ruling nations were now barbarians, who trampled down civilisation and were accessible only to its bad influences. The conquered nations submitted in dull despair.

At first some, whose culture originated in a better time, showed a purer taste in their works, e.g. Rutilius Namatianus, Vincentius of Lerinum, and Leo the Great. But by degrees literary productiveness ceased, and those who still made attempts were either infected by the prevalent barbarism or, like Salvianus and Apollinaris Sidonius, proved by their artificial diction that the literature they intended to continue was already dead. Culture and literature gradually passed into the exclusive possession and custody of the clergy. Only jurisprudence again gained some importance by the necessity of organising the new states and adapting the Roman law to the requirements and relative civilisation of the conquerors. A. 426 the so-called Law of Citations regulated the treatment of classical jurisprudence, and a. 438 the Imperial edicts which were still valid were collected and arranged in the codex Theodosianus. This facilitated also such abridgments as were now undertaken both by private individuals and public authorities. In the same manner abridged translations of medical works became more frequent; at the close

of the century the Greek Anthimus even addressed a Latin work on dietetics to Theoderic, king of the Franks. The East of Europe was less afflicted by the horrors of the time; here Paganism found powerful champions in Eunapios, Olympiodoros and Zosimos in their Greek historical works; here too Roman law was studied more zealously, and even traditional Latin grammar was diligently maintained and represented at Constantinople by Priscian. In the West, Gaul retained and appreciated ancient culture perhaps longer than other parts; but the united efforts of the Germans and of the Church overthrew it at last, mortally enfeebled as it was. At last ever deepening darkness overspread nations and countries.

1. AFOzanam, la civilisation au V^e^ siècle, Par. 1855 II. GKaufmann, Rhetorenschulen und Klosterschulen im 5. u. 6. Jahrh., in Raumer's hist. Taschenb. 1869, 1.—Salvian. de gubern. 6, 18 *ubi sunt antiquae Romanorum opes ac dignitates? fortissimi quondam Romani erant, nunc sine viribus. . . . vectigalia illis solvebant populi barbarorum, nos vectigales barbaris sumus.* 7, 1 *totus romanus orbis et miser est et luxuriosus.* Sidon. ep. 8, 6 *mundus iam senescens.* ib. 3, 8 *romana resp. in extrema haec miseriarum defluxit.* Orient. commonit. 2, 185 *labentis funera mundi.* Maximus (episc. Africanus ad Theophilum Alexandrinum) in Reifferscheid, anecdota Casinensia (Bresl. 1871) p. 2 *inter tot conlabentis saeculi praecipites minas, . . . inter tot conlisi orbis acerba naufragia.* Claudian. Mam. in his letter to Sapaudus (§ 466, 9): *bonarum artium iam inde a proavorum nostrorum saeculis facta iactura et animi cultum despuens . . . deliciis et divitiis serviens . . . pessum dedit cum doctrina virtutem.* Fulgent. myth. praef. *quamvis nostri temporis aerumnosa miseria non dicendi petat studium, sed vivendi fleat ergastulum, nec famae assistendum poeticae, sed fami sit consulendum domesticae.*

2. Apoll. Sidon. carm. 12, 1 *quid me, etsi valeam, parare carmen fescenninicolae iubes Dionis inter crinigeras situm catervas et germanica verba sustinentem, laudantem tetrico subinde vultu quod Burgundio cantat esculentus, infundens acido comam butyro? vis dicam tibi quid poema frangat? ex hoc barbaricis abacta plectris spernit senipedem stilum Thalia ex quo septipedes videt patronos.* Cf. AL. 285 PLM. 4, 363 *inter eils goticum scapia matzia ia drincan non audet quisquam dignos edicere versus* (Massmann, Z. f. deutsch. Altert. 1, 379. JGrimm, Gesch. d. deutsch. Spr. 1, 454. AGrabow in the Gratulationsschr. d. Philomathia to AStinner, Oppeln 1880, 21. FLeo, deutsche Rundschau 32 [1882], 416. REhwald, Phil. 46, 637); s. § 466, 2. Yet the courts of the Visigoths at Toulouse, of the Burgundians at Vienne, and subsequently of the Franks long continued to be the refuge of the last representatives of Roman literature. Of Carthage Salvian. de gub. 7, 16 *illic artium liberalium scholae, illic philosophorum officinae* etc. Cf. Apul. flor. 16 and (on the time of Thrasamund) Florentinus (AL. 376, 32 PLM. 4, 427) *Carthago studiis, Carthago ornata magistris.*—Exclusion of the adherents of the old faith from state offices by the Imperial decree of a. 416 (cod. Theod. 16, 10, 21).

3. Cod. Theod. 1, 4, 3 (of a. 426) *Papiniani, Paulli, Gaii, Ulpiani atque Modestini scripta universa firmamus ita ut Gaium quae Paullum, Ulpianum et cunctos comitetur auctoritas lectionesque ex omni eius opere recitentur. eorum quoque sententiam quorum tractatus atque sententias praedicti omnes suis operibus miscuerunt ratam esse*

*censemus, ut Scaevolae, Sabini, Iuliani atque Marcelli. . . . ubi autem diversae sententiae proferuntur potior numerus vincat auctorum, vel, si numerus aequalis sit, eius partis praecedat auctoritas in qua excellentis ingenii vir Papinianus emineat.* The name 'law of citation' is due to GHugo. Cf. RUDORFF, röm. Rechtsgesch. 1, 202. DERNBURG, Gaius 111.

4. An edict of Theodosius and Valentinian of a. 438 (cod. Theod. praef.): *saepe nostra clementia dubitavit quae causa faceret ut tantis propositis praemiis quibus artes et studia nutriuntur tam pauci raroque extiterint qui plena iuris scientia ditarentur et . . . vix unus aut alter receperit soliditatem perfectae doctrinae* (knowledge of the Law). Cf. § 461, 1.—Of importance for the history of the period and of the Church are some collections of decrees, reports, judgments, letters, etc., especially the so-called collectio canonum Avellana, containing 243 pieces dating from the years 367–553 (the greater part from a. 514–523); cf. BALLERINI in Migne 56, 179. MAASSEN, Wien. SBer. 85, 239; Gesch. d. Quellen des canon. R. 1, 787.—Principal MSS. Vatic. 3787 s. XI, Vatic 4961 (Avellanus) s. XI. Cf. esp. WMEYER, epistulae imperatorum rom. ex coll. can. Avell. editae, Ind. schol. Gott. 1888. 1888/89. Cf. § 493, 3.—In the cod. Reichenaug. now Caroliruh. 253 s. V there are preserved Gallican masses of the 5th century, edited by FJMONE. Cf. SCHUCHARDT, Vokal. 1, 16.

5. The geography of Honorius, which dates at latest from the 5th century, contains the names of a map (sphaera), constructed about A.D. 360; these are classified under four oceans (orientalis, occid., septentr., merid.) and their subdivisions (maria, insulae, montes, provinciae, oppida, flumina, gentes). Not the compiler himself *Iulius Honorius magister peritus atque sine aliqua dubitatione doctissimus* (*Iulius orator utriusque artis* he is called in the subscriptio of the Paris. s. VI; see below Cassiodorus), but one of his pupils *illo nolente ac subterfugiente divulgavit ac publicae scientiae obtulit.* The little book is extant in two versions (the second entitled *cosmographia Iulii Caesaris*), both printed in ARIESE's geographi lat. min. 21. Mentioned and commended by CASSIOD. div. lect. 25 *cosmographiae quoque notitiam vobis percurrendam esse . . . suademus; . . . quod vobis eveniet absolute si libellum Iulii oratoris . . . studiose legere festinetis* etc. KMÜLLENHOFF, d. Weltkarte des Aug. (Kiel 1856) 6; Herm. 9, 182. RIESE intr. to his geogr. min. XIX. WKUBITSCHEK, krit. Beitr. z. Iul. Honorius, Oberhollabrunn 1882. 83 II; d. Erdtafel des Iul. Honor., Wien. Studd. 7, 1, 278.—Honorius and Orosius (§ 455, 4) are copied out in the rather worthless compilation, dating probably from the 6th century, which in the later MSS. is erroneously attributed to Aethicus (§ 497, 1), last printed in RIESE's geogr. min. 71; see his Prolegg. XXVII. In the oldest text the heading is *Cosmographia cum itinerariis suis et portibus et ex fastis Romanorum et consulum nominibus et diversis, sine quo nemo prudentium esse potest.* Hence the cosmogr. belonged to a miscellaneous work, which is no longer to be found among the MSS., but the cosmogr. is still followed in many MSS. (likewise in the oldest, Vindob. s. VIII) by the itiner. Anton. (§ 412, 2).—A geographical work (by a non-Christian Greek) of Eastern origin (composed c. A.D. 350), which is remarkable for the abundance of its materials and the freshness of its style, has been transmitted in a Latin translation probably of the 5th cent. in barbarous Latin, which still shows traces of the Greek, under the title expositio totius mundi et gentium (printed e.g. in CMÜLLER, geogr. gr. min. 2, 513. ARIESE, geogr. lat. min. 105). This translation was subsequently much abridged, chiefly by the elimination of all Pagan ingredients, and entirely remodelled in style and emended by a Christian writer. This revised version (in AMAI, class. auct. 3, 385. CMÜLLER and ARIESE l.l. l.l.) is entitled in the MSS.: *liber iunioris philosophi in quo continetur*

*totius orbis descriptio.* . . . Cf. Bücheler, RhM. 27, 476. In gen. Ritschl, op. 3, 743. ChrPetersen, RhM. 8, 161. 377. 9, 85. 422. Pertz, de cosmogr. 12.—An epigram on the new edition of a map of the world (perhaps belonging to the Divisio orbis terrarum [§ 220, 12 l. 21]?), which Theodosius II caused to be made in a. 435, has been transmitted by the Irish monk Dicuil (a. 825) in de mensura orbis terrae: AL. 724 PLM. 5, 84; Riese's geogr. min. 19, cf. p. xviii. The attribution to a certain Sedulius is based on a confusion, see § 473, 9 and ESchweder, Chorogr. des Aug. 1, 45. JPartsch, die Darst. Eur. bei Agr. 1875, 9.

6. Of importance for the statistics of the later Roman Empire is the Byzantine State manual (a list of the court, civil and military appointments), Notitia dignitatum omnium, tam civilium quam militarium, in partibus orientis et occidentis, an official work, composed about a. 410 (cf. however Mommsen, Herm. 19, 233), and transmitted in a cod. Spirensis (now lost). Edited from copies of this by EBöcking, Bonn 1839–53 and OSeeck, Berl. 1876. Cf. OSeeck, quaestt. de N. D., Berl. 1872; Herm. 9, 217. See also ESteffenhagen, Herm. 19, 458. CJullian, Mél. d'archéol. 1, 284. 3, 80.

454. We possess a poem in two books, de reditu suo, by Rutilius Claudius Namatianus composed a. 416, describing in elegiac metre the author's return home from Rome to Gaul, with numerous excursuses on persons and things. The poem is attractive on account of its lucidity and the warm natural feeling pervading it, while at the same time it is correct and pure in form. Unfortunately the greater part of the second book is lost.

1. The author's name in the Bobiensis (see n. 4): *Rutilius Claudius Namatianus.* He was a native of Gaul (1, 20 *indigenamque suum gallica rura vocant*), but magister officiorum (1, 563) at the West-Roman Court, and at Rome praef. urbi (1, 157), probably in the course of a. 414, as the predecessor of Albinus (1, 473, cf. cod. Theod. 135, 38). If he be the mag. off. *Namatius* in the cod. Theod. 6, 27, 15, he held this office a. 412. His father Lachanius (1, 595; *Laecanius* is needlessly proposed by WFröhner, Phil. suppl. 5, 60; cf. Λαχάνων, Λαχανᾶς) held a high appointment and had a statue at Pisa (1, 575). He is perhaps the Claudius who was a. 389 cons. Tusciae (cod. Theod. 2, 4, 5) and 396 praef. urb. (ib. 6, 26, 8. 15, 13, 1). He was related to Palladius, the son of Exuperantius (1, 207).

2. His journey home was occasioned by the devastation of his estates (1, 20) probably by the Visigoths (near Tolosa? its capture 1, 496). On account of the Goths (*Getae* 1, 37, who play an important part in the poem, see 1, 142. 336. 2, 51) Namat. makes the journey by sea, and suffers many delays owing to the unfavourable season (departure from Ostia at the beginning of October). Many digressions (*deverticula* 2, 61) are added to the account, descriptions of places, legends, rhetorical excursuses (on gold and iron 1, 357); and above all tributes are paid to the memory of friends, e.g. Rufius Volusianus (1, 167. 417), Palladius (above § 410, 1), Albinus (1, 466), Victorinus (1, 493), Protadius (1, 542), his father Lachanius (n. 1) and others (n. 5). He is a staunch adherent of the old faith (e.g. 1, 67. 233. 259) with Stoicism for key-note: FMüller, de Namatiano stoico, Soltquellae, 1882. A strong invective against the Jews: 1, 383. Christianity also in the eyes of the poet is a *deterior circaeis secta venenis* (1, 525) and he inveighs in particular against

its ascetic and monastic side (1, 440. 517). Rome is enthusiastically praised at the beginning of b. 1. On the other hand the Imperial family is not mentioned in what remains of the work. An attack on Stilicho for his treaty with the Goths 2, 41.

3. On the date of composition see 1, 135: *quamvis sedecies denis et mille peractis annus praeterea iam tibi* (Roma) *nonus eat.* a. 1169 U.C. (Varr.)=416 A.D. Half idyl, half satire, the poem is very interesting as a picture of the time. Of b. 2 however, only the first tenth is extant. The beginning of b. 1 has likewise been lost. On the almost faultless verse of Nam. see LMÜLLER praef. to his ed. p. XI.

4. As the codex Bobiensis (§ 323, 7) discovered a. 1493 has again been lost, the text of the poem rests exclusively on a copy at Vienna, s. XVI. Ed. princ. by JBPIUS (Bon. 1520), then by JCASTALIO, Rome 1582. CBARTH, Frankf. 1623. THJABALMELOVEEN (cum nott. varr.), Amst. 1687. WERNSDORF, PLM. 5, 1, 77. rec. et ill. AWZUMPT, Berl. 1840. Rec. et praefatus est LMÜLLER, Lps. 1870. Translated and explained by ITASIUS LEMNIACUS (AVREUMONT), Berl. 1872. In BÄHRENS' PLM. 5, 4.—Criticism: AWZUMPT, obss. in R. Cl. Nam. pars I Berl. 1836. GFUNGER, Phil. 39, 370.

5. As contemporary poets R. N. mentions the satirist Lucillus (see § 448, 5), and a certain (Rufius Valerius) Messala (1, 268), probably the same who was praef. praet. a. 399–400, subsequently praef. urbi, and to whom SYMMACHUS addressed epp. 7, 81–92 (on this see SEECK p. CLXXXVI); cf. SID. carm. 9, 302 *Messalam ingenii satis profundi.*

455. About the same time the Spanish presbyter Paulus Orosius wrote, at Augustine's request, in vindication and glorification of the Church, his sketch of a Christian history of the world from Adam down to A.D. 417, without any deep study or knowledge of his subject, chiefly from Livy, Justinus and Hieronymus' version of Eusebios' Chronicle, but arbitrarily selecting and treating his material so as to suit his peculiar views, in an unequal but generally bombastic style. Besides this work we have by Orosius two dogmatic polemical treatises against the Pelagians and Priscillianists.

1. GENNAD. vir. ill. 39 *Orosius presbyter, Hispanus genere, vir eloquens et historiarum cognitor* (from PROSPER chron. ad. a. 396), *scripsit adversum querulos et infamatores christiani nominis, qui dicunt defectum romanae reip. Christi doctrina invectum, libros VII. . . . hic est Orosius qui ab Augustino pro discenda animae ratione ad Hieronymum* (to Bethlehem) *missus rediens reliquias b. Stephani primi martyris tunc nuper inventas primus intulit occidenti* (Minorca). *claruit extremo paene Honorii imperatoris tempore.* His native town was perhaps Tarraco: OROS. 7, 22, 8 *nos quoque in Hispania Tarraconem nostram.* He was presbyter probably at Bracara in Lusitania. Avitus of Bracara, presbyter in Palestine, writes to the bishop of Bracara, Balchonius (BARON. annal. eccl. ad a. 415): *ut dilectissimus filius et compresbyter meus Orosius usque ad has partes ab africanis episcopis mitteretur, cuius mihi caritas . . . vestrum omnium praesentiam reddidit.* Cf. AUGUSTIN. epist. 166, 2 (to Hieronymus): *venit ad me* (a. 413 or 414) *religiosus iuvenis, catholica pace frater, aetate filius, honore compresbyter noster Orosius, vigil ingenio, promptus*

*eloquio, flagrans studio . . . ad refellendas falsas perniciosasque doctrinas, quae animas Hispanorum multo infelicius quam corpora barbaricus gladius trucidarunt. nam inde ad nos usque ab oceani littore properavit* etc. Ib. 169, 13 (ad Euodium episc.): *sanctissimi et studiosissimi iuvenis presbyteri Orosii, qui ad nos ab ultima Hispania, i.e. ab oceani littore, . . . advenit.* He found Augustine engaged on his work de civ. dei, the first five books of which were already finished (ib. 169, 1). Orosius may have been born a. 390 at the latest; we do not know in what year he died.

2. Title of his historical work: *Pauli Orosii presbyteri historiarum adversum paganos libri VII. Ormista, Ormesta* (cf. § 481, 7) in the heading of several old MSS. is not accounted for (attempts e.g. in Bähr, RLG. 2 [4]. 318 and HNoltE, ZföG. 31, 86).—Oros. hist. 1, prol. 1 *praeceptis tuis parui, beatissime pater Augustine.* (9) *praeceperas mihi uti adversus vaniloquam pravitatem eorum qui . . . pagani vocantur, . . . qui . . . praesentia . . . tempora veluti malis extra solitum infestatissima ob hoc solum quod creditur Christus et colitur deus, idola autem minus coluntur, infamant:—praeceperas ergo ut ex omnibus que haberi ad praesens possunt historiarum atque annalium fastis quaecumque aut bellis gravia aut corrupta morbis aut fame tristia aut terrarum motibus terribilia aut inundationibus aquarum insolita aut eruptionibus ignium metuenda aut ictibus fulminum plagisque grandinum saeva vel etiam parricidiis flagitiisque misera per transacta retro saecula reperissem ordinato breviter voluminis textu explicarem. maxime cum reverentiam tuam perficiendo adversum hos ipsos paganos undecimo libro* (de civ. dei, see § 440, 10) *insistentem, quorum iam decem . . . elati sunt, . . . levi opusculo occupari non oporteret, . . . dedi operam* etc. . . . (14) *ut merito hac scrutatione claruerit regnasse mortem avidam sanguinis dum ignoratur religio, . . . ista inlucescente illam constupuisse.* For this purpose Or. always chooses the most sanguinary account, in case his authorities differ, and perhaps also exaggerates horrors intentionally. Mörner l.l. 178.

3. Oros. 1, 21, 21 *quoniam spopondisse me memini* (viz. 1. 1, 14) . . . *dicturum me esse ab orbe condito usque ad urbem conditam huic volumini, quod ab orbe condito explicuimus, finis hic sit ut ab urbe condita sequens libellus incipiat.* B. 2 brings the history of Rome down to its capture by the Gauls and gives an account of the other contemporary events from the conquest of Babylon by Kyros to the battle of Cunaxa; b. 3 comes down to a. 280 B.C.; b. 4 from the wars with Pyrrhos to the destruction of Carthage; b. 5 from the destruction of Corinth to the first Civil War; b. 6 from the wars with Mithridates to Augustus and the birth of Christ; b. 7 history of the Emperors to the author's own time (Vallia), special attention being paid to the history of the Christian Church. This division is the best part of the book, though the number seven is no doubt adopted on superstitious grounds (7, 2, 9 *septenarius ille numerus quo iudicantur omnia*) and the distinction based on the book of Daniel of four monarchies according to the four quarters of the globe (Babylonian, Roman, Macedonian, and Carthaginian) sometimes interferes with the arrangement. The synchronistic design and the interest shown in chronology (figures) deserve praise, though the latter part is carried out with no method and with many errors. In accordance with his source, the Chronicle of Eusebios, Orosius follows the Catonian era (Rome 752) for the time before Christ; in the Imperial period he states the years of each Emperor's reign merely in round numbers. Mörner l.l. 67. Everything relating to Spain is treated with a decided preference, and in prefaces and epilogues to the several books edifying observations are introduced in abundance. The author's consciousness of being a Roman citizen and a Christian appears especially 5, 1 sq.

4. Orosius would fain create the impression that he used a great many books for his work, and he therefore copies especially those passages from his authorities in which other authors are mentioned (e.g. 7, 10, 4 from Tac. hist. a passage on Sallust); he also mentions many Greek and Roman writers (e.g. Plato, Polybios, Palaiphatos, Phanokles; Fabius, Claudius, Valerius Antias, Galba, Pompeius Trogus; also Josephus) whom he certainly never had in his hands, having, moreover, no competent knowledge of Greek. In reality he has employed only a very few and (with slight exceptions e.g. part of Tac. hist.) only such as we still possess, so that we can check him, even when he does not mention his source, which he does as a rule. He used and occasionally quotes the Old and the New Testament, Livy, Justinus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Eutropius, Augustine (esp. de civ. dei); he uses without mentioning Florus, the Chronicle of Eusebios in Hieronymus' version (perhaps enlarged by additions? Zangemeister's larger ed. p. xxiv), the Church History of Eusebios-Rufinus (§ 435, 1) and the geographical authorities, now lost, which were used for the chorographia (edited esp. by Zangemeister, commentt. Mommsen. 715 and in Riese's geogr. min. 56; cf. ib. p. xxvi and Partsch [§ 220, 13] 10).—The basis of his design is Eusebios-Hieronymus; for Roman history his source is sometimes Livy, who is however used only in an abridgment (Zangemeister's praef. ed. mai. p. xxv; d. Periochae des Liv., Carlsr. 1882), sometimes Florus, then in increasing degree Eutropius; for extra-Roman history Justinus, for the Imperial period Eutropius and likewise Tacitus and Suetonius. For the history of the last decades treated by Orosius (esp. from a. 387) his historical work has an independent value. In the account of the conquest of Gaul Caesar's bell. gall. is also used; Orosius however takes it for a work of Suetonius; 6, 7, 2 *hanc historiam Suetonius Tranquillus plenissime explicuit, cuius nos competentes portiunculas decerpsimus* (Mörner l.l. p. 148, cf. above § 196, 1 ad fin.). Orosius' hasty use of his sources has caused numerous mistakes, repeated mention of the same fact from different sources, confusions etc.; cf. UKöhler, qua rat. Livii ann. p. 42. 95. Or. himself feels that he is not equal to his task; cf. e.g. 3, praef. 1: *repeto . . . nec omnia nec per omnia posse quae gesta et sicut gesta sunt explicari, quoniam magna atque innumera copiosissime et a plurimis scripta sunt. . . . (2) praeterea ex hac ipsa de quo queror abundantia angustia oritur mihi et concludit me sollicitudo nodosior*, the difficult task of avoiding the charge both of incompleteness and obscurity. On the sources see especially Mörner l.l. 49 and recently the continuous notice of these below the text (and in the index II p. 684) in Zangemeister's larger edition.

5. Orosius' education and diction were influenced by Vergil (Mörner l.l. 177), otherwise chiefly by Augustine (ib. p. 52). Orosius shows also traces of an acquaintance with Lucan (6, 1, 30 *ut verbis poetae optimi loquar*=Lucan. 1, 337) and Cicero (Mörner ib.), and in general of rhetorical training. His style depends on the sources he is copying; when Oros. himself speaks, he commonly falls into clerical diffuseness and unction, and is also apt to be entangled in his periods. On his diction cf. the index vocabb. notabilium in Zangemeister's larger ed. p. 799. KPaucker, kleinere Studien: II die Latinität des Orosius, Berl. 1883.

6. Epilogue (7, 43, 19): *explicui adiuvante Christo secundum tuum praeceptum, beatissime pater Augustine, ab initio mundi usque in praesentem diem, h. e. per annos VDCXVIII, cupiditates et punitiones hominum peccatorum, conflictationes saeculi et iudicia dei quam brevissime et quam simplicissime potui. . . . de qualitate autem opusculorum tu videris, qui praecepisti: tibi adiudicanda si edas, per te iudicata si deleas.* The 5618 years point to a. 417 as the time when the author terminated his work; cf. 7, 41, 2 *irruptae sunt Hispaniae. . . . nihil quidem novum, hoc enim*

*nunc per biennium . . . sustinuere a barbaris quod CC quondam annos passae fuerant a Romanis.* The greater part had however been written before his journey to Palestine, soon after his interview with St. Augustine (5, 2, 2 *nunc me Africa excepit*), near whom and perhaps by the aid of whose library the rest was subsequently composed.—To Orosius' commonitorium ad Augustinum de Priscillianistis et de Origenis errore (composed a. 415, the oldest MS. at Laon s. VIII/IX, printed e.g. in MIGNE 31, 1211; a new critical edition by GSCHEPSS in his Priscillian [§ 418, 12] in the Vienna Corp. scriptt. eccles. lat. vol. 18) Augustine replied with his treatise contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas ad Orosium (in MIGNE 42, 669). The liber apologeticus (on the freedom of the human will, against the Pelagians) was composed in Palestine at the end of a. 415, see MÖRNER l.l. 23, 29. Oldest MSS. Paris. 17349 s. IX/X, 1863 s. X, Vatic. Reg. 286 s. X/XI; best printed recently in ZANGEMEISTER's larger ed. p. 601. In MIGNE 31, 1173.—AGOLDBACHER, ZföG. 34, 104 draws attention to an unpublished letter of Orosius in the Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 24902, fol. 37 v.

7. The orthodoxy of Or. and his relations with Augustine served for a long time as a great recommendation of the work. Hence also there are nearly 200 manuscripts beginning with s. VI, in part very corrupt. The most important are Laur. 65, 1 s. VI (specimens of the writing in ZANGEMEISTER-WATTENBACH's exx. codd. latt. t. 55 and in VITELLI and PAOLI, collenz. Fiorent. paleogr., Flor. 1884, Lat. Tv. 1), Donauesching. s. VIII, Ambrosianus (Bobiensis) s. VIII, schedae olim Stabulenses s. VII/VIII (specimen of the writing in the catal. of anc. MSS. in the Brit. Mus. 2, t. 6), Vatic. Palat. 829 s. VIII, Rhediger. s. IX/X; cf. ZANGEMEISTER's preff. to his edd.—Editions e.g. by GBOLSUINGE (Cologne 1526), FFABRICIUS (Cologne 1561 and at other times) and esp. SHAVERCAMP (Leid. 1738 [1767]). Principal edition: (hist. et apol.) rec. et commentario crit. instr. CZANGEMEISTER, Vienna 1882 (=Corp. scriptt. eccl. lat. Vindob. vol. V). The same author's ed. min., Lps. Teubn. 1889.—Facsimile e.g. MIGNE 31, 636.—Criticism: EGRUBITZ (emendatt. Oros., Naumb. 1835) and UKÖHLER (Phil. 17, 552). DEUTSCH (on the apolog.), phil. Wschr. 1882, 1418.—King Alfred caused Orosius to be translated into Anglo-Saxon (edited by DBARRINGTON, Lond. 1773, and by JBOSWORTH, Lond.[2] 1859, also BTHORPE, London 1855, appended to the Life of Alfred the Great from the German of RPauli), cf. RPAULI, K. Alfred 226, 307.

8. RCEILLIER, hist. gén. des aut. 14, 1, GFHBECK, de Orosii fontt. et auctoritate (Marb. 1832), separately THVMÖRNER, de Orosii vita eiusque histor. ll. VII, Berl. 1844.—EMÉJEAN, Orose et son apologétique, Strassb. 1862. GAMS, span. Kirchengesch. 2, 398. WATTENBACH, Deutschlands Geschichtsq. 1[2], 77. EBERT LdMA. 1[2], 337.

456. Among the other adherents of Augustine in his war with the Pelagian sect one of the most zealous, both orally and in literary works, was Marius Mercator; also Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, Leporius, the presbyter Paulinus of Milan and others.

1. AUGUSTIN. epist. 193 (of the close of 418) to Mercator: *litteras tuae sinceritatis inveni et alium adversus novos haereticos librum.* He wrote and translated polemical treatises against the Pelagians and Nestorians, edited by JGARNIER (Par. 1673), STBALUZIUS (Par. 1684). In GALLANDI (8, 615), MIGNE 48, 47.

2. An Epistle by Aurelius De damnatione Pelagii atque Caelestii, GALLANDI 8, 129, MIGNE 20, 1009 and others. By Capreolus his successor (from 430) we have letters against the heresy of Nestorius, e.g. in GALLANDI 9, 490, MIGNE 53, 843.

3. Gennad. ill. 59 *Leporius adhuc monachus, postea presbyter, . . . scripsit emendationis suae libellum, in quo et satisfacit de erroribus* (as a former Pelagian) *et gratias agit de emendatione* (through Augustine). Printed e.g. in Migne 31, 1221.

4. Cassian. de incarn. dom. 7 *Paulinus presbyter, non ille Nolanus episcopus, conscripsit s. Ambrosii vitam.* Cf. § 433, 1. Printed in most editions of Ambrosius. Ebert, LdMA. 1², 344. Paulini Mediolanensis libellus adversus Caelestium Zosimo papae oblatus (c. 417) and De benedictionibus patriarcharum e.g. in Migne 20, 711. On the diction of this author and of Severus, episcopus Maioricensis (who a. 418 wrote epistulam de Iudaeis conversis [Migne 20, 735]) see KPaucker, ZföG. 32, 481.

5. The correspondence of Euodius Uzalensis episcopus with Augustine, epist. 158–164. 169=98–102. 246 sq. The other works ascribed to Euodius e.g. in Migne 31, 1233. On Prosper see § 460, 1.

457. On the opposite side the most prominent writer is Joannes Cassianus of Massilia (c. a. 360–435), the diligent promoter of monasticism, who is likewise considered the author of the semi-Pelagian heresy. There are three works extant by him: De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis libri XII; Collationes, four and twenty dialogues with Egyptian monks concerning the monastic life; De incarnatione domini contra Nestorium libri VII. Contemporary writers, mostly of the same theological party, are Philippus and Eucherius, the bishop Hilarius of Arles and others. There are works extant by the three last-mentioned writers. Agroecius, who wrote de orthographia, was also a Gallican priest.

1. Gennad. ill. 61 *Cassianus, natione Scytha* (? rather he was a native of Gaul and the son of well-to-do and cultivated parents; on the origin of this error see Petschenig pref. to his ed. p. iiii), *Constantinopoli* (after a long sojourn at Bethlehem and in Egypt) *a Ioanne* (Chrysostom) *magno episcopo diaconus ordinatus, apud Massiliam presbyter condit* (c. a. 415) *duo monasteria. . . . scripsit, experientia magistrante, litterato sermone et . . . sensu verba inveniens . . . res omnium monachorum professioni necessarias, i.e. De habitu monachi et De canonico orationum* (prayers) *atque psalmorum modo qui in monasteriis Aegypti diu noctuque tenentur libros III; Institutionum librum unum; De origine et qualitate a remediis VIII principalium vitiorum libros VIII, singulos scilicet et singulis vitiis* (γαστριμαργία, fornicatio, φιλαργυρία, ira, tristitia, ἀκηδία, κενοδοξία, superbia) *expediens* (therefore altogether 12 books de institutis coenobiorum, written down to a. 426). *Digessit etiam* (a. 426 sqq.) *Collationes* (XXIV) *cum patribus aegyptiis habitas* (cf. HUsener, religionsgesch. Unterss. 1, 320) . . . *et ad extremum rogatus a Leone urbis Romae episcopo* (then still archidiaconus) *scripsit adversus Nestorium De incarnatione domini libros VII* (a. 430) *et in his scribendis apud Massiliam et vivendi finem fecit Theodosio et Valentiniano regnantibus* (therefore previous to a. 450).

2. Manuscripts: for de instit. Casin. 295 s. VII, Caroliruh. 87 s. IX Augustodun. 24 s. VII and others; cf. § 404, 2. For the 24 collat., which divide into three sections each with a pref. 1–10, 11–17, 18–24, and the wording of which is often very corrupt (Petschenig, Wien. SBer. 103, 491 and pref. to his ed.), the

MSS. are for I Vatic. 5766 s. VIII, Paris. 13384 s. IX, Vercell. 187, 44 s. IX/X; for II Sessor. 55 s. VII/VIII, Petropol. O. i. 4 s. VII/VIII, SGall. 576 s. IX; for III Monac. 4549 s. VIII/IX, 6343 s. IX, Par. 2170 s. IX and others are of importance. For de incarn. Paris. Arsenal 483 s. X/XI, Britann. 16414 s. XI/XII. See PETSCHENIG pref. to his ed.—Editions by HCUYKIUS (Antw. 1578), AGAZAEUS (Atreb. 1628 and at other times), in MIGNE b. 49 and 50 and esp. by MPETSCHENIG, Vienna 1886. 88 II (= Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. Vindob. vol. 13. 17). The same author, Wien. Studd. 12, 151. On a MS. of the Collationes see § 404, 2.

3. On Cassianus' diction see the index in PETSCHENIG's ed., also the same author in the Archiv. f. Lexikogr. 5, 137. KPAUCKER, d. Latinität des Ioann. Cass., Romanische Forsch. 2, 391.

4. On Cassianus cf. esp. Voss. hist. pelag. 1, 7. NORISIUS hist. pel. 2, 1. GFWIGGERS, de Io. Cass. etc., Rost. 1824 sq. and in Ersch and Gruber's Enc. 1, 21, 105. JGEFFKEN, hist. semipelagianismi antiquiss., Gött. 1826. GKAUFMANN in Raumer's hist. Taschenb. 1869, 64. EBERT, LdMA. 1², 348.

5. GENNAD. ill. 62 *Philippus presbyter, optimus auditor Hieronymi, . . . in Iob edidit sermone simplici librum. legi eius et Familiares epistolas et valde salsas et maxime ad paupertatis et dolorum tolerantiam exhortatorias. moritur Marciano* (a. 450–457) *et Avito* (a. 455 sq.) *regnantibus*, i.e. a. 455 or 456. His commentary on Job (libri III) edited (by JSICHARD) Bas. 1527 and in the works of Hieronymus (e.g. in MIGNE 23, 1401).

6. GENNAD. ill. 63 *Eucherius, Lugdunensis ecclesiae presbyter* (bishop perhaps from 434, † c. 450) *scripsit ad Valerianum propinquum suum De contemptu mundi et saecularis philosophiae epistolam unam, scholastico sermone et rationabili. disseruit etiam ad personam filiorum Salonii et Veranii, postea episcoporum* (§ 469, 11), *obscura quaeque sanctarum capitula scripturarum. sed et Cassiani quaedam opuscula lato tensa sermone angusto verbi resolvens tramite in unum coegit volumen, aliaque tam ecclesiasticis quam monasticis studiis necessaria. moritur sub Valentiniano* (a. 425–455) *et Marciano* (a. 450–457) *principibus* (i.e. between 450 and 455). His collection of Biblical allegories and images, de formulis spiritalis intellegentiae, was especially widely known and influential, and hence underwent much interpolation (EUCHERII de form. spirit. intell. ad optt. codd. fid. rec. et portentosa [!] interpolatione liberavit FPAULY, Graz 1884. Esp. in PITRA's anall. sacra 2, 484 after a MS. s. VI). Even at an early date there were alphabetical excerpts from this little book, printed in PITRA, spicil. Solesm. 3, XVIII. 400 and KWOTKE, Wien. SBer. 115, 425.—Editions by BRHENANUS (Bas. 1516), DERASMUS (Bas. 1530), in MIGNE 50, 701.—On a treatise by him see SALVIAN. epist. 8. Also see § 412, 8. Hist. littér. de la France 2, 275. AMELLIN, de vita et scriptis Euch., Par. 1877. AGOUILLAUD, St. Eucher et l'église de Lyon 1881. Dedications to him by Agroecius and Polemius Silvius, see n. 11 and § 74, 9.

7. GENNAD. ill. 69 *Hilarius, Arelatensis episcopus* (from 429), *vir in sanctis scripturis doctus, paupertatis amator, . . . homo genere clarus . . . ingenio immortali aliqua et parva edidit, quae fidelis animae et eruditae linguae indicio sunt. in quibus praecipue . . . vitam scti Honorati, praedecessoris sui, composuit. moritur Valentiniano et Marciano regnantibus* (i.e. 450–455). This vita is printed e.g. in MIGNE 50, 1249. Cf. EBERT, LdMA. 1², 451. Four lines by Hil. in GREGOR. TUR. de cursu stell. p. 862, 14 A.-K. (also AL. 487). Metrum in Genesin (the Creation), 197 hexameters, with a dedication to Leo papa in three distichs, by (this?) Hil., in MIGNE 50, 1287, also in the edd. of H. of Poitiers (§ 418, 2) e.g. by MAFFEI and

Oberthür (Vol. IV). The Biblical matter is here treated very freely; Ebert l.l. 1², 368. Prosper to Augustine (ep. 225, 9): *unum eorum* (of the semi-Pelagians who held high positions) *praecipuae auctoritatis et spiritualium studiorum virum, sanctum Hilarium Arelatensem episcopum, sciat beatitudo tua admiratorem sectatoremque in aliis omnibus tuae esse doctrinae.* Gallicanism and Romanism fought their first struggles in the persons of Hil. and Leo I, see Leo's epist. 10 sq. In gen. cf. Hist. littér. de la France 2, 262. Cf. § 468, 1 ad fin.

8. By Hilarius' brother-in-law Lupus, bishop of Troyes (episc. Trecensis) a. 429–479, letters in Gallandi 9, 516 and Migne 8, 63 (the letter to Sidonius [*Gratias ago*] is a forgery by the notorious JVignier [NArchfädG. 11, 438. 12, 452]). Hist. littér. de la France 2, 486.—Possibly another native of Gaul was Euagrius, who according to Gennad. vir. ill. 51 *scripsit altercationem Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani, quae paene omnibus nota est*, printed in Martène, thes. anecd. (Par. 1717) 5, 1 and newly edited and completed from Bamb. B. 3, 91 s. X by AHarnack in his and OvGebhardt's Texten u. Unterss. z. Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit. 1, 3 (Lpz. 1883). The work was composed c. a. 430 after a Greek model. On the latinity, KPaucker, ZföG. 32, 481.

9. To Petrus, born c. a. 405 at Imola, bishop of Ravenna 433–450 and a celebrated preacher (hence surnamed Chrysologus), are attributed 176 sermones (many spurious), in Migne 52, 183. A letter from him to Eutyches see ib. 54, 739. Dapper, Petr. Chrys., Cologne 1867.

10. Sermons (20) by Valerianus, abbot at Lerinum, bishop of Cemele (near Nice) c. 440, with an Epistola ad monachos de virtutibus et ordine doctrinae apostolicae, e.g. in Migne 52, 691. Cf. Hist. litt. de la France 2, 328.

11. Agroecius dedicated (in Gaul) to the bishop Eucherius (n. 6) his short opus de orthographia, containing a number of additions of the most trivial kind to the work of Caper on that subject (§ 343, 3). Specimens: '*acervus*' *moles est*, '*acerbus*' *immaturus et asper*; '*hora*' *dierum est*, '*ora*' *finium*; '*deuncem*' *X uncias dicimus*, '*diuncem*' *XI.* The very first remark alludes to the method of writing the author's name: '*Agroecius*' *cum latine* (in Greek Ἀγροίκιος) *scribis per dipthongon scribendum, non . . . per i* '*Agricius*'. From the preface: *Capri libello . . . quaedam adicienda subieci non quod vir tantae peritiae aliquid praetermiserit . . . sed quia nos difficilia putamus quae ille ut facilia neglexit.* Best printed in Keil's GL. 7, 112. Agr. is quoted by name in schol. Bern. on Verg. ecl. 5, 80. Agroecius was, as follows from the letter addressed to him by Apoll. Sidon. 7, 5, subsequently bishop of Sens (Yonne) and was perhaps a descendant of the rhetorician Censorius Atticus Agroecius († c. a. 390; cf. § 421, 2 d), who is mentioned by Ausonius among the profess. Burdig. (15) and is also referred to by Apoll. Sid. 5, 10. Salvian. ep. 3 writes to a bishop Agroecius (at Antibes? Baluze ad loc. in Migne 53, 160).—FOsann, de Fl. Capro et Agroecio (Giessen 1849) p. 4. 20. Brambach, lat. Orthogr. 44. Keil l.l.

458. A. 434 Vincentius of Lerinum wrote, under the name of Peregrinus, his Commonitorium, an exhortation to maintain genuine Catholic doctrine, based on the Bible and on tradition, and a caution to beware of heresies of all kinds, in a simple and comparatively cultured style. It is evident that Vincentius too thinks Augustine's views too abrupt and onesided, and that he professes a modified Pelagianism.

1. GENNAD. ill. 64 *Vincentius, natione Gallus* (of the North of France) *apud monasterium Lerinensis insulae* (near Nice) *presbyter, vir in scripturis sanctis doctus et notitia ecclesiasticorum dogmatum sufficienter instructus, composuit ad evitanda haereticorum collegia nitido satis et aperto sermone validissimam disputationem, quam absconso nomine suo titulavit Peregrini adversus haereticos* (cf. n. 2). *cuius operis quia secundi libri maximam in schedulis partem a quibusdam furatam perdidit, recapitulato eius paucis sermonibus sensu pristino composuit et uno in libro edidit. moritur Theodosio et Valentiniano regnantibus* (i.e. a. 425–450).

2. VINCENT. comm. praef. *videtur mihi minimo omnium servorum dei Peregrino quod res non minimae utilitatis . . . futura sit si ea quae fideliter a sanctis patribus accepi litteris comprehendam. . . . hac scribendi lege servata ut nequaquam omnia, sed tantum necessaria quaeque perstringam, neque id ornato et exacto, sed facili communique sermone. . . . ne sublevandae recordationis vel potius oblivionis meae gratia Commonitorium mihimet parasse suffecerit.* 42 *exemplum adhibuimus sancti concilii quod ante triennium ferme in Asia apud Ephesum celebratum est vv. cc. Basso Antiochoque coss.* (a. 431). 40 *iam tempus est ut pollicitum proferamus exemplum, ubi et quomodo sanctorum patrum sententiae congregatae sint, ut secundum eas . . . fidei regula figeretur. quod quo commodius fiat hic sit iam huius commonitorii modus, ut cetera quae sequuntur ab alio sumamus exordio.* This second commonitorium, however, has been lost (see n. 1) except the summing-up at the end; (c. 41–43); cf. c. 41 *iam tempus est ut ea quae duobus his commonitoriis dicta sunt in huius secundi fine recapitulemus.*

3. The definition of catholicity c. 3; *id quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est; hoc enim vere proprieque catholicum . . .*, accordingly *sequamur universitatem, antiquitatem, consensionem.* All *novitas* therefore appears suspicious to Vinc., and he quite agrees with the saying of Caelestinus: *desinat incessere novitas vetustatem* (c. 43). 37 (*haeretici*) *audent polliceri et docere quod in ecclesia sua . . . magna et specialis ac plane personalis quaedam sit dei gratia, adeo ut sine ullo labore, etiamsi nec petant nec quaerant nec pulsent, quicumque illi ad numerum suum pertinent . . . numquam possint offendere.* This is a manifest allusion to AUGUSTIN. de dono persev. 23: *falluntur qui putant esse a nobis, non dari nobis, ut petamus, quaeramus, pulsemus*, and the very fact of its publication under a fictitious name proves the common. to be a polemical work. While Vincentius and his adherents *vetustate defendunt* their doctrine (PROSPER epist. ad August. of a. 428 or 429) and call Augustine's doctrine of predestination an individual innovation (heresy) (PROSPER l.l.: *multi qui in Massiliensi urbe consistunt in . . . scriptis quae adversus Pelagianos condidisti contrarium putant patrum opinioni et ecclesiastico sensui quidquid de vocatione electorum secundum dei propositum disputasti*), they were themselves designated as semi-Pelagians by Augustine's partisans. Against the Pelagian Julianus (§ 443, 3) Vincentius speaks, common. 40.

4. Editions esp. by GCALIXTUS (Helmst. 1629. 1655), STBALUZIUS (with Salvianus, Par. 1663 and elsewhere), EKLÜPFEL (notis illustr., Vienn. 1809), in MIGNE 50, 637 and others. Cf. HEFELE, Beitr. z. Kirchengesch. 1, 146.

5. That Vinc. further participated in the Pelagian contests may be inferred from the invective of Prosper entitled pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula (XVI) obiectionum Vincentianarum. In a similar circle, though not by Vinc. himself, were composed the three books of Praedestinatus (ed. SIRMOND, Par. 1643; in MIGNE 53, 587 sqq.). Neither is the symbolum Quicumque by Vinc. EKLÜPFEL l.l. 56. In general cf. Hist. litt. de la France 2, 305. EBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 468.

459. The works of the founder of the Papal power, the Roman bishop Leo I. (named the Great), a. 440–461, are both important for their subject-matter and interesting in their form. They consist of holy-day sermons (sermones) and letters, the latter embracing nearly the whole term of his episcopal career, the years 442–460. Leo appears in them at once as an acute thinker, as an able man of business, and as a perfect master of style, no less prudent than energetic; unshakeable in his purposes, ingenious, subtle and politic in the means which he employs; moderate and fair in practical questions, exhibiting sure tact in matters of dogma, while stubbornly defending the doctrines he espouses against deviations of any kind, but above all jealously watchful as to the prerogatives claimed by him. His diction is facile, pure and elegant.

1. Gennad. ill. 70 *Leo, urbis Romae episcopus* (a. 440–461), *scripsit ad Flavianum, Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae episcopum, adversus Eutychen presbyterum . . . epistolam. moritur Leone et Maioriano imperatoribus* (10 November 461). If he is the akolouthos Leo mentioned in Augustin. ep. 191, he appears first a. 418, whence he would seem to have been born about 395. His letter to Flavianus (epist. 28) on the relation of the two natures in Christ became the basis of the decrees of the Synod of Chalcedon (a. 451) and gradually came to rank as a standard of faith. Even more elaborate is his letter to the Emperor Leo (epist. 165) written a. 458 in justification of the first (and of the decrees of Chalcedon) on the ground of Scripture and tradition. The claims of the Roman See to the Primacy are very distinctly put forward epist. 16 and 156, 2. Markianos acknowledged directly on his accession to the throne Leo's *principatus in episcopatu* (epist. 73). Epist. 140 (a. 454) on Markianos is characteristic: *multis experimentis probavimus eam esse gloriosissimi Augusti fidem ut tunc maxime se arbitretur regno suo consulere cum praecipue studuerit pro integritate ecclesiae laborare*, and ep. 156, 3 to the Emperor Leo (a. 457): *debes incunctanter advertere regiam potestatem tibi non ad solum mundi regimen sed maxime ad ecclesiae praesidium esse collatam.*—Leo wisely avoided exposing himself personally to the intrigues and tempests of the Eastern synods; but he required from the bishops regular reports on all important events in the Church, energetically opposed any manifestation of episcopal independence as *ambitus* (ep. 104–106. 157, 4) and invoked even the temporal power against it (ep. 11, 24 and other passages).

2. In his intercourse with the Emperors Leo combines practical keenness with the most engaging address; he exhibits great cleverness and immense industry, and practises also the small arts of diplomacy. He never sends an important letter to the Emperor without an accompanying letter to the Empress, and to the priest who possessed the greatest influence at Court (with a copy of his letter to their Majesties). Where the interests of ecclesiastical unity are at stake, Leo is an inexorable defender of orthodoxy; cf. ep. 165, 2: *catholica fides, quae est singularis et vera cuique nihil addi, nihil minui potest.* In questions of practical life he was free from rigour and pedantry; cf. e.g. ep. 159. 167 sq. FCBaur, die christ. Kirche im 4–6 Jahrh. (Tüb. 1863) 114. 238. 246.

3. The extant sermons of Leo amount to the number of 96, most of them

appropriately brief, and similarly the 173 letters are free from redundancy and diffuseness. The former attest rhetorical training; the letters were probably written for the most part from his chancery (cf. § 460, 1. 2). Leo's purity of diction is not carried to classicality (late Latin words and phrases such as *aliquanti homines*, *obviare*, *fiducialiter*, *pervasor*, *subadiuva*, *tribulatio* are not rare), but for his period it is admirable and may tend to prove that Leo was a native of Rome and descended from a good family with an hereditary feeling for literary style. Cf. EBERT, LdMA. $I^2$, 470.

4. Works erroneously ascribed to Leo: Capitula s. praeteritorum sedis apostolicae episcoporum auctoritates (of a. 431): De vocatione omnium gentium; Epistola ad Demetriadem (the same to whom Pelagius wrote, see § 443, 1) s. de humilitate tractatus, the last two treatises being also ascribed to Ambrosius and Prosper, perhaps both the work of one author c. a. 450; Sacramentarium or codex sacramentorum vetus romanae ecclesiae; Breviarium adversus haereticos.

5. Principal editions of Leo's works by PQUESNELLUS (Par. 1675 II. Lugd. 1700 II) and P. and HBALLERINI (Ven. 1755 sqq. III). On the basis of this in MIGNE b. 54–56. The letters are also in the collections of the Councils.—Treatises on Leo esp. QUESNEL and BALLERINI in their edd. WAARENDT, Leo der Grosse u. s. Zeit, Mayence 1835. EPERTHEL, Papst Leo's I Leben und Lehren, Jena 1843. F. and P. BÖHRINGER die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen (Leo I und Gregor I), Vol. 12, Stuttg. $^2$1879.

460. A zealous adherent of the orthodox school of Augustine and an enthusiastic theologian, though not himself an ecclesiastic, was the Aquitanian Prosper (born c. a. 400). Besides polemical treatises against the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians and poems of similar tenour, we possess a Chronicle written by him, which exactly joins that of Hieronymus, continuing it from a. 379–455 A.D., and was itself subsequently continued and abridged by later writers. Prosper's Chronicle is very important for the last thirty years, in the absence of other sources. Among the other Christian authors the Scot Patricius is especially worthy of notice.

1. GENNAD. ill. 84 *Prosper* (his name in full is *Tiro Prosper*, e.g. in MSS. of the Chronicle and in BAEDA GL. 7, 257, 21; HOLDER l.l. 73 and below n. 3), *homo aquitanicae regionis, sermone scholasticus et assertionibus nervosus, multa composuisse dicitur ex quibus ego Chronica illius nomine praetitulata legi, continentia a primi hominis conditione . . . usque ad obitum Valentiniani Aug. et captivitatem urbis Romae a Genserico Vandalorum rege factam* (so also CASSIOD. div. lect. 17). *legi et librum adversus opuscula sub persona Cassiani* (§ 457, 1). . . . *epistolae quoque papae Leonis* (§ 459) *adversus Eutychen de vera Christi incarnatione ad diversos datae et ab ipso dictatae dicuntur.* The date of his death is uncertain. MARCELLIN. p. 295 ed. Rom. assigns the notice on Prosper borrowed from Gennadius l.l. to a. 463. Was this the year of his death?—A letter of Prosper to Augustine (*ignotus quidem facie*) a. 428 or 429, on semi-Pelagianism in southern Gaul, among Augustine's epp. 225; cf. ib. 226 the similar letter of Prosper's friend Hilarius, and Prosper's letter to Rufinus, in MIGNE 51, 77. Ib. 51, 155

sqq. we have also Prosper's pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Gallorum calumniantium, ad cap. obiect. Vincentianarum (§ 458, 5), ad excerpta quae de genuensi civitate sunt missa (all three composed shortly after a. 430) and especially his treatise De gratia dei et libero arbitrio, directed against Cassianus' (§ 457, 1) collationes, hence also entitled liber contra collatorem, composed c. a. 435 (ed. PFFoggini, Rome 1758. Ven. 1786); in addition to other works an abridgment of Augustine's commentary on the Psalms and of the most important dogmatic expositions in his works. A portion of the latter were also worked up by Prosper in elegiac metre (see n. 4). The treatise de promissionibus et praedictionibus dei (MSS. s. VII at Trèves) is wrongly attributed to Prosper. It was composed c. a. 440 by a native of Africa.

2. Prosper composed at Rome (as a notary in the Papal chancery? see n. 1) his Chronicle, which in its first version (the so-called 'chronicon vulgatum,' best edited by Pontacus, chron. trium illustr. auctorum, Bord. 1604) was brought down to a. 445, in the second to a. 455 (the so-called 'chronicon integrum,' in Labbé's nova bibl. ms., Par. 1657, 1, 16 and in Roncalli's vetust. lat. chron., Pad. 1787, 1, 635). Starting with the creation of the world, P. first makes a very slight abstract of Hieronymus' Chronicle; from the death of Christ he adds to the basis of his work a consular list derived from the Ravenna fasti (printed also in Mommsen, Abh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 3 [1861], 661), hence the work is also called 'chronicon consulare' (cf. n. 3). He also uses Augustine, Orosius; from a. 425 he writes as an eye-witness, in a loose, inaccurate and biassed manner; however his information is of great value. — Cf. OHolder-Egger, NArch. f. ält. deutsche Gesch. 1, 13. WWattenbach, Deutschl. Geschichtsquellen $1^5$, 78. AEbert, LdMA. $1^2$, 441.—HFernow, roman. Elemente in der Chron. Prosp., in the Jahrb. f. roman. Lit. 11 (1870), 257.—A collation of the Latin chronicles subsequent to Hieronymus for the period from a. 379–455 in ChFRösler's chronica med. aev., Tüb. 1798.

3. The first version of Prosper's Chronicle with a Roman continuation down to a. 451 was revised in Africa (at Carthage) and brought down to a. 457, and lastly was enlarged by the addition of a survey of the history of the Vandal kingdom from the taking of Carthage down to the overthrow of that kingdom a. 534: it is called 'chronicon Canisianum' after its first editor HCanisius, lectiones antiq. $1^2$, 148. 306 (also in Roncalli 1, 677) or 'Prosper Augustanus' after the Augsburg MS., see OHolder l.l. 24. 37. To Prosper has been erroneously attributed the 'chronicon imperatorum' or 'imperiale' (so called because it reckons according to the years of the Emperors' reigns [cf. the consulare n. 2]) transmitted in cod. Britann. 16974 s. X (Mommsen, Herm. 24, 398), and edited by PPithou, Par. 1588, hence also called 'Pithoeanum,' (in Roncalli 1, 739); it also reaches from a. 379–455, the close (from a. 453) is completed from the real Prosper, but it is valuable for notices relating to the history of the Germanic peoples in Gaul, in which country it was composed (at Marseilles?). OHolder-Egger l.l. 1, 91. AEbert l.l. $1^2$, 442. The name 'Prosper Tiro' (see n. 1), although it is usual to connect it with the chron. imperiale, is not here attested by the MS., see Holder l.l. 101.—Prosper himself was utilised in the Easter-table of Victorius Aquitanus (see § 470, 8), from which Cassiodorus in turn similarly borrowed. Mommsen l.l. 565. Prosperi auctarium (down to a. 560) in Roncalli l.l. 1, 721. Prosperi Aquitani Chronici continuator (down to a. 641) Havniensis; nunc primum edidit GHille, Berl. 1866. Cf. GKaufmann, Forsch. z. deutsch. Gesch. 13, 418; Phil. 34, 385. 728. 42, 477. 502. Holder l.l. 259. 280. Wattenbach l.l. $1^5$, 78. On the Zeitz Easter-table (now in Berlin, specimen of the writing in

ZANGEMEISTER-WATTENBACH's Exempla codd. latt. t. 23) of a. 447, cf. MOMMSEN, Abh. d. Berl. Akad. 1862, 539.

4. Prosper composed also c. a. 430 (in Augustine's life-time, see v. 90) a didactic poem de ingratis (in MIGNE 51, 91) in four parts (1002 hexameters altogether), and directed against the *dogma quod . . . pestifero vomuit coluber sermone Britannus* (Pelagius). Cf. 693. praef. 1 *unde voluntatis sanctae subsistat origo, unde animis pietas insit et unde fides adversum ingratos* (not recognising the mercy of God) *falsa et virtute* (spurious sanctity) *superbos centenis decies versibus exposui.* The dry subject is treated with much life and spirit, and though the nicer rules of caesura, synaloephe etc. are not observed, the author (except in a few instances, such as aliūd 239) does not violate the ordinary laws, and gives proofs of his familiarity with the Pagan poets and of his rhetorical training. He uses archaisms such as *nascier* (10) and *mage* (962) to suit his metre. There are also two epigrams (in elegiacs) against a literary adversary of Augustine and upholder of the freedom of the human will, and also an 'epitaphium' on the (kindred) Nestorian and Pelagian heresies. The preface of the 106 dogmatic epigrams (see n. 1 ad fin.): *Dum sacris mentem placet exercere loquelis . . . quosdam ceu prato libuit decerpere flores distinctisque ipsos texere versiculis.* BAEDA, GL. 7, 232, 12 *Prosper in praefatione epigrammatum.* Baeda also quotes these epigrams of Prosper elsewhere (see KEIL's GL. 7, 616). Cf. also RIESE's AL. 2, p. XII.

5. Among the works ascribed on doubtful grounds to Prosper Aquit. should be specially mentioned a poem in which the author exhorts his wife to devote herself entirely to God in company with himself (in MIGNE 51, 611). It begins with 16 neat anacreontics in 4 strophes (also in BAEDA GL. 7, 257, 23 and in WERNSDORF's PLM. 3, 413 sq.) and then goes on in elegiacs (116 lines). Also a didactic poem de providentia divina (§ 464, 9. MIGNE 51, 617; cf. MMANITIUS, ZföG. 39, 580), with an introduction (v. 1–96) in elegiacs, with the lament: *caede decenni vandalicis gladiis sternimur* (in southern Gaul, about 415) *et geticis* (v. 33 sq.). Transition (95 sq.): *at ne sermo moram patiatur ab impare versu, heroi numeris porrige pentametrum.* That it is not by Prosper Aq. appears sufficiently from the Pelagian views of this poem. Cf. e.g. 238 sqq. *quia liber homo et sapiens discernere rectis prava potest, in se intus habens discrimina rerum iusque voluntatis, quo temperat arbitrium mens.* 554 sqq. and elsewhere. MANITIUS l.l. maintains the contrary, but not convincingly. The style is fluent and correct, but diffuse and often trivial. Cf. EBERT, LdMA. 1 ², 316.—It is hardly likely that the Hymnus abecedarius against the anti-Trinitarians (*Altus prosator et vetus*) extant in a Montepess. s. IX under the name of Prosper belongs to him; see also ABOUCHERIE, mélanges latins et bas-latins, Montpellier 1875.

6. On Prosper cf. Hist. litt. de la France 2, 369. FPAPENCORDT, vandal. Herrschaft (1837) 355. AEBERT, LdMA. 1 ², 365. Esp. OHOLDER-EGGER, NArch. f. ält. deutsche Geschichtsk. 1, 54.—An edition of his works esp. by the Benedictines (LE BRUN and MANGEAUT), Par. 1711 (Rome 1732)=MIGNE vol. 51.—On the calendar of Polemius Silvius (of a. 448 sq.) see § 74, 9.

7. Other Christian writers of this time by whom we possess works in Latin. Patricius (born near Glasgow, originally called 'Succath'), the well-known apostle of the Irish (St. Patrick), the author of a confessio (in MIGNE 53, 801), letters and other compositions (ib. p. 814); also 31 hexameters (a list of miracles) are ascribed to him (AL. 791 R). Turribius Asturicensis (bishop from 447), the author of a letter to the bishops Idacius and Ceponius against the apocryphal works and the Priscillianists, printed after LEO's epist. 15 (MIGNE 54, 693). Leo

Bituricensis (bishop of Bourges), a letter by whom is likewise found among the correspondence of Leo the Great, addressed to the bishops of the provincia III Lugd. (Turonica), Migne b. 54.

8. Christian prose-writers of the West of about this time, whose works have been lost. Syagrius (Gennad. ill. 65); Paulinus (ib. 68); Asclepius Afer, in baiensi territorio episcopus (ib. 73); Paulus presbyter, *natione . . . Pannonius* (ib. 75); Pastor episcopus (ib. 76); Victor, Cartennae Mauritaniae civitatis episcopus (*scripsit adversus Arianos librum unum longum, quem Genserico regi . . . obtulit* etc. 77); Voconius, Castellani Mauritaniae oppidi episcopus (78); Musaeus, Massiliensis ecclesiae presbyter (*moritur Leone et Maioriano regnantibus*, 79); Vincentius presbyter, *et ipse natione Gallus (linguam habens usu loquendi et maiore lectione politam*, 80).—*Dictinii tractatus quos secundum Priscilliani dogma conscripsit* mentioned by Leo epist. 15, 16.

461. A. 438 the codex Theodosianus, which had been in preparation during nine years, was finished. It is an official collection of the decrees made by the Emperors from Constantine (ius principale). It consists of sixteen books, arranged according to the subject-matter, the Imperial Edicts being mentioned in chronological order within each section. In the Eastern Empire this collection was law as well as its Supplements (novellae leges), until Justinian worked it up in his Digest; in the West it was soon abridged, and the first third has come down to us for the most part only in this abridged form.

1. From the law introductory to the Cod. Theod., given 15 Febr. 438: *electis viris nobilibus exploratae fidei, famosae doctrinae, quibus delegata causa civilis officii, . . . retro principum scita volgavimus, ne iurisperitorum ulterius severitate mentita, dissimulata scientia, velut ab ipsis adytis expectarentur formidanda responsa.* (3) *quam ob rem detersa nube voluminum in quibus multorum nihil explicantium aetates attritae sunt compendiosam divalium constitutionum scientiam ex d. Constantini temporibus roboramus, nulli post kal. Ian.* (439) *concessa licentia ad forum et quotidianas advocationes ius principale deferre vel litis instrumenta componere nisi ex his videlicet libris, qui in nostri nominis vocabulum transierunt et sacris habentur in scriniis.* (7) *longum est memorare quid in huius consummationem negotii contulerit vigiliis suis Antiochus . . . expraef. et cos., quid Maximinus, . . . Martyrius, quid etiam Sperantius, Apollodorus, Theodorus, . . . quid Epigenes, . . . Procopius.* From the minutes of the Roman Senate, a. 438: *cum . . . hanc quoque orbi suo, . . . d. n. Theodosius adicere voluit dignitatem ut in unum collectis legum praeceptionibus sequenda per orbem XVI librorum compendio, quos sacratissimo suo nomine voluit consecrari, constitui iuberet.* From the decree of a. 429 (cod. Theod. 1, 1, 5): *Ad similitudinem Gregoriani atque Hermogeniani codicis cunctas colligi constitutiones decernimus quas Constantinus inclitus et post eum divi principes nosque tulimus edictorum viribus aut sacra generalitate subnixas. . . . sed cum simplicius iustiusque sit praetermissis iis quas posteriores infirmant explicari solas quas valere conveniet, hunc quidem codicem . . . cognoscamus* etc. *ad tanti consummationem operis et contexendos codices (quorum primus omni generalium constitutione collecta nullaque extra se quam iam proferre liceat praetermissa inanem verborum copiam recusabit, alter omni iuris diversitate exclusa magisterium vitae suscipiet) deligendi*

*viri sunt singularis fidei, limatioris ingenii. . . . Antiochum v. i. exquaest. et praef. elegimus, Antiochum v. i. quaestorem s. pal., Theodorum, . . . Eudicium et Eusebium, Ioannem, . . . Comazontem atque Eubulum, . . . et Apellem, virum disertissimum, scholasticum. hos a nostra perennitate electos eruditissimum quemque adhibituros esse confidimus* etc. Cod. Theod. 1, 1, 6 (a. 435): *omnes edictales generalesque constitutiones vel in certis provinciis seu locis valere aut proponi iussae quas divus Constantinus posterioresque principes ac nos tulimus indicibus rerum titulis distinguantur, ita ut non solum consulum dierumque supputatione sed etiam ordine compositionis apparere possint novissimae. . . .* (1) *quod ut brevitate constrictum claritate luceat aggressuris hoc opus et demendi supervacanea verba et adiciendi necessaria et mutandi ambigua et emendandi incongrua tribuimus potestatem.* (2) *contextores huius Theodosiani codicis Antiochus . . . consularis, Eubulus, . . . Maximinus, . . . Sperantius, Martyrius, Alipius, Sebastianus, Apollodorus, Theodorus, Oron, . . . Maximus, Epigenes, Diodorus, Procopius, . . . Erotius, . . . Neuterius.*

2. Books 1–5 contain the ius ordinarium in the order of the Edict, the following parts the ius extraordinarum and novum, b. 6–8 the new law on the administration of the state, b. 9 criminal law, b. 10 sq. fiscal law, b. 12–15 constitution and administration of communities; b. 16 ecclesiastical law.

3. The cod. Theod. was epitomised in the lex romana Visigothorum (§ 488, 2) and summaries of it were made as late as s. 7, perhaps at the school of jurisprudence of Ravenna? (antiqua summaria codicis Theod.—for b. 9–16—ed. GHaenel, Lps. 1834. Manenti, antiqua summaria codicis Theod., Studj Senesi 1888 nos. 3 and 4). B. 1—b. 6, tit. 1, 2 is (with the exception of important additions from MSS. in Turin and Milan, n. 4) all of the cod. Theod. that is preserved through this excerpt in the lex rom. Visig.—Cf. PKrüger, ZfRechtsG. 20, 1, 138.

4. The most important manuscripts are for b. 6–8 Paris. 9643 s. V (specimen of the writing in Zangemeister-Wattenbach exx. cod. lat. t. 26), for b. 9–16 Vatic.-Regin. 886 (Tilianus) s. VI. Supplements to this from MSS. at Milan (to b. 1; on this see WFClossius, Tüb. 1824) and Turin (to b. 1–5. 13. 14. 16; see APeyron, Turin 1823; CBaudi a Vesme, Tur. 1839, and recently especially cod. Theod. fragm. Taurinensia, ed. PKrüger in the Abh. d. Berl. Ak. d. Wiss. 1877 Abt. 2). A specimen of the writing in the Turin palimps. (the upper writing s. VII contains Julius Valerius, see § 399, 3) s. V/VI in Zangemeister-Wattenbach l.l. t. 25. Fragments of a palimpsest at Halberstadt, WSchum, ZfRechtsgesch. 22, 365. In MSS. of the Visigothic epitome several portions (e.g. b. 16) are given in the unabridged version. Cf. besides n. 3.—Important early edition: cum perpetuis (extremely valuable) commentariis JGothofredi, Lyons 1655 VI (ed. nova . . . cur. IDRitter, Lps. 1736–45 VI). Latest edition: cod. Theod. ad liv ll. mss. . . . recogn. . . . GHaenel, Bonn 1842 (in the Bonn corp. iur. anteiust. 2, *81 sqq.).—On the cod. Theod. s. e SWZimmern, Gesch. des röm. Privatr. 1, 1, 165. AFRudorff, röm. RGesch. 1, 277. PKrüger, Quellen u. Lit. d. röm. R. 285; commentt. Mommsen. 75. OSeeck, ZfRG. 23, 1. 177. Mommsen, die Benennung der Constitutionensammlungen, ZfRG. 23, 345.

5. Cod. Th. 1, 1, 6, 3 (a. 435): *nullum extra se novellae constitutionis locum relicturi nisi quae post editionem huius fuerit promulgata.* These subsequent laws were to be mutually communicated by each of the courts (at Rome and Constantinople) and then published. A. 447–468 East-Roman 'novellae' were actually sent to Rome and published there, but West-Roman 'novellae' do not occur in the cod. Iust. after a. 438. A collection of the novellae of Theodosius II, Valentinian III,

(Maximus), Marcianus, Majorianus, Severus and Anthemius, in six divisions with rubrics, partly in the Visigothic abridgment (see n. 3), partly in the original version. Most complete edition by GHänel, novellae constitutiones imperatorum Theodosii II etc., Bonn 1844 (in the Bonn corp. iur. anteiust. after the cod. Theod.).

6. The 21 (more correctly 18) so-called Constitutions of Sirmond (JSirmond, appendix codicis Theod. novis constitutionibus cumulatior, Paris 1631 and elsewhere) are on Canon law and were promulgated by Constantine and other Emperors s. IV. They are derived from a chronological collection made in Gaul, which was appended to the Decrees of the Councils there; they have been preserved in a MS. as early as s. VIII. GHänel, de constitutionibus quas JSirmondus edidit, Lps. 1840, and in the Bonn Corpus iur. anteiust. 2, 405.

462. After the promulgation of the codex Theodosianus, but perhaps still anterior to the death of Theodosius II (a. 450) was composed in Gaul the Consultatio veteris cuiusdam iuris consulti (so called by J. Cujacius), being the opinions of one (or several) jurists returned to the questions of advocates, legal passages from the codex Gregorianus, Hermogenianus and Theodosianus being quoted *verbatim*.

1. The work may be divided into three parts (c. 1–3, 4–6, 7–9), each of which contains several queries. As in the lex rom. Burg., the citations are taken only from Paulus' sententiae (§ 377, 3), previously to their being abridged, and from the three codices. The lex romana Visigoth. (and Burgund.) are not yet mentioned. The author is unknown. That the work was composed in the life-time of Theodosius II appears (Rudorff) c. 7, 3 (*Pauli iuridici, cuius sententias sacratissimorum principum scita semper valituras ac divalis constitutio declarant*) from the omission of any mention of his name (*sacrat. princ.*), whether it be that *ac divalis constitutio* means that of Constantine (cod. Theod. 1, 4, 2) a. 327 or should be explained (with Huschke l.l. 852) *perinde ac div. const.* (*semper valet*). The other reasons alleged by Huschke l.l. 836, who assigns the consultatio to about the end of the 5th cent., do not seem irreconcilable with this.—The work is first quoted by Ivo of Chartres (a. 1090–1115) Decret. 16, 201.—The consultatio was first edited, from a copy by ALoisel, of the sole MS. (now lost), by JCujacius, Par. 1577. Latest edd. by EPuggé in the Bonn Corp. iur. ant. 391 and EHuschke, iurispr. anteiust.[5] 838. —AFRudorff, d. Entsteh. der cons., Z. f. gesch. RWissensch. 13, 50. Cf. Huschke l.l. 797. PKrüger, Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. R. 305.

2. Entirely Roman likewise in its basis is the Syrian legal text-book, which was probably compiled in Greek for practical use in ecclesiastical cases by a Syrian ecclesiastic, from Greek works embodying Roman law. It chiefly contained civil law, especially that relating to marriage and inheritance, paternal authority and guardianship; it was widely known and established in the East, where it even held its own triumphantly against the Justinian code. The Greek original composed c. a. 477 is lost: the work is known to us only through Syriac, Arabic, Armenian etc. translations and versions. Syro-Romisches Rechtsbuch aus den orientalischen Quellen herausgg., übers. und erläutert, by KGBruns and ESachau, Lpz. 1880.—RvHube and ESachau, ZfRechtsgesch. 16, 17.

3. On the libri coloniarum (c. a. 450) see § 344, 4.—On the subscriptio to Vegetius (c. a. 450) see above § 432, 6. See further § 373, 9. 376, 4.

463. In medicine and natural history also the fifth century throve on the works of earlier times, which were now translated and remodelled in various ways and for various purposes. Here must particularly be mentioned the African Caelius Aurelianus, the translator of Soranos, the head of the methodic school. We possess by him in addition to the work on chronic and acute maladies, extensive pieces of his epitome of universal medicine in questions and answers (medicinales responsiones). He is our main authority for the theories of the methodici. Cassius Felix, Aurelianus' fellow-countryman, who wrote his short subsidiary book on medicine (a. 447), founds himself chiefly on Galen. A compilation on veterinary medicine according to Pelagonios and others probably dates from this period. At the same time Hippokrates and Dioskorides were made palatable by means of Latin abridgments etc.

1. *Caelius Aurelianus methodicus Siccensis* (i.e. from Sicca in Numidia) is the name given to the author in the superscription of the Leyden fragment (see below) and in the Lorsch catalogue of MSS., see VRose, Herm. 4, 141. AWilmanns, RhM. 23, 389. *Methodicus* as the follower and translator of the most celebrated of the methodici, Soranos. Cf. acut. 2, 1 *Soranus, cuius haec sunt quae latinizanda suscepimus.* 2, 28 *cuius verissimas apprehensiones latino sermone describere laboramus*, chron. 2, 7 *Mnaseas et Soranus, cuius etiam nos amamus iudicium.* The latinity of Cael. Aur., with its already strong tendency to the Romance, argues for the 5th century. A collation of the Leyden fragment from the gynaecia (=*γυναικεῖα*) of this author (see Herm. l.l.) with the extant original (*περὶ γυναικείων παθῶν*, ed. VRose, Lps. 1882; see n. 4) shows that C. A. translates literally, but abridges. The quotations of other writings by himself (see Amman's index s. v. Cael. Aurel.) have reference only to his translations of other works of Soranos, and *secundum nos* (*καθ' ἡμᾶς*) properly only means *nos secundum Sorani iudicium.* VRose, anecd. 2, 167. Here and there Aur. also inserts a quotation from a Latin author (FBücheler, Bonn ind. schol. 1877, 5).

2. The work on acute (celerum or acutarum passionum, 3 bb.) and chronic diseases (tardarum or chronicarum passionum 54) is of exceptional importance as being a reproduction of Soranos' excellent work *περὶ ὀξέων καὶ χρονίων παθῶν*, which we do not possess. It is valuable on account of its numerous references to earlier authors and their medical methods, and especially remarkable for its faithful and vivid description of the diseases. Aurelian's version certainly leaves much to be desired.—Ed. princ. of the *χρόνια* by JSichard, Bas. 1529 after a Lorsch MS. which has since disappeared (registered in the catalogue of the Lorsch library, GBecker, catalogi biblioth. antiqui no. 37, 389. 558. 38, 44); ed. princ. of the *ὀξέα* cur. JGuinthero, Par. 1533 from a Parisinus which has also disappeared. So far as is known, there are no MSS. of these treatises now extant. Best edition of the two together rec. JCAmman, Amsterd. 1709 (=Ven. 1757). Also in the medical compilations (§ 55, 5). Cf. CGKühn, de Cael. Aur., op. ac. 2, 1; DGTrilleri notae in C. A., Lps. 1817 sqq. HHäser, Gesch. d. Mediz. 1³, 321.

3. Cael. Aur. acut. 1 praef. *placet itaque, Bellice discipulorum summe, celerum pas-*

*sionum libros scribere. . . . nam interrogationum ac responsionum libros, quibus omnem medicinam breviter dixi, iamdudum ad Lucretium nostrum perscriptos aptissime destinavi. is enim, ut nosti, ex omni parte graecarum scientia praeditus est litterarum.* In the monastery at Lorsch was to be found a now lost MS. of this work: '*Cael. Aur. . . . medicinalium responsionum libri III*' (Becker, catal. biblioth. no. 37, 388. 559. 33, 43). Cassiod. de instit. div. litt. 31 *deinde Aurelii Caelii de medicina et Hippocratis de herbis et curis diversosque alios medendi arte compositos, quos vobis in bibliothecae nostrae finibus reconditos deo auxiliante dereliqui.* Considerable portions of this work are extant in Reichenau (s. X, now at Carlsruhe) and London (s. XII) MSS., in the latter under the heading *Incipit liber Sorani de digestionibus*, first published by VRose, anecd. gr. et graecolat. 2, 183. Cf. ib. 168. It begins: *Cum nobis saepius, meus Lucreti, de medicina fuerit sermo* etc. . . . *hoc dabit occasionem meis interrogationibus* (183. 196). This piece contains rules of health (*salutaria praecepta*, cf. Cael. Aur. p. 76. 341 Amman). From the same Reichenau MS. a further piece has been published ib. (p. 206. 226, cf. 174), beginning: *Duobus me libris diaeticarum partem traditurum promisi, ex quibus superiore libro respondens de curatione, de passionibus, de temporibus et inspectione et de pulsu et de generali significatione et de typis et de diatritis et de adiutoriis . . . ordinavi. nunc de speciali significatione diaeticarum passionum* (symptoms of internal, not surgical diseases) *et de generali curatione respondeamus, ut isto volumine omnis diaeticarum cura compleatur.* This third book would have embraced surgery and gynaecology, if it was indeed the last. *Lib. III Responsionum medicinalium* is quoted by Cael. Aur. p. 206. 274. 436. cf. 207 ed. Amm. 1757. This work was likewise translated from Soranos; cf. Soran. gynaec. p. 27 and 37 (*ἐν τῷ ὑγιεινῷ*). Rose l.l. 172.—The diction of the Reichenau medic. resp. agrees with that of Cael. Aur. (cf. Rose l.l. 202). In his later works (chron. and acut.) C. A. made use of his former ones, and sometimes even repeated entire sections. The questions of C. A. were also used by Ps. Plinius, Isidorus (Origg. IV) and Aurelius-Escolapius. Rose l.l. 175.

4. There is extant a book on midwifery of cent. 5–6 which is the Latin version composed by a certain Muscio (*Μοσχίων*) of Soranos' work on the diseases of women (*γυναικεῖα*). Sorani gynaeciorum vetus translatio latina nunc primum (from Brux. 3701/4 s. IX/X, Laur. 73, 1 s. XI, Havn. 1653 s. XII) edita cum graeci textus reliquiis . . . a VRose, Lpz. 1882. On the diction Rose's Index and KPaucker, RhM. 38, 312. PhThielmann, Arch. f. lat. Lexicogr. 2, 198.—KSittl, JB. 1889 2, 12.

The name of Soranos is borne by two considerable Latin fragments at Carlsruhe (Reichenau MS. s. IX/X) and in London (Cottonianus, s. XIII), both with the heading *Suranus filio karissimo salutem*, the Carlsruhe fragment (printed in Rose anecd. 2, 275 cf. ib. 170) having in addition *Peri sfigmon* (*περὶ σφυγμῶν*, de pulsibus), in the form of questions at the end. The London fragment (printed ib. 243) contains an introduction ad medicinam, given in *interrogationum et responsionum modus* (ib. 247, l. 6), after a lengthy preface. The whole work is a Latin version of the pseudo-Galenian *Ὅροι* written by an opponent of the methodici. The section de pulsibus (ib. 263) shows a literal use of the more detailed treatment of this subject in the Reichenau codex. The pseudo-Soranian in artem medicam isagoge (printed in the medici vett. of Torinus 1528 and Aldus 1547) contains as c. 1–4 the identical above-mentioned long preface to the London MS., the fragment c. 5–23 gives excerpts from unknown sources which are not consistent either with the preface or with one another. Rose l.l. 169.

5. In several MSS. (SGall. 105 s. X with lacunae, Paris. 6114 s. XIII, Vatic. 4461 s. XIV [see AKöhler, Herm. 18, 392], Cantabr. s. XV) has been preserved a

treatise de medicina, which in 82 sections treats of a like number of maladies and their remedies. Preface *cum diuturno tempore sedulus mecum volvendo, carissime fili, de medicina tractassem, . . . placuit mihi ut ex graecis logicae sectae auctoribus* (especially from Galen, and in particular from his θεραπευτικὰ πρὸς Γλαύκωνα) *omnium causarum dogmata in breviloquio latino sermone conscriberem. quae cum perlegeris et usus fueris, ad curam omnium corporum humanorum cuncta experta reperies.* The compiler and the date of the composition are mentioned in the subscr. of the Paris MS.: *Cassii Felicis Artensis* (*Cirtensis* Rose, as an African, see below, *Catrensis* KSittl, JB. 1885 2, 84) *medicinae logicae sectae de graeco in latinum liber translatus sub ardebre et asclepio consulibus* (i.e. sub Artabure et Calepio, the consuls of a. 447; Mommsen, Abh. d. Berl. Akad. 1863, 551). And in Cantabr. we read: *Explicit casius felix.* The author is a Latin (p. 42 *araneas Graeci . . . herpetas dicunt, nos vero similiter latino sermone . . . a serpendo serpusculos nominamus*), and a native of Africa (e.g. p. 32 *herbam putidam quam punice 'aturbis' dicunt*, he also uses the Punic word *girba*), like Vindicianus whom he quotes (§ 432, 22), and like Caelius Aurelianus, to whose diction his shows the greatest similarity. Cf. VRose, Aristot. pseud.-epigr. 388, anecd. gr. lat. 2, 115. 167 and his edition: Cassii Felicis de Medicina . . . liber . . . nunc primum editus a VRose, Lpz. 1879. EWölfflin, die Latinität des Afrikaners Cassius Felix, Münch. SBer. 1880 1, 381.

6. To perhaps the beginning of the cent. belongs a Latin compilation on veterinary medicine, derived from Columella, Pelagonios (an author belonging to about the time of Constantine and who is several times quoted by Vegetius [§ 432]) and others.—Pelagonii veterinaria ex Ricardiano codice (i.e. from APoliziano's copy of a MS. which has disappeared) excripta ab ISarchianio nunc primum edita cura CCionii, Flor. 1826. Fragments of this work in the Vindob. 16 (palimps. s. V/VI; cf. § 303, 9. 394, 1. 481, 6); see JvEichenfeld, Wiener Jahrbb. 26 (1824), Anzeigebl. 25; ib. 44 (1828), 141 and Anzeigebl. 46.—HMolini, sopra la veterinaria di P., Padua 1828. FOsann, quaedam de Pelagonio, Giessen 1843. OGünther in the Genethl. Gotting. 1887, 12. On Pelagonios see recently in particular Bücheler, RhM. 45, 331.

7. On Latin translations of Hippokrates (cf. also HKühlewein, Phil. 42, 119), Dioskorides, Galen and others see Cassiod. de instit. div. litt. 31 (see above § 55, 3). Medical recipes from Voss. Q. 9 s. VI published by JPiechotta, ein anecd. lat., Leobschütz 1887. Cf. GHelmreich, Arch. f. Lexicogr. 4, 339.—To the close of the 5th (or beginning of the 6th) cent. belongs a Latin translation of the Greek metrologist Epiphanios (c. a. 390) in Hultsch, metrol. rom. 100 (cf. ib. 32).

464. Among the Christian poets of the time, the Spanish rhetorician Merobaudes, who had also served with distinction in the army and by whom only a brief poem on Christ was formerly known, has recently gained in importance by some newly discovered historical poems, especially on Aëtius. The tone of these poems is grandiose, their style pure and refined. Claudius Marius Victor of Massilia put into verse about a third of the contents of Genesis in the three books of his Alethia, and in so doing exhibits skill and taste, at the cost however of strict adherence to his model. To the same Victor has hitherto been

erroneously attributed a colloquy, which gives a life-like picture of the manners of the period. To perhaps the same time belongs the commonitorium by Orientius, a native of Gaul (two books in elegiacs), an exhortation to a Christian course of life.

1. An inscription from Rome (CIL. 6, 1724 Or. 1183 Wilm. 646) of a. 435: *Fl. Merobaudi v(iro) s(pectabili) com(iti) s(acri) c(onsistorii). Fl. Merobaudi aeque forti et docto viro, tam facere laudanda quam aliorum facta laudare praecipuo, castrensi experientia claro, facundia vel otiosorum studia supergresso, cui a crepundiis par virtutis et eloquentiae cura ingenium ita fortitudini ut doctrinae natum stilo et gladio pariter exercuit, nec in umbra vel latebris mentis vigorem scholari tantum otio torpere passus inter arma litteris militabat et in Alpibus acuebat eloquium. ideo illi cessit in praemium . . . imago aere formata. . . . quod huic quoque cum augustissimis Roma principibus Theodosio et Placido Valentiniano rerum dominis in foro Ulpio detulerunt, remunerantes in viro antiquae nobilitatis novae gloriae vel industriam militarem vel carmen, cuius praeconio gloria triumfali crevit imperio.* Cf. Sidon. carm. 9 (ad Felic.), 293 *sed nunc tertius ille non legetur Baetin qui, patrium solum relinquens, undosae petiit sitim Ravennae, plosores cui fulgidam Quirites et carus popularitate princeps Traiano statuam foro locarunt.* These expressions betray jealousy and ill humour. Merobaud. carm. 5 praef. *pro his me laudibus tuis* (of Aëtius) *Roma cum principe victuro aere formavit, pro his denique nuper ad honoris maximi* (consulate) *nomen . . . imperator evexit. . . . vel ego vel alii qui in hac dicendi professione sunt. . . . delatus ego in . . . sinum qua Salonas usque pelagus illabitur nactus sum quendam qui* etc. Carm. 4, 23 shows him to have been a Christian. Cf. n. 2. AEbert, LdMA. $1^2$, 417.

2. From a MS. which is now lost JCamers published in his edition of Claudian 1510, attributing them to Claudian, four poems which although entirely foreign to the poet have ever since been printed in the edd. of Claudian e.g in Gesner no. 98–101, in Jeep 2, p. 201–208, and in Riese's AL. 878–881; they are the laus Christi, miracula Christi, in Sirenas and laus Herculis (only the last two are still to be found in ms.). The first (laus Christi) was, in an early MS., attributed to Merobaudes (*Merobaudis Hispani scholastici carmen de Christo transcripsimus e libro antiquo quem ad nos Oporinus misit* says GFabricius, comment. in poett. eccles. p. 17). There is no reason to doubt this statement: Niebuhr, Merob. p. ix also assigns to Merobaudes the miracula Christi and the (pseudo-?) Claudianian so-called carmen paschale (de salvatore, no. 95 Gesner, in Jeep 2, p. 200), which in MSS. is also attributed to Damasus (§ 422, 2). EBährens, JB. 1873, 217. Cf. § 21, 3. 439, 7. 468, 5.

3. Other pieces, mostly fragmentary, extant without the name of the author, being given in SGall. 908 s. V (specimen of the writing in Zangemeister-Wattenbach's exx. codd. latt. t. 61), were recognised as belonging to Merobaudes and first published by BGNiebuhr (St Gallen 1823, Bonn 1824; subsequently in WEWeber's corp. poett. lat. 1367), then by IBekker (with Corippus) in the Corp. scriptt. byzant., Bonn 1836. Cf. CFHeinrich, RhM. 2 (1843), 532. Fragm. 1 (23 eleg. vv.) is in honour of the Imperial family (of Valentinian III) assembled at a feast: fr. 2 (7 distichs) bears the heading *(Vi)ridiaris viri inl. Fausti* (cos. 438?). Of c. 4 (modelled on Stat. silv. 2, 7) 46 hendecasyllabics on the second birthday of Aëtius' little son are extant. Carm. 5 is a panegyric on the third consulate of Aëtius (a. 446), with a long preface in prose. Of the panegyric itself 197 hexam. have been deciphered. Merobaudes on all occasions greatly exaggerates his

praise. His diction has the terseness and elegance but not the ease of Claudian. On the subject-matter cf. AHansen, de vita Aëtii (Dorpat 1840) 2, 24. GWurm, de rebus gestis Aëtii (Bonn 1844).

4. In the SGallen MS. of Merobaudes (n. 3) there are also considerable fragments of a book of oracles. Only answers are preserved, of a kind quite similar to those of Astrampsychos (ed. RHercher, Berl. 1863). They are translated from the Greek, are Christian in their attitude and are written in very popular language. Published by HWinnefeld, sortes Sangallenses ineditae, Bonn 1887. Cf. Bücheler, ind. schol. 1877 p. 13.

5. Gennad. vir. ill. 61 *Victorius* (thus Par. 12161 s. VII and he is also called *Victorius* in the subscriptions of the Paris. 7558 to b. 2 and 3 of the Alethia, *Victorinus* in other MSS. of Gennadius), *rhetor Massiliensis ad filii sui Aetherii personam commentatus in genesim, id est a principio libri usque ad obitum patriarchae Abrahae* (more accurately only down to the destruction of Sodom) *tres* (*quattuor* in the Paris.; at the close of b. 3 we read in the Par. 7558 *expl. Alitias lib. IIII*) *versu edidit libros, christiano quidem et pio sensu, sed utpote saeculari litteratura occupatus homo et nullius magisterio in divinis scripturis exercitatus, levioris ponderis sententiam figuravit. moritur Theodosio et Valentiniano regnantibus.* With these words Gennadius in all probability intends to designate *Claudius Marius Victor orator Massiliensis* (he is thus several times correctly entitled in the MS.) poem Alethia in three books (547, 558 and 789 hexx.), of which the contents (but see above l. 5) and manner correspond with Gennadius' statements. The extant portion, which however does not include a dedication to Aetherius (see l. 3), gives an explanatory recital of the contents of Genesis with all kinds of picturesque additions, digressions and rhetorical ornament. The quotation of Biblical passages is evidently avoided. Its pedagogic object: praef. 101 *te deus alme, precor . . . da nosse precanti, dum teneros formare animos et corda paramus ad verum virtutis iter puerilibus annis.* Vergil is used, then Lucretius and Ovid and others. For the diction and the prosody, which is tolerable on the whole, see Schenkl's Indices. —A guarded apology praef. 9 fin. *quod si lege metri quidquam peccaverit ordo, peccavit sermo improprius sensusque vacillans, hinc nullum fidei subeat mensura periclum.*—AEbert, LdMA. 1², 369. Schenkl intr. to his ed. ABourgoin, de Cl. Mario Victore rhetore Christiano quinti seculi, Par. 1883. SGamber, un rhéteur chrétien au 5ᵉ siècle Claud. Mar. Vict., Marseilles 1884.

6. The Alethia has been preserved in a single MS., Par. 7558 (Turonensis) s. IX. The first editor JGagneius, Lyons 1536 (Par. 1545) made use of a MS. belonging to a convent 'in insula Barbarensi' (see however Schenkl l.l. 344), but he corrupted the text in the most gratuitous manner by additions of his own, omissions, etc. (see the text of his work, with notice of the interpolations, in Schenkl l.l. p. 437). The later editions follow him (e.g. Migne 61, 937) with the exception of GMorel, Par. 1560, who, not being acquainted with Gagneius' edition, first published the genuine text of the Paris. See among recent works especially the edition by KSchenkl in Poetae christ. min. I, Vienna 1888, 335 (=Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. 16). Criticism: MPetschenig, Wien. Studd. 10, 163.

7. In the Paris. 7558 the Alethia in 110 hexx. is followed by *S. Paulini epigramma*, which the forger Gagneius attributed to Cl. Mar. Victor and entitled 'de perversis aetatis suae moribus liber IV (others read epistola) ad Salmonem.' It is a satirical conversation between Salmo a priest (living in the South of France near the river Tecum, the modern Tec, Tech, see Schenkl on v. 105) and others, concerning the morals of both sexes, fluent and skilful in diction and metre.

10 *agris . . . barbarus incumbit. . . .* 18 *si quid vastavit Sarmata, si quid Vandulus incendit veloxque abducit Alanus.* 91 *si falcem verbi cordi imprimeremus, . . . nec nos riphaei prosterneret ⟨arcus Alani nec servile etiam subverteret⟩ omnia bellum et qui nunc nostra grassantur clade superbi.* The author specially censures men for their materialistic tendency (33), women for their love of dress (61), but for the faults of women he holds men responsible. 76 *Paulo et Salomone relicto aut Maro cantatur Phoenissa* (Dido) *aut Naso Corinna, . . . accipiunt plausus lyra Flacci aut scena Marulli, nos horum, nos causa sumus.* The author sees no remedy save in the strengthening of the Christian spirit. He has not been identified (an attempt in Schenkl p. 502). Schenkl, on no cogent grounds, assigns the poem to a. 408. Printed with Marius Victor, in Schenkl p. 503.

8. The conclusion (subscriptio) of Or.'s commonitorium: *ut peccatores vincens Orientius omnes sanctorum veniam promerear precibus.* Venant. Fort. de vit. Mart. 1, 17 *paucaque perstrinxit florente Orientius ore.* It was therefore no doubt written before the 6th century. Cf. also the description of the time in the commonit. 2, 165 sqq., e.g. 181: *per vicos, villas, per rura et compita . . . mors, dolor, excidium, strages, incendia, luctus uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo.* The confession 1, 405,: *non ignarus enim miseris succurrere quaero, omnia perpessus quae fugienda loquor.* Vita Orientii 1, 3 (in the Acta SS. May I) *b. Orientium, mundanae lubricitatis squalore deposito, se totum casta mente divinae maiestati devovisse et . . . pontificalis Auscio civitate* (Auch, dép. Gers) *cathedrae dignitatem ascendisse.* It is further stated that in his advanced old age he was entrusted with a mission to Aëtius and Litorius (about a. 439) by king Theoderic I, who resided at Tolosa.

9. *Commonitorium fidelium* is the name given to Orientius' poem in Sigebert Gemblacensis († 1112 a.d.) vir. ill. 34. In the MSS. we find only *S. Orientii versus* or *Versus libri I S. Orientii* and so forth. B 1 of the commonit. consists of 618, b. 2 of 418 elegiac lines and seems to follow Lactant. inst. in particular (against this view FHaverfield, Classical review 2, 8). The poem de providentia (§ 460, 5) has also been used. The various vices (e.g. envy, covetousness, vanity) are discussed, the allurements of love (1, 407) and *ebrietas* (2, 51) are described with peculiar strength; there are elaborate reflections on death and rewards in the next world (2, 185. 273). In the latter the *monachi* (2, 338) are specially considered. The language is glowing and powerful. Prosodiacal licences (e.g. *ibi* as a spondee, *possĕs, erĕmo, millĕsimus*) occur frequently.

10. Only two manuscripts are known, the Aquicinctensis (discovered at Achin in the Hennegau; from this was published the ed. princ. by MADelrio, Antw. 1600. Salam. 1604) which has long since disappeared, containing only b. 1, and the Ashburnhamensis 73 s. X (stolen from Tours by Libri). Earliest edition, completed from this Turonesis, by EMartène, vett. scriptt. et monum. nova coll., Rotomag. 1700, 1, 1 and Thes. anecdd. (Par. 1717) 5, 17. HLSchurtzfleisch (Wittenb. 1706; supplement 1716) and e.g. in Migne 61, 974. Recently esp. the ed. of REllis in Poetae christ. min. 1 (Vienna 1888), 191 (= Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. vol. 16). Criticism: EBährens, JJ. 137, 389. HNettleship, Journ. of phil. 17, 118. JHilberg, Wien. Studd. 10, 165. On his models, etc.: MManitius, ZföG. 37, 408; Wschrfkl. Ph. 1888, 1137.—In the Turonensis after the commonitorium are given, without any express statement as to authorship (see however the heading before poem 3), the following poems: 1 *de nativitate domini*, 7 hex.; 2 *de epithetis salvatoris nostri*, 5 dist., containing only epithets of Christ; 3 *item eiusdem de trinitate* with the *explicatio nominum domini* (cf. LMüller, RhM. 22, 504) and the *laudatio*, the three latter in hex. Next: 4 *incipiunt orationes Orientii numero XXIV*, of which however only two pieces are extant, viz. prayers composed in strophes of five lines

(senarii, spondees preponderating) with refrains, being the first and last piece in the collection.

11. Ap. Sidon. carm. 9, 274 *nec (tibi legentur) qui iam patribus fuere nostris primo tempore maximi sodales. quorum unus Bonifatium secutus nec non praecipitem Sebastianum natales puer horruit Cadurcos, plus Pandionias amans Athenas. cuius si varium legas poema* (perhaps in Greek), *tum Phoebum . . . sonare collato modulamine arbitreris.* ib. 9, 289 *non tu hic nunc legeris tuumque fulmen, o dignissime Quintianus alter, spernens qui Ligurum solum et penates mutato lare Gallias amasti, inter classica signa, pila, turmas, laudans Aëtium vacansque libro, in castris hederate laureatis.*

12. Of Secundinus († 448) a panegyric abecedarius on his uncle Patricius (§ 460, 7), e.g. Migne 53, 837. Cf. § 466, 10.

465. In the first half of this century the Gallic presbyter Salvianus composed those works which we still possess: four books ad ecclesiam and a work in eight books in which, as an argument for the belief in Providence, the misfortunes of the times are represented to be well-merited divine punishments; lastly nine letters. All these works are valuable as vivid and of their kind well-drawn pictures of the period, but by far the most valuable is de gubernatione dei, a document of the first importance for sociology, and which holds a unique position in this period for the prominence which it gives to the moral, in preference to the dogmatic point of view.

1. Gennad. vir. ill. 67 *Salvianus, Massiliensis ecclesiae presbyter, humana et divina litteratura instructus et . . . episcoporum magister, scripsit scholastico et aperto sermone multa. ex quibus ista legi: De virginitatis bono ad Marcellum presbyterum libros IV, Adversum avaritiam libros IV* (=ad ecclesiam, see n. 2). *De praesenti iudicio libros V* (=de gub. dei ll. VIII) *et pro eorum merito satisfactionis ad Salonium episcopum librum I et Expositionis extremae partis libri Ecclesiastis ad Claudium episcopum Viennensem librum I; librum Epistolarum I; et in morem Graecorum a principio Genesis usque ad conditionem hominis composuit versu Hexaemeron librum I, Homilias episcopis factas multas* (cf. § 479, 4), *sacramentorum vero quantas nec recordor. vixit usque hodie* (cf. § 469) *in senectute bona.* Only the second and third work and nine letters are extant. Salvian. gub. 6, 13, 72 *cum sciam etiam in solo patrio atque in civitatibus gallicanis omnes ferme praecelsiores viros . . . factos fuisse peiores. vidi siquidem ego Treveros ipse homines domi nobiles* etc. KHalm conjectures *Trever ipse*, which would be evidence that Salvianus belonged to Trèves itself; cf. 6, 15, 84 *iacebant passim, quod ipse vidi atque sustinui, . . . cadavera nuda* (at the last capture of Trèves). 7, 6, 25 *terrae vel Aquitanorum vel nostrorum omnium a deo barbaris datae sunt.* Epist. 1, 5 *adulescens quem ad vos misi Agrippinae* (Cologne) *. . . cum suis captus est, . . . familia non obscurus, . . . propinquus meus.* gub. 7, 10, 40 *ille dux nostrae partis* (Litorius) *qui eandem urbem hostium* (Tolosa) *quam eodem die victorem se intraturum esse praesumpsit captivus intravit* (a. 439). But Attila's invasion and the battle on the Catalaunian fields (a. 451) are as yet unknown to Salv. in the works which are extant. His sojourn in Africa appears from de gub. 7. 16, 70 *video scaturientem vitiis civitatem*

etc. Cf. 8, 4 sq. Epist. 4 is interesting, being a pathetic attempt at a reconciliation with his parents-in-law, who, although they had meanwhile become Christians themselves, were sorely offended because Salvianus and his wife Palladia (they had a child Auspiciola), whom he had converted to Christianity, had ceased to live together as husband and wife and had both devoted themselves to a conventual or sacerdotal life.

2. The treatise ad ecclesiam (adversus avaritiam) published by Salvianus under the name of Timotheus, is quoted by Salvian. himself de gub. 4, 1, 1: *sicut ait quidam in scriptis suis*=ad eccl. 2, 9, 37 (in similar words Salv. gub. 1, 3, 16 [*non imprudenter quidam hoc loco dixit*] quotes his letter 5, 4). In epist. 9 he answers his pupil, bishop Salonius (n. 3), who had questioned him concerning the author of the bb. ad ecclesiam, in such a way that although he does not avow himself their author, he yet allows the authorship to be apparent. The treatise ad. eccl. itself (a 'pilot balloon,' hence also the fictitious name) employs every sophistical artifice to demonstrate that a Christian was bound to bequeath the whole of his property to the Church! Cf. AEbert l.l. 465.

3. The work de gubernatione dei is also (n. 2) dedicated to bishop Salonius (§ 469, 11); it was composed between a. 439 and 451 (see n. 1). From it: *nos, qui rerum magis quam verborum amatores, utilia potius quam plausibilia sectamur; . . . in scriptiunculis nostris non lenocinia esse volumus, sed remedia* etc. The author indeed tells his contemporaries the truth plainly. All the misfortunes that have overtaken them are, as he says, well merited by them (*patimur quod meremur*). The victories of the *barbari* over the Romans are traced to their moral worth (that of Pagans and heretics alike) and the depravation of the Romans. Cf. 4, 13, 63 *ego . . . Romanorum . . . paene omnes maioris reatus dico et criminosioris vitae esse quam barbaros.* 7, 6, 24 *inter pudicos barbaros impudici sumus. plus adhuc dico: offenduntur barbari ipsi impuritatibus nostris.* 7, 13, 56 *et quod Vandali ad Africam transierunt non est divinae severitati, sed Afrorum sceleri deputandum.* 7, 23, 107. 108. This depravation of morals is proved in detail in the case of the Aquitanians (7, 2 sqq.) and Afri (7, 14 sqq. 8, 2 sqq.); the others being chiefly accused of an undue fondness for *circenses ac theatra.* 6, 8, 42 . . . *ludicra ipsa ideo non aguntur* (in Mayence, Cologne, Trèves, in most of the towns of Gaul and Spain) *quia agi iam prae miseria temporis atque egestate non possunt.* 6, 12, 67 *vastata est Italia tot iam cladibus: ergo Italorum vitia destiterunt? obsessa est urbs Roma et expugnata: ergo desierunt blasphemi ac furiosi esse Romani? inundarunt Gallias gentes barbarae: ergo . . . non eadem sunt Gallorum crimina quae fuerunt? transcenderunt in Hispaniae terras populi Vandalorum: mutata quidem est sors Hispanorum, sed non mutata vitiositas. . . . circumsonabant armis muros Cirtae atque Carthaginis populi barbarorum; et ecclesia carthaginiensis insaniebat in circis, luxuriabat in theatris.* The description of manners and morals is always glaring. The author, whose style is clear and vigorous, employs all kinds of rhetorical figures, but tires his readers by his exaggeration, his prolixity (*stili prolixitas* 8, 1, 1) and the too frequent recurrence of the same thoughts, phrases and expressions, nay even of the same puns (e.g. *divitiis—vitiis*, see Zschimmer l.l. 63). B. 8 is evidently incomplete. There is also wanting the demonstration promised 7, 1, 2 that the old Romans were better than those of the writer's own time. The division into books is by the author himself; cf. 7, 1, 1 *cum in conclusione libelli huius qui nunc finitus est* etc.

4. In addition to his rhetorical training, Salv. also exhibits evidence of juridical study; cf. de gub. 5, 8, 41 (*genus venditionis et emptionis*). 7, 16, 66

(*Gaius-Seius*). 7, 20, 86 (*in iura migrare*). 8, 5, 24 (*XII tabularum decreta*). His knowledge of philosophy is however very poor, as is shown e.g. gub. 7, 23, 101 where he takes Sokrates to be the author of the Platonic Politeia (see ZSCHIMMER l.l. 43). His style decidedly resembles that of Lactantius, whose institt. div. he has also exploited for his subject-matter, and he has taken from these e.g. nearly all his scanty quotations from classical writers, see ZSCHIMMER l.l. 62. On S.'s diction see FXHIRNER, Progr. d. Lyc. zu Freising 1869 and the indices verbb. et locutionum in the edd. of HALM and PAULY.

5. Principal manuscripts for de gub. dei: a Paris. 13385 s. X (Corbeiensis) and a Bruxell. 10628 s. XIII, for the treatise ad ecclesiam: Paris. 2172 s. X and 2785 s. XI; for the letters 1–7 a single MS. Bern. 219+Paris. 3791 s. X, for letter 8 Paris. 9559 s. VII/VIII and others, letter 9 Paris. 2785 s. IX. HALM, Münch. SBer. 1876 1, 390 and intr. to his ed., also FPAULY, WienerSBer. 98, 3.—Editions: e.g. by PPITHOEUS (Par. 1580. 1594), CRITTERSHUSIUS (Nürnb. 1623), and esp. STBALUZIUS (Par. 1663. 1669. 1684); from this e.g. in MIGNE, 53, 25. Also cum comm. varr., Bremen 1688. Recently in particular rec. CHALM, Berl. 1877 (=Monum. Germ. hist. Auctt. antiquiss. 1, 1) and ex rec. FPAULY, Vienna 1883 (=Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. Vol. 8).—On Salvianus Hist. litt. de la France 2 (1735), 517. CGHEYNE, op. acad. 6, 119. GKAUFMANN in Raumer's hist. Taschenb. 1869, 47. AEBERT, LdMA. 1², 459. WAZSCHIMMER, Salvianus u. s. Schriften, Halle 1875.

## THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

466. Literature survived longest in Gaul. The regular art of correct and fluent expression both in prose and poetry throve here especially. The matter was subordinated, moving on in the traditional grooves, without serious aims, merely for the authors' self-satisfaction and the admiration of their friends. Versification quickly degenerated into barren trifling. The hendecasyllabic was a favourite metre at this time. In the pages of Apollinaris Sidonius we find the names of numerous orators, writers and poets, e.g. Consentius, Lampridius, Leo, Petrus, Sapaudus, Secundinus, Tonantius Ferreolus, Thaumastus, and many others. The ambition to display erudition appeared in several different circles but the amount of actual knowledge being but scanty, some audacious spirits such as the author of the origo gentis romae, Fulgentius and the grammarian Virgilius, hit upon the expedient of inventing their quotations.

1. SIDON. ep. 5, 10 *pauci studia nunc honorant.* ib. 2, 10 *tantum increbuit multitudo desidiosorum ut, nisi vel paucissimi quique meram latiaris linguae proprietatem de trivialium barbarismorum robigine vindicaveritis, eam brevi abolitam defleamus interitamque.* 4, 17 *sermonis pompa romani, si qua adhuc uspiam est, belgicis olim sive rhenanis abolita terris.*

2. Teaching and literary activity in Gaul embraced principally grammar and rhetoric, the latter including also metrical composition. AP. SID. c. 23, 210

*quidquid rhetoricae institutionis, quidquid grammaticalis aut palaestrae est . . . vorasti.* ib. ep. 4, 21 *te imbuendum liberalibus disciplinis grammatici rhetorisque studia florentia . . . foverunt.* Greek had been forgotten in Gaul, except at Massilia; the native and Germanic speech of the common people were strangely despised as plebeian and barbarous. ib. carm. 14 praef. *quae si quispiam ut graeca . . . et peregrina verba contempserit.* ep. 3, 3 *tuae personae debitum quod sermonis celtici squamam depositura nobilitas nunc oratorio stilo, nunc etiam camenalibus modis imbuebatur.* ib. 5, 5 *cum sis* (Syagrius) *consulis pronepos . . . immane narratu est quantum stupeam sermonis te germanici notitiam tanta facilitate rapuisse*, a few stupid jokes being added to this remark. Venant. Fort. carm. 7, 8, 63 *plaudat tibi barbarus harpa* (harp). ib. 7, 8, 69 *nos tibi versiculos, dent barbara carmina leudos* (songs). 1, praef. 5 *barbaros leudos harpa relidens.* Cf. Luxorius, AL. 307, 4 PLM. 4, 397 *esse inter iuvenes cupit, vocari baudus* (=ruler, lord, cf. Merobaudes, Marobodus, Teutobodus; ARiese, JB. 1881 2, 98). Cf. § 453, 2. GKaufmann, Rhetorenschulen und Klosterschulen, oder heidn. u. christl. Cultur in Gallien im 5–6. Jahrh., in Raumer's histor. Taschenb. 1869, 3; deutsche Gesch. bis auf Karl. d. Gr. (Berl. 1881) 2, 28. On the Western Roman Empire a. 455–480 cf. GRSievers, Studd. z. Gesch. d. röm. Kaiser (1870) 515.

3. In the churches in Gaul the congregation listened standing and applauded the preacher (as they also did in the East, Hieron. ep. 52, 8 ad Nepot.). Ap. Sid. c. 16, 126 *contionaturum plebs sedula circumsistit.* ep. 9, 3 *licet praedicationes tuas . . . raucus plosor audierim, tunc praecipue cum in Lugdunensis ecclesiae dedicatae festis* etc. See also § 469, 7.

4. Ap. Sid. c. 9, 299 *ne tu mihi comparare tentes quos . . . ipse plus adoro, Paulinum Ampeliumque Symmachumque* (§ 425, 2), *Messalam* (§ 454, 5) . . . *et nulli modo Martium* (Marcius Myro, c. 23, 444) *secundum, dicendi arte nova parem vetustis, Petrum* (n. 8) *et cum loquitur nimis stupendum, vel quem municipalibus poetis praeponit bene villicum senatus, nostrum aut quos retinet solum* (Gaul) *disertos, dulcem Anthedion* (in Vesontio, see ep. 8, 11 cf. carm. 22, praef. and § 426, 5) *et mihi magistri Musas sat venerabiles Hoëni; acrem Lampridium* (n. 6), *catum Leonem* (n. 7), *praestantemque tuba Severianum* (*n.* 8) *et sic scribere non minus valentem Marcus Quintilianus ut solebat.*

5. Ap. Sid. ep. 8, 4 (to Consentius): *tu . . . citos iambos, elegos acutis ac rotundatos hendecasyllabos et cetera . . . nunc Narbonensibus cantitanda, nunc Biterrensibus, ambigendum celerius an pulchrius elucubrasti.* Cf. ib. 9, 15 (see n. 7): *Consentiorum qui superstes est patri* (who had also been an author, see ib. c. 23, 97–176) *. . . cecinisse dictus omniforme canticum.* To him ib. carm. 23 (*ad Consentium v. c. civem Narbonensem*), in which v. 20: *misisti mihi multiplex poëma. . . . ibant hexametri superbientes et . . . per quinos elegi pedes ferebant; misisti et triplicis metrum trochaei, spondeo comitante dactyloque, dulces hendecasyllabos.* He composed verse both in Greek and Latin, cf. ib. 23, 234–240. Cf. § 472, 3.

6. Sidon. ep. 8, 11, 3 *Lampridius orator* (at Burdigala) *modo primum mihi occisus agnoscitur. . . . hic me quondam, ut inter amicos ioca, Phoebum vocabat, ipse a nobis vatis Odrysii* (i.e. Orpheus) *nomine acceptus. . . . si orationes illius metiaris, acer, rotundus, compositus, excussus, si poëmata, tener, multimeter, argutus, artifex erat. faciebat siquidem versus oppido exactos tam pedum mira quam figurarum varietate: hendecasyllabos lubricos et enodes, hexametros crepantes et cothurnatos, elegos vero nunc echoicos, nunc recurrentes* (§ 26, 4), *nunc per anadiplosin fine principiisque conexos. . . . in materia controversiali fortis et lacertosus, in satirica sollicitus et mordax, in tragica saevus et flebilis, in comica urbanus multiformisque, in fescennina*

*vernans verbis, aestuans votis, in bucolica vigilax, . . . in georgica rusticans. . . . praeterea quod ad epigrammata spectat, . . . acumine placens, . . . in lyricis autem Flaccum secutus* etc. Hence ib. in a poem addressed to him: *Arpinas modo quem tonante lingua ditat, nunc stilus aut Maronianus aut quo tu Latium beas, Horati, Alcaeo potior lyristes ipso. et nunc inflat epos trayoediarum, nunc comoedia temperat iocosa, nunc flammant satirae et tyrannicarum declamatio controversiarum.* Cf. ib. 9, 13 *istud vix Leo* (n. 7), *rex castalii chori, vix hunc qui sequitur Lampridius queat, declamans gemini pondere sub stili* (prose and verse?) *coram discipulis Burdigalensibus.*

7. SIDON. ep. 9, 13 (see n. 6). 9, 15 *epos sed istud aptius paraverit Leo, Leonis aut secutus orbitas cantu in latino . . . Consentiorum qui* etc. (n. 5). Cf. ep. 8, 3 (Leoni): *sepone tantisper pythicas lauros Hippocrenenque et illos carminum modos* etc. *suspende perorandi illud quoque celeberrimum flumen quod . . . in tuum pectus . . . ab atavo Frontone* (§ 355) *transfunditur. sepone pauxillulum conclamatissimas declamationes quas oris regii vice conficis.* He was private secretary to Euric, king of the Ostrogoths, at Toulouse; cf. ib. 4, 22. ENNOD. v. Epiphan. 85 *erat ea tempestate consiliorum principis* (Euric) *et moderator et arbiter Leo nomine.* GREGOR. glor. mart. 91 *contulit haec cum Leone consiliario rex Alaricus.* SIDON. carm. 9, 311 (n. 4). 14 praef. (*spectabili viro Leone*). 23, 448 *ad doctiloqui Leonis aedes, quo bis sex tabulas docente iuris ultro Claudius Appius taceret. . . . at si dicat epos metrumque rhythmis flectat commaticis . . . faciat silere Flaccum.*

8. SIDON. ep. 9, 13 *quod temporibus Aug. Maioriani . . . in Petri librum magistri epistolarum . . . effudi, meis quoque contubernalibus . . . Domnulo, Severiano atque Lampridio* (n. 6) *paria pangentibus.* We there read: *Petrus est tibi legendus in utraque disciplina satis institutus auctor. . . . opus editum tenemus bimetra quod arte texens* etc. ib. 9, 15 *Severianus ista rhetor altius, Afer vaferque Domnulus* (see § 468, 1) *politius, scholasticusque sub rotundioribus Petrus Camenis dictitasset acrius. . . . humo atque gente cretus in Ligustide Proculus* (cf. ENNOD. carm. 1. 3) *melodis insonare pulsibus* etc. ib. carm. 3 *mihi Petrus erit Maecenas temporis huius.* In HALM, rhett. min. p. 355–370, are given *Praecepta artis rhetoricae summatim collecta de multis ac syntomata a Iulio Severiano* (Würzb. MS. s. VII/IX), addressed to a certain Desiderius and making no claim to originality. *Memento tamen non ante tibi haec esse compendia relegenda quam ingenium tuum multa ac tulliana arte subegeris* (c. 1 extr.).

9. A letter by CLAUDIANUS MAMERT. (from Paris. 2165 s. XIII) p. 203 Engelbr. (MIGNE 53, 784): *doctissimo viro Sapaudo rhetori* (to the same is also addressed SIDON. ep. 5, 10) *Claudianus* (§ 468, 3). . . . *declamationum tuarum suavitas.* They are praised in an exaggerated manner, ib.: *fac memineris docendi munus tibi a proavis et citra hereditarium fore* (=esse). . . . *admonitus quoque sis oportet Viennensis urbis nobilitatis antiquae, cuius tu civis et doctor* etc.

10. SIDON. ep. 5, 8 (to Secundinus): *diu quidem est quod te hexametris familiarius inservientem stupentes praedicantesque lectitabamus. erat siquidem materia iocunda, seu nuptiales tibi thalamorum faces sive perfossae regiis ictibus ferae describerentur. sed triplicibus trochaeis nuper in metrum hendecasyllabum compaginatis nihil . . . simile fecisti. deus bone, quid illic inesse fellis, leporis piperataeque facundiae . . . inspexi! . . . operam facetis satirarum coloribus intrepidus impende. nam tua scripta nostrorum vitiis proficientibus tyrannopolitarum locupletabuntur.* Cf. ib. 2, 10 *ab hexametris eminentium poetarum Constantii* (§ 467, 6) *et Secundini vicinantia altari basilicae* (at Lugdunum) *latera clarescunt.* Cf. § 464, 12.

11. Sidon. ep. 1, 7 *legati provinciae Galliae* (at Rome a. 469) *Tonantius Ferreolus praefectorius* (he was praef. praet. Gall. a. 453), *Afranii Syagrii consulis* (under Gratianus) *e filia nepos, Thaumastus quoque et Petronius, maxima rerum verborumque scientia praediti* (brought an accusation at Rome against Arvandus, praef. praet. Galliarum. The latter was defended by Sidonius and Auxanius.). 2, 9 (*Tonantium cum fratribus*). carm. 24, 34 *hic docti inveniens patrem Tonanti, rectorem columenque Galliarum, Prisci Ferreolum parem Syagri.* ib. 24, 84 *exin tende gradum Tribusque villis Thaumastum expete, quem libet duorum; quorum iunior est mihi sodalis et collega simul graduque frater.* AChaeaux, Ton. Ferreol., prov. Gall. praef., Paris 1876.

12. Other orators of the time: Pragmatius (Sidon. ep. 5, 10); Flavius Nicetius (8, 6); bishop Remigius at Rheims (9, 7 *declamationum tuarum schedio . . . tot voluminibus*). Professors of oratory as well were Lupus (8, 11), and Joannes (8, 2).

13. Other versifiers of the time: Heronius at Lugdunum (Sidon. ep. 1, 9 *Clius tuae hexametris*); Victorius (*potentissime condidit versus*, 5, 21; cf. § 470, 8). An anonymous satire (*temporibus Aug. Maioriani*) on affairs and personages of Arelate is mentioned by Sidon. ep. 1, 11.

14. Other scholars of the time: Paulus at Rome (Sidon. ep. 1, 9), Probus (carm. 9, 330. 24, 94). Marcellinus (23, 446) and Tetradius (24, 81 cf. ep. 3, 10) are mentioned as jurists.

15. The following are mentioned as philosophers and writers on philosophy: Claudianus Mamertus (§ 468, 3), Domitius (Sidon. ep. 2, 2; cf. carm. 24, 10), Eusebius (Sid. ep. 4, 1), Eutropius (ib. 3, 6 *consectanei vestri Plotini dogmatibus*), Faustus (§ 468, 7), Polemius (Sidon. ep. 4, 14; cf. carm. 14 praef.: *complatonicis tuis;* 15, 187 *stoica pone supercilia* etc.). Astrology was also included among the *membra philosophiae* (Sid. carm. 22, praef.).

16. Just as Sidonius in his letters likes to accumulate the names of ancient authors, usually with an epithet which he means to be characteristic, though it is generally merely formal (cf. n. 6), so also Mamertus Claudianus in his letter to Sapaudus (see n. 9).

17. Quotations were invented even by the novelists of the time, e.g. Antonius Diogenes and others. R. Hercher (above § 345, 3) 270. 279. Cf. below § 480, 7. 482, 5. Fantastical settings also, above § 423, 1.

467. The most gifted representative of the Gallo-Roman literature of this period, with its ambitious and clever style, its poverty of thought and its jingling phraseology, is C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius (c. 430–480), the descendant of a noble family at Lugdunum, and (from about 470) bishop of Clermont (Arverni). We possess by him a collection of 24 poems and nine books of letters, which likewise contain many poems. The longest poems are panegyrics on his father-in-law Avitus (c. 7), on the victorious adversary of the latter, Majorianus (c. 5), and on the Emperor Anthemius (c. 2), all artificially padded with the help of mythology and erudition, and composed in accordance with a rhetorical scheme in conventional phraseology. Besides

the epic metre, the author frequently uses elegiacs and hendecasyllabics. His letters are in intentional imitation of those of Pliny and Symmachus and fully portray the weak, good-natured, and vain character of the writer, as well as his overloaded and involved style.

1. His name in full was *C. Sollius Modestus Apollinaris Sidonius*. On this see the evidence collected by MOMMSEN in the introd. to Lütjohann's ed. p. XLVI. Authorities for his biography, in addition to his own works, are the funeral epitaph (probably copied from an inscription in Arverni) extant in the cod. Matrit. (n. 9), printed in LÜTJOHANN'S ed. p. VI. XLIV, and the notices concerning him in Gennadius and Gregory of Tours, see below.

2. He was born at Lyons (ep. 1, 5. 1, 8. 4, 25. carm. 13, 23) *non. novembr.* (c. 20) about a. 430 (a. 449 when his father held the office of praef. praet. Gall [l. 6] he was *adulescens atque adhuc nuper ex puero*, ep. 8, 6). GREGOR. hist. Franc. 2, 21 *Sidonius . . . vir secundum saeculi dignitatem nobilissimus et de primis Galliae senatoribus.* ep. 5, 16 *familia praefectoria;* his grandfather praef. praet. Gall. already christened Apollinaris (ep. 3, 12. 5, 9); his father praef. praet. Gall. (a. 448 and 449; ep. 5, 9. 8, 6). He composed verse *a parvo* (ep. 5, 21). Married (c. 452) Papianilla (ep. 5, 16), the daughter of Avitus, who usurped the Imperial title at Tolosa (and Arelate) about the close of 455. His son was Apollinaris (his father reads Terence with him, ep. 4, 12; addressed to him are SIDON. epp. 3, 13. RURIC. epp. 2, 26. 41. AVITI epp. 24, 36. 51), his daughter Roscia (ep. 5, 11. 16). Through his father-in-law Ap. was honoured with a statue at Rome (c. 8, 8. ep. 9. 16). A. 456 Avitus was overthrown by Ricimer and Majorianus. Sidonius at last submitted to the latter (457 or 458) with the rest of the Gallic nobility. Majorianus was overthrown 461, and Theoderic II, the Visigoth, became the actual ruler of Gaul. A. 467 Anthemius was raised to the Western throne by the Eastern Emperor Leo. Under him (a. 468) Sidonius became praef. urbi at Rome (see n. 3 and c. 8, 9. ep. 1, 9). About 470 he (unexpectedly and against his will) was made bishop of Arverni (Clermont-Ferrand; ep. 3, 1. 6, 1) and as such he became a political leader, the head of the resistance against the Goths. After the capture of Clermont (a. 474) Sid. was for a short time the prisoner of king Euric (ep. 8, 9. 9, 3). *Ab exordio religiosae professionis* (a. 468) he wrote no poems during *tres olympiadas* (ep. 9, 12). He died after a. 479 and was buried *XII kal. sept.* (21 Aug.) *Zenone imperatore* according to the epitaph (n. 1), but according to the martyrolog. on 23 Aug. He writes ep. 5, 9 (c. a. 474) *in annis iam senectutis initia pulsantibus*, ep. 8, 6 *adhuc aevo viridis*, ep. 9, 16 the last letter in the collection (a. 479?) *senectutis propiore meta.* He was even canonised. Cf. GREGOR. TUR. hist. Franc. 2, 22.

3. GENNAD. (or his continuator, § 469, 13) ill. 92 (this section, which is wanting in most of the MSS., is extant in the Paris. 12161 s. VII): *Sidonius, Arvernorum episcopus, scripsit varia et grata opuscula et sanae doctrinae, homo si quidem tam divinis quam humanis ad integrum imbutus acerque ingenio, scripsit ad diversos diverso metro vel prosa compositum epistularum insigne volumen, in quo quid in litteris posset ostendit. verum in christiano vigore pollens, etiam inter barbarae ferocitatis duritiam quae eo tempore Gallos oppresserat, catholicus pater et doctor habetur insignis. floruit ea tempestate qua Leo et Zeno Romanis imperabant.* Sid. himself gives a sketch of his life and literary career in the poem ep. 9, 16, v. 20 sqq.: *coronae quam mihi indulsit populus Quirini, blattifer vel quam tribuit senatus, . . . cum meis poni*

*statuam perennem Nerva Traianus* (his forum) *titulis videret inter auctores utriusque fixam bibliothecae* (cf. c. 8, 8); *quamque post visus prope post bilustre tempus accepi capiens honorem* (of praef. urb.). (33) *praeter heroos ioca multa multis texui pannis, elegos frequenter subditos senis pedibus rotavi commate bino; nunc per undenas equitare suetus syllabas lusi celer, atque metro sapphico creber cecini, citato rarus iambo.* (45) *iam senectutis propiore meta . . . plus pudet si quid leve lusit aetas nunc reminisci. quod perhorrescens ad epistolarum transtuli cultum genus omne curae, . . . clerici ne quid maculet rigorem fama poetae. . . . nullum cito cogar exhinc promere carmen. persecutorum nisi quaestiones forsitan dicam meritosque caelum martyres* etc. This was not carried out.

4. The first half of the literary productions of Sid. is in metrical form. The collection of the poems embraces 24 pieces and falls into two portions (no doubt at one time published separately) (I=the longer poems with the lines appended to them c. 1–8; II=the shorter c. 9–24). First come the three panegyrics in hexameters with accompanying poems in elegiac metre in inverse chronological order: c. 7 of a. 456 k. Ian. on Avitus (with this the contemporaneous c. 6 and 8); c. 5 dating from the close of a. 458, on Majorianus when he was at Lugdunum (with the contemporaneous c. 4); c. 2 dating from a. 468 k. Ian. on the Emperor Anthemius (with the contemporaneous c. 1 and 3).—The second half of the collection begins with c. 9 (hendecas.) v. 6 *nugas . . . quas sparsit tenerae iocus iuventae in formam redigi iubes libelli*), a poetical epistle (*excusatorium ad v. c. Felicem*) which contains a monotonous account of what must not be expected from the collection. Epithalamia (in hex.) *Ruricio et Iberiae* (c. 11) and *Polemio et Araneolae* (c. 15), each with a preface. C. 12 (hendecas.), 13 to Majorianus (request for remission of taxes for Lugdunum, dist. and hendecas., a. 458), 16 (a thanksgiving to Faustus, episcopus Reiensis § 468, 7, hex.), also c. 22 (with an address in prose), the description of an estate of Pontius Leontius (hex.) and 23 (513! hendecasyllabics addressed to Consentius, between a. 461–466) are poetical epistles. Nos. 17–21 are occasional pieces in a few distichs, c. 24 the epilogue (*propempticon ad libellum*, 101 hendecasyllabics). When c. 23 was written, Narbo was still in possession of the Goths (v. 68 *te . . . decus Getarum . . . Theudericus amat*), who had taken it a. 462.

5. After his admission to the priesthood Sid. renounced versifying, but had many a relapse (epist. 9, 12 *ab exordio religiosae professionis* [a. 468] *huic principaliter exercitio renuntiavi*, cf. n. 3): ep. 9, 13 an admirer of his muse receives a poem composed 20 years previously, but whilst apologising for it he composes new verses (asclepiads); ep. 9, 15 contains iambics and 16 a sapphic poem. He is always ready to send (spiritual or secular) poetry when requested. E.g. ep. 2, 10 (hendecas. for the consecration of a church at Lugdunum). 4, 8 (on a concha to be presented to Queen Ragnahilda). 7, 17 (*nenia sepulcralis* on a certain abbot Abraham). Other poems in the collection of the letters: 2, 8 (*nenia funebris . . . per hendecasyllabos*, on Philematia, . . . *quam . . . ceteris epigrammatum meorum voluminibus applicandam mercenarius bybliopola suscipiet*). 3, 12 (hendecas. on the tomb of his grandfather). 4, 11 (on Claudianus). 4, 18 (consecration of a church at Tours). 8, 9 (hendecasyllabics to Lampridius). Early poems 8, 11 (hendecas.) and 9, 13 (anacreontics). He mentions his poetical improvisations ep. 1, 11. 5, 17. 9, 13. His promise *Attilae bellum stilo me posteris intimaturum quo . . . Aurelianensis urbis obsidio . . . continebatur* subsequently appeared impossible to execute (ep. 8, 15), and Sid. was also right in refusing to compose an historical work (ep. 4, 22).—Epist. 7, 3 *contestatiunculas quas ipse dictavi . . . tibi transmisi.* ib. 7, 9 *orationem quam videor ad plebem Biturigis in ecclesia sermoci-*

*natus, . . . quam* (he adds) *duabus vigiliis unius noctis aestivae, Christo teste, dictatam.* GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. 2, 22 *Sidonius . . . tantae facundiae erat ut plerumque ex improviso luculentissime quae voluisset . . . componeret . . . quod in praefatione libri quem de missis ab eo compositis coniunximus* (now lost) *plenius declaravimus.* SID. ep. 3, 14 *meas nugas, sive confectas opere prosario, seu poetarum stilo cantilenosas.* 1, 1 *contenti versuum . . . editorum opinione, de qua mihi iam pridem in portu iudicii publici . . . sufficientis gloriae ancora sedet.*—Philostratos' biography of Apollonios of Tyana, translated into Latin by Nicomachus and Victorianus (§ 428, 1 ad fin.), was revised by Sidonius, ep. 8, 3.

6. The nine books of Letters belong to the author's maturer years and embrace 147 pieces, among which is a single letter addressed to Sidonius (4, 2 by Mam. Claudianus, § 468, 3). Some of the letters are written for publication, some at least arranged for that purpose. One letter (5, 16) is addressed to his wife, the remainder to friends; b. 6 exclusively to bishops. The dedication in 1, 1 is to Constantius (presbyter Lugdunensis): *diu praecipis . . . ut si quae litterae paulo politiores varia occasione fluxerunt . . . omnes retractatis exemplaribus enucleatisque uno volumine includam.* In case of a favourable reception *actutum tibi a nobis volumina numerosiora . . . multiplicabuntur.* The books were published singly or in small groups, b. 1 c. a. 469; b. 2 c. a. 472; b. 5–7 c. a. 474–475; b. 9 c. a. 479. 4, 2 complaint of Claudian because he has not been mentioned in the collection. 4, 10 *post terminatum libellum qui parum (paulo?) cultior est reliquas denuo litteras usuali . . . sermone contexo. non enim tanti est poliri formulas editione carituras.* 4, 22 *ut epistolarum curam iam terminatis libris earum converteremus ad stilum historiae.* 7, 18 (to Constantius): '*a te principium, tibi desinet*' (VERG. ecl. 8, 11): *nam petitum misimus opus, raptim relectis exemplaribus, quae ob hoc in manus pauca venerunt quia mihi nihil de libelli huiusce conscriptione meditanti hactenus incustodita nequeunt inveniri.* Book 8 was subsequently added in compliance with a request of Petronius (at Arelate); ep. 8, 1 *scrinia Arverna petis eventilari, cui sufficere suspicabamur si quid superiore vulgatu protulissemus. itaque morem geremus iniunctis, . . . ut epistolarum seriem . . . in extimo fine parvi adhuc numeri summa protendat.* Cf. ib. 8, 16 *spoponderam Petronio . . . praesens opusculum paucis me epistolis expediturum. . . . malui ut illum correctionis labor, te* (Constantius) *honor editionis aspiceret. . . . peracta promissio est.* Finally book 9; see 9, 1 (*Firmino*): *exigis ut epistolarum priorum limite irrupto stilus noster in ulteriora procurrat. . . . addis et causas quibus hic liber nonus octo superiorum voluminibus adcrescat; eo quod C. Secundus, cuius nos orbitas sequi hoc opere pronuntias, paribus titulis opus epistolare determinet* (§ 340, 5). *. . . nos vero si quod exemplar* (of b. 1–8) *manibus occurrerit libri marginibus octavi celeriter addemus.* The collection has, therefore, *triplices epilogos* 9, 1. On the chronology of the letters see BÜDINGER l.l. 940. MOMMSEN in Lütjohann's ed. p. LI.—Imitators: GREGOR. TUR. hist. Franc. 6, 7 *Ferreolus Uzezensis* (Uzès, in Gall. Narb.) († a. 581) *. . . libros aliquos epistolarum quasi Sidonium secutus composuit.*

7. SID. ep. 7, 18 *ita mens patet in libro veluti vultus in speculo. dictavi enim quaepiam hortando, laudando plurima, aliqua suadendo, maerendo pauca iocandoque nonnulla. . . . singulae causae singulis ferme epistolis finiuntur.* Consisting at first of letters which had originated accidentally and to serve real purposes (letters of introduction or congratulation, obituary notices, business etc.), the collection was in course of time increased by intentional imitations of Pliny and Symmachus, by the attempt to treat definite subjects, and by the desire of friends and acquaintances to be immortalised in such letters (ep. 7, 12. 8, 5. 9, 11. 15.). Many of the letters are formal panegyrics on individual men (e.g. ep. 1, 2 on Theoderic

II; ep. 3, 3 on Ecdicius; 4, 11 on Claudianus; 4, 20 on Sigismer *regius iuvenis*), generally on the recipient himself (4, 9. 13. 21. 6, 1. 12. 7, 1. 12–14. 9, 7 and elsewhere). The extent and substance of the composition are frequently out of keeping (*sunt omnes loquacissimae* ep. 9, 11. cf. 2, 9. 3, 7. 11. 4, 3. 6, 3. 7, 2. 9, 15 and elsewhere). The letters addressed to bishops (see n. 6) are in a more solemn tone and terminate with a formula resembling a litany (*memor nostri esse dignare, domine papa*). The author is scarcely in earnest when he assures us (ep. 8, 16): *nos opuscula sermone edidimus arido, exili, certe maxima ex parte vulgato.*

8. Sidonius is of the same mould as the men who were his literary models and whom he zealously imitated in his letters, Pliny the Younger and Symmachus (see n. 6 and ep. 4, 22 *ego Plinio ut discipulus assurgo*): kind and ready to help others, of unquestionable purity of morals in a savage period, devoted to refinement and culture, a faithful friend (*tenues nobis esse amicitias nec inimici fingere queunt*, ep. 9, 9) and a good father; but at the same time immensely vain, always thirsting for praise and thinking too much of himself and of others (cf. his estimates § 466, 4 sqq. and below § 468, 1–5. 8), undignified in his flattery of the great, given to mere phrase-turning, full of the prejudices of his nation (cf. § 466, 2) and of his (aristocratic) family (e.g. ep. 9, 6). His Christianity appears strongest in his letters to his fellow bishops (e.g. ep. 9, 2 he calls himself a *novus clericus, peccator antiquus*), but is always sincere as it is orthodox (ep. 8, 4 *tempus est . . . de perpetua vita potius quam memoria cogitari; 9, 8 iudicii dies, resurrectio; 8, 11 quisque praesumpserit . . . vetita rimari, vereor huiusmodi a catholicae fidei regulis exorbitaturum*), yet free from dogmatic harshness (for *spiritales quaestiones* he refers ep. 4, 17 to *sacerdotes fide clari*, and is conciliatory even to the Jews, although to him their *secta despectui est*, ib. 3, 4 cf. 6, 11. 8, 13) and allowing of ardent admiration of classical literature. Cf. ep. 2, 9 *similis scientiae viri, hinc Augustinus, hinc Varro, hinc Horatius, hinc Prudentius lectitabantur.* He is indeed perfectly clear as to the difference of the two points of view (ep. 9, 13 *procul hinc et Hippocrenen . . . et Apollinem canorum . . . abigamus, et Minervam. . . . removete ficta fatu; deus ista praestat unus;* cf. 8, 4 *talibus studiis anterior aetas iuste . . . occupabatur; modo tempus est seria legi, seria scribi* etc.); but he generally uses the figures and ideas of antiquity without embarrassment, and is well versed in ancient literature (see especially c. 9). But that he was not originally at home in such learning, but merely accustomed to it by scholastic training and continued study, may be inferred from the many strange, confused, involved, and inelegant turns of his Latin style both in construction, word-formation and synonymy (*cervicositas, viratus, concellita, bonuscula, complices, tribulosus, sternax, incursax, granditer anxius, spontaliter, trebaciter, ducalius, ex asse gaudere, familiarescere, phthisiscere, dulcare, combinare, sis meminens, crepusculascens, ilicet=nam* etc.), a curious mixture of reminiscences of all periods and styles. HKretschmann, de latinitate Ap. Sid. I, Memel 1870. 1872 II. PMohr, zu Apoll. Sid., Bremerhaven 1886 (and n. 10). MMüller, de Apol. Sid. latinitate, Halle, 1888. EGrupe, zur Syntax des Sid., Pfalzb. 1888 and the same writer in Lütjohann's ed. p. 448. The prosody of Sid. is almost irreproachable except for some arbitrary licence in foreign words such as *Euripīdis, Ctĕsiphon, aethīops, ānachŏreta, cătholicam, cŏrȳtus, phīlosophi, socrătica.* In the poems, he specially imitates in his metrical form and diction and frequently even in his choice of subjects Statius (see RBitschofsky, de Ap. Sidonii studiis Statianis, Vienna 1881), and likewise in particular Claudian (see Jeep's Claud. 2, lvii) and Vergil. EGeisler, de Apoll. Sid. studiis, Berl. 1885 and the same writer in Lütjohann's ed. p. 351. MManitius, JJ. 137, 79 (imitators of Ausonius).

9. Manuscripts. The most important are: Florentin. S. Marci 554 s. X, Laurent. 45, 23 s. XII, Paris. 2781 s. X/XI, Matrit. Ee 102 (Cluniac.) s. X/XI, Paris. 9551 s. XII; in addition for the letters in the first instance: Bodl. Laudian. 104 s. X. Cf. LÜTJOHANN and FLEO intr. to the ed. of the former. ECHATELAIN, rev. de philol. 3, 154; Mél. Graux, Paris 1884, 321.—Editions by EVINETUS (Lugd. 1552), JWOWER (cum notis PColvii, Par. et Lugd. 1598), JSAVARO (Par. 1599. 1609), GELMENHORST (Hanover 1617) and esp. JSIRMOND (Paris 1614. ²1652. The first ed. also in SIRMONDI opp. 1, 464). Also e.g. in MIGNE vol. 58, by JFGRÉGOIRE et FZCOLLOMBET, Lyons 1836 and by EBARET, Par. 1879. Recently esp. Sid. epp. et carm. rec. et emend. CHRLÜTJOHANN, Berol. 1887 (=Mon. Germ. hist. Auctt. antiquiss. vol. 8).—Worthless late glosses on Sidonius in RELLIS, Anecd. Oxon. 1 (1885), 5.

10. Hist. litt. de la France 2, 550. ACGERMAIN, essai sur Ap. Sid., Montpellier 1840 (together with a Lat. diss. esp. on the chronology of Ap. S.). MFERTIG, C. S. A. S. u. s. Zeit nach s. Werken dargestellt, Würzb. 1845. 46. Passau 1848 III. GKAUFMANN, die Werke des A. S. als Quelle für d. Gesch. seiner Zeit, Gött. 1864; Ap. Sid. im NSchweiz. Mus. 5 (Bas. 1865), 1, and in Raumer's histor. Taschenb. 1869, 30. CACHAIX, St. Sidoine Ap. et son siècle, Clermont-Ferrand 1867 II (cf. on this GKAUFMANN, Gött. GA. 1868, 1001). EBERT, LdMA. 1², 419. MBÜDINGER, Ap. Sid. als Politiker, Wiener SBer. 97, 915. MOMMSEN, pref. to Lütjohann's ed. p. XLIV; on Apoll. Sid. and his description of the Gothic court, Berl. SBer. 1885, 215. KPUEGOLD, see § 439, 9.—Criticism: ECHATELAIN, rev. de philol. 3, 64. 154. PMOHR, in Ap. Sid. obss., Sondersh. 1877; on Sid. carmina, Laubach 1881. FGUSTAFSSON, de Apoll. Sidonio emendando, Helsingf. 1882; BerlphWschr. 1889, 1365. 1393.

468. In the circle of Sidonius we have writings likewise by Domnulus, Mamertus Claudianus, Faustus, and Ruricius. There are extant a few Christian poems by Domnulus, and three books de statu animae by the presbyter Mamertus Claudianus, dedicated to Sidonius c. a. 470. The subject of this work is scholastic, the style sometimes dry, sometimes pompous. Other friends of Sidonius were two bishops, Faustus, of Reii, against whom Claudianus' work is directed, and by whom we have a work de gratia dei, letters, sermons, and similar compositions, and Ruricius, bishop of Limoges, whose correspondence with Faustus and others is extant.

1 The complete name in the subscriptions to Pomponius Mela and Julius Paris (see § 296, 3. 279, 9 ad fin.): *Fl. Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus v. c. et spectab. com. consistor.* The next degree after the comites cons. was that of quaestor. The Domnulus of whom Sidonius ep. 9, 13 relates that he wrote poetry at Arles (cf. § 466, 8) under Majorianus (a. 457–461), and to whom SID. ep. 4, 25 is addressed, is called ib. carm. 14 praef. *vir quaestorius.* Cf. vit. S. Hilarii Arel. (MIGNE 50, 1219) 11 *ut eiusdem praeclari auctores temporis, qui suis scriptis merito claruerunt, Silvius* (§ 422, 2 in fin.?), *Eusebius* (§ 466, 15), *Domnulus admiratione* (concerning Hilar. Arel.) *succensi in haec verba proruperint* etc.

2. As the extant historiarum testamenti vet. et novi tristicha (printed in

GFabricius' corp. poett. christ. 756. Migne 62, 545), 24 strophes of 3 hexx. each, cf. § 474, 2, which were originally the legends beneath Biblical pictures (cf. § 436, 3), bear the heading *Rustici Helpidi v.c. et inl. ex quaestore*, we may probably assume for them an identical author (n. 1). Ojahn, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 345. Do the *versus Rustici defensoris S. Augustini* (8 hexx. on Aug. de trin.), published by EBährens, RhM. 31, 94, also belong to this Domnulus? On the carmen de Christi beneficiis see § 479, 11.

3. Gennad. vir. ill. 84 *Claudianus Viennensis ecclesiae presbyter, vir ad loquendum artifex et ad disputandum subtilis, composuit tres quasi de statu vel de substantia animae libros, in quibus agit . . . ut ostendat aliquid esse incorporeum praeter deum.* (What follows is missing in nearly all the MSS.) *scripsit et alia nonnulla, inter quae et hymnum de passione domini cuius principium est 'Pange lingua gloriosi'* (see n. 5). *fuit autem frater Mamerti Viennensis episcopi* (cf. Sid. epp. 4, 11, 5). He is addressed after his death (*nuper ereptus* c. a. 473) by Sidon. epist. 4, 11 with immoderate praise, e.g.: *vir providus, prudens, doctus, eloquens, acer et hominum aevi, loci, populi sui ingeniosissimus quique indesinenter salva religione philosopharetur et . . . a collegio complatonicorum solo habitu ac fide dissociabatur* etc. In the *nenia* on him which follows e.g.: *Claudianus, triplex bibliotheca quo magistro—romana, attica, christiana—fulsit. . . . orator, dialecticus, poeta, tractator, geometra musicusque, doctus solvere vincla quaestionum et verbi gladio secare sectas, si quae catholicam fidem lacessunt. psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus* etc. A letter of Claudianus to Sidonus in his epist. 4, 2. For another to the rhetorician Sapaudus see § 466, 9.

4. The work de statu animae is thus dedicated: *praefectorio* (i.e. after a. 468, see § 467, 2), *patricio, doctissimo et optimo viro C. Sollio Sidonio Claudianus sal.*, and the epilogue: *Claudianus C. Sollio Apollinari.* It begins: *editionem libellorum quos de animae statu condidi . . . mihi imperasti;* it contains also a short table of contents. B. 1 begins: *magnum in genere humano, Solli Sidoni, frater amantissime, multorum vitium est* etc. In the epilogue: *libellorum a me transmissorum, quos philosophicae artis subtilissima disputatione disposui* etc. This work is praised in an exaggerated manner by Sidon. epist. 4, 3; cf. 5, 2 *librum de st. an. tribus voluminibus illustrem Mamertus Claudianus, peritissimus christianorum philosophus, . . . excolere curavit* etc. He inveighs against *chartula quaedam* (1, 1), an *opusculum* (1, 2) published anonymously (ib.), but which had been composed by Faustus; see n. 8, 9. Cf. Ebert, l.l. 1², 473. MSchulze, d. Schr. d. Cl. Mam. de statu an., Lpz. 1883.

5. On a hymn by Claudianus Sidon. ep. 4, 3: *de hymno tuo si percontere quid sentiam, commaticus est, copiosus, dulcis, elatus et quoslibet lyricos dithyrambos amoenitate poetica et historica veritate supereminet* etc., in the same style. This might refer to the hymn *Pange* etc. (30 troch. tetram.), if the allusion to the same (missing in most of the MSS.) in Gennadius could be accepted as genuine (see n. 3 l. 6); but this hymn rather belongs to Venantius Fortunatus (§ 491, 9) and is placed among his carm. 2, 2. Mam. Claud.'s claim to other poems which have been attributed to him is partly very doubtful, partly entirely unfounded. The poem *contra poetas vanos* belongs rather to Paulinus of Nola (=22 in his poems, in Migne 61, 603; see § 437, 4). On the Christian poems carmen paschale, laus Christi, miracula Christi appended to the works of the elder Claudian see § 439, 7. 464, 2. The elder Claudian's poem (77 Gesn., in Jeep 2, p. 142) in Iacobum mag. eq., in which the extravagant reference to Christian saints is evidently intended ironically, is also erroneously ascribed to Mam. Claud., as is also (although Sidon.

ep. 4, 11 [see n. 3] may allude to poems by him in Greek) Anth. Pal. 1, 19, 20. See § 439, 8.

6. Manuscripts of Mam. Claudianus e.g. Paris. 16340 s. IX, Paris. 2779, Einsidl. 318, SGall. 846, all s. X, Lips. 286. s. XI and others.—Editions by CASP. BARTH (Zwickau 1655); then e.g. in MIGNE 53, 693 (the poems also e.g. in GFABRICIUS' corp. poett. christ. 753). Recently in particular Claud. Mam. opp. rec. AENGELBRECHT, Vienna 1885 (=Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. vol. 11).—Also AENGELBRECHT, d. Sprache des Cl. Mam., Wien. SBer. 110, 423 and the ind. verbb. et locut. in his edition.—Criticism etc.: HRÖNSCH, ZfwissTheol. 30, 480. On Claudian Hist. litt. de la France 2, 442 and ENGELBRECHT intr. to his ed.

7. GENNAD. vir. ill. 85 *Faustus, ex abbate Lerinensis monasterii* (from a. 433) *apud Regium Galliae* (so too in Gelasius l.l. *Faustus Regiensis Galliarum*, rather at Reii, now Riez) *episcopus factus* (between a. 450–462), *vir in divinis scripturis satis intentus, . . . composuit librum de spiritu sancto, . . , edidit quoque opus egregium de gratia dei* (see n. 8). . . . *legi eius et adversus Arianos et Macedonianos parvum libellum in quo coessentialem praedicat trinitatem* (=FAUSTI ep. 20 p. 292–294, 14 Krusch) *et alium adversos eos qui dicunt esse in creaturis aliquid incorporeum, in quo divinis testimoniis et patrum confirmat sententiis nihil credendum incorporeum praeter deum* (=FAUSTI ep. 20 p. 294, 14–298, 17; see below n. 9). *est et eius epistola in modum libelli ad diaconum quendam Graecum nomine edita* (FAUSTI ep. 17) *qui a fide catholica discedens ad Nestorianam abiit impietatem. . . . sunt vero et alia eius scripta, quae quia necdum legi nominare nolui. viva tamen voce egregius doctor et creditur et probatur* (according to this Faustus died after the composition of GENN. v. ill., § 469, 12). *scripsit postea ad Felicem praef. praet. et patriciae dignitatis virum, filium Magni consulis, iam religiosum, epistolam ad timorem dei hortatoriam.* Under the Emperor Euric (a. 477–485) Faustus had to fly from Reii, whither however he subsequently returned. Pope Gelasius (§ 469, 5) placed Faustus' works among the *libri qui non recipiuntur.* SIDON. carm. 16. epist. 9, 3. 9. Cf. § 467, 4. BKRUSCH intr. to Lütjohann's Sidonius p. LIV. AENGELBRECHT, Studd. über d. Schrr. d. Faustus, Vienna 1889.

8. Faustus' work De gratia Dei in two books, attacked as Pelagian by Gelasius and others, is extant in Paris. 2166 s. IX, as is also, owing chiefly to Vatic. Palat. 241 s. X, the work de spiritu sancto (n. 7, l. 4, in MIGNE 62, 8), which wrongly passes under the name of Paschasius. Cf. CPCASPARI, Taufsymbol 2 (Christian. 1869), 214; kirchenhist. Anecdd. 1, 316. Also sermones and other works. On the letters see n. 9.—Cf. SIDON. epist. 9, 3 to Faustus: *immane suspicio dictandi istud in vobis tropologicum genus ac figuratum limatisque plurifariam verbis eminentissimum.* ib. 9 *legi volumina tua* etc. *legimus opus operosissimum, multiplex, acre, sublime, digestum titulis exemplisque congestum, bipartitum sub dialogi schemate, sub causarum themate quadripartitum. . . . mulierem pulchram . . . tibi iugasti, . . . philosophiam scilicet. . . . huic copulatum te matrimonio qui lacessiverit sentiet ecclesiae Christi Platonis academiam militare teque nobilius philosophari.*—The extant works e.g. in MIGNE 58, 783; cf. 53, 681.

9. To Ruricius, who was subsequently episcopus Lemovicensis (Limoges, a. 415–507) is addressed SIDON. epp. 8, 10. We possess a collection of letters (102 pieces) preserved especially in SGall. 190 s. IX (by way of supplement Paris. 12097 s. VI/VII. 1564 s. IX and others). It gives first twenty pieces, among which are ten letters of Faustus, of which five are addressed to Ruricius, the others to Paulinus, Felix, Graecus (n. 7 l. 10), Lucidus. These letters are of a dogmatic character and frequently of considerable length, e.g. no. 2 the

letter mentioned n. 7 l. 7 *adv. eos qui dicunt esse in creaturis aliquid incorporeum*, which Claudianus attempted to refute (n. 8, 4). Faustus had published this letter anonymously (n. 4 ad fin.). It is also to be found (in part) in the MSS. of Claudianus and in the editions of his works, in ENGELBRECHT p. 3. In addition this collection contains eight letters to Ruricius by other writers (e.g. the bishops Euphrasius, Caesarius, Sedatus). Then follow *Domni Ruricii epistolarum libri II* (82 pieces), addressed principally to ecclesiastical personages, e.g. Faustus Sidonius and others, mostly business letters and letters of introduction, treating of spiritual and secular matters (even down to kitchen and cellar). The imitation of Sidonius is unmistakeable (in 2, 18 R. even attempts hendecasyllabics); but in wealth of contents the letters are not to be compared with those of Sid. An epitaph by VENANT. FORT. (c. 4, 5) on the two Ruricii, grandfather and grandson.—Editions: e.g. in MIGNE 58, 668. Recently esp. in LÜTJOHANN's Sidonius: Fausti aliorumque epistulae ad Ruricium aliosque. Ruricii epistulae rec. et emend. BKRUSCH, Berl. 1887. See also the same writer on Ruricius l.l. p. LXII. Cf. § 467, 4.

469. As in Claudian and Faustus, so also the works of other theologians of this time which are still extant turn chiefly on the relation of free-will and grace, sometimes also on the old controversies concerning the person of Christ. Others wrote commentaries on Biblical works, sermons, etc. Theological authors of this kind were Arnobius (junior), Caesarius (a. 470–542), Cerealis, Gelasius, Honoratus, Salonius and others. Of chief importance is the continuation of Hieronymus' list of ecclesiastical writers (viri illustres), which Gennadius composed towards the close of the century, not without errors, but in a liberal spirit.

1. Arnobius' Commentarius in psalmos (sole MS. Vaticano-Palat. 160 s. X, AREIFFERSCHEID, bibl. patr. lat. 1, 201) is dedicated *Leontio et Rustico episcopis*, who flourished c. 460. There are also extant *Arnobii catholici et Serapionis conflictus de deo trino et uno* etc., in the form of a process before a Court of arbitration (*Arnobius a parte sedis apostolicae defensor, Serapion a synedrio Aegyptiorum altercator, iudices a parte catholica Decius Constantius et a parte Aegyptiorum Ammonius*). On account of its Augustinian tendency this conflictus cannot well be by Arnobius (according to some it is by Vigilius, see n. 11). Printed e.g. in MIGNE 53, 238. A cod. Barber. s. IX is important, see AREIFFERSCHEID l.l. 1, 155. Cf. Hist. litt. de la France 2, 342.

2. (GENNAD.) vir. ill. 86 *Caesarius* (§ 468, 9), *Arelatensis urbis episcopus* (from a. 502), . . . *scripsit egregia et grata et valde monachis necessaria opuscula. de gratia quoque et libero arbitrio edidit testimonia* (not extant) . . . *quod opus etiam papa Felix per suam epistolam roboravit et in latius promulgavit* (cf. BKRUSCH in Lütjohann's Sidon. p. LIV). *floruit hic* . . . *Anastasio remp. administrante* (a. 491–518). He died a. 542. Cf. GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. 9, 39. He also drew up a conventual rule (regula ad virgines) c. a. 513. This and his sermons were edited by STEPH. BALUZIUS (Par. 1659), and e.g. in MIGNE vol. 67. An exhortation to the people preserved in an Einsidl. s. VIII was published and ascribed to Caesarius by CPCASPARI, kirchenhistor. Anecdd. 1 (Christian. 1883), 213.—Hist. litt. de la France 3, 190. EBERT l.l. $1^2$, 472.

3. (GENNAD.) vir. ill. 96 *Cerealis episcopus natione Afer, . . . fidem catholicam, . . . copiosis tam veteris quam novi testamenti indiciis approbavit et libello edidit* (printed e.g. in MIGNE 58, 757).

4. (GENNAD.) ill. 97 *Eugenius, Carthaginis . . . episcopus et confessor publicus, admonitus ab Hunerico Vandalorum rege catholicae fidei expositionem et maxime verbi homousii proprietatem disserere* (a. 484) *. . . composuit librum fidei* (e.g. in MIGNE 58, 219). *. . . iam vero asportandus pro fidelis linguae remuneratione in exilium epistolas velut commonitorias fidei . . . dereliquit* (e.g. in MIGNE 58, 770). *altercationes quoque quas cum Arianorum praesulibus per internuntios habuit conscripsit et relegendas per maiorem domus Hunerico transmisit. similiter et preces pro quiete christianorum eidem velut apologias obtulit. vivere adhuc . . . dicitur.* He died a. 505. Cf. GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. 2, 3. mirac. 1, 58.

5. (GENNAD.) ill. 94 *Gelasius, urbis Romae episcopus* (a. 492–496), *scripsit adversus Eutychen et Nestorium grande et praeclarum volumen et tractatus diversarum scripturarum et sacramentorum elimato sermone, et adversus Petrum et Acacium scripsit epistolas. . . . fecit et hymnos in similitudinem Ambrosii episcopi. obiit sub Anastasio Aug.* His extant works (among them *de lupercalium intermissione*) in the Collections of Councils; and e.g. in MIGNE vol. 59. Of especial importance, for literary history as well, is the decree of Gelasius (a. 496) *de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, i.e. an enumeration of the canonical, recommended, apocryphal and prohibited books, e.g. in MANSI's coll. concil. 8, 150; in MIGNE 59, 162: cf. on this FAREVALO in his ed. of Sedulius (§ 473, 7) and ATHIEL, de decretali Gelasii de recip. et non rec. libris etc., Braunsb. 1866. JFRIEDRICH, Münch. SBer. 1888 1, 54. KJHEFELE, Conciliengesch. 2, 620. JBROSSI, inscr. christ. 1, 404.—The letter (of a. 494) from Gelasius to Rusticus, bishop of Lyons, commencing *Inter ingruentium* in THIEL epp. pontif. 1, 358 is a modern forgery (EHAVET).—Missives by his predecessors, the Popes Hilarius (a. 461–467), Simplicius (a. 467–483), Felix III (a. 483–492), in ATHIEL, epistolae pontificum etc. I Braunsb. 1868 (the letters from Hilarius down to Hormisdas a. 461–523), in MIGNE b. 58. SLÖWENFELD, epp. pontificum rom. ineditae (of a. 494–1198), Lpz. 1885.—AROUX, le pape Gélase I (492–496), étude sur sa vie et ses écrits, Bordeaux 1880.

6. (GENNAD.) ill. 95 (*Antonius*) *Honoratus, Constantinae* (Africae civitatis) *episcopus, scripsit ad Arcadium quendam qui pro confessione fidei catholicae in partibus Africae a Genserico rege missus exulabat epistolam . . . hortatoriam.* In MIGNE's patrol. 50, 567.

7. (GENNAD.) ill. 99 *Honoratus, Massiliensis ecclesiae episcopus, vir eloquens et absque ullo linguae impedimento ex tempore in ecclesia declamator . . . in homiliarum modum . . . multa composuit.* He also preached during his travels. *. . . sanctus quoque papa Gelasius* (n. 5) *per scripturam agnoscens eius fidei integritatem rescripto suo probatam iudicavit. sanctorum quoque patrum vitas . . . coaptat ipse legendas, praecipue nutritoris sui Hilarii* (§ 457, 7). *litanias ad supplicandam dei clementiam cum plebe sibi credita pro viribus agit* († a. 429). His vita Hilarii e.g. in MIGNE's patrol. 50, 1220. Cf. EBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 450.

8. GENNAD. vir. ill. 40 *Maximus, Taurinensis ecclesiae episcopus* (which he still was a. 451 and 465), *moritur Honorio et Theodosio iun. regnantibus.* We possess by him 118 homilies, 116 sermons and six tractatus (esp. de baptismo, contra paganos, contra Judaeos). Ed. by BBRUNI, Rome 1784 and in MIGNE b. 57. To him perhaps also belong the libri VI de sacramentis, in which use has been made of Ambrosius de mysteriis (§ 433, 3).

9. (GENNAD.) ill. 98 *Pomerius natione Maurus, in Gallia presbyter ordinatus*

*interrogantibus Iuliano episcopo et Vero presbytero dialecticorum more respondens arte dialectica . . . composuit De natura animae et qualitate eius et De resurrectione . . . libros VIII* (printed e.g. in MIGNE 59, 415). . . . *memini legisse me olim eius dictatum ad quendam nomine Principium de contemptu mundi ac rerum transiturarum hortatorium et alium De vitiis et virtutibus praetitulatum. scripsisse dicitur et alia et adhuc scribere, quae ad meam notitiam non venerunt. vivit usque hodie.* CYPRIAN. in vita Caesarii: *Pomerius, professione rhetor, Afer genere, quem . . . carum grammaticae artis doctrina reddebat.* In ISID. ill. 12 he is called *Iulianus cognomento Pomerius.* To him are addressed RURICIUS epp. 1, 17. 2, 10 and ENNODIUS epp. 2, 6. Caesarius' masters (n. 2). Hist. litt. de la France 2, 665.

10. Salonius, the son of Eucherius (§ 457, 6), author of an Expositio mystica on the Proverbs of Solomon in the form of a dialogue (e.g. in MIGNE 53, 967) and a similar one on Ecclesiastes (ib. 993). A letter by him, Ceretius and Veranius to Leo M. in MIGNE 54, 887. Letters and writings of Salvianus were addressed to him, see § 465 1–3. 4; also by Sidonius, epp. 7, 15.

11. Vigilius, bishop of Thapsus (Africa), exiled a. 484; the author of *Adversus Nestorium et Eutychem libri V pro defensione synodi Chalcedonensis.* Under the name of Athanasius appeared his Altercatio adversus Arium. The authorship of the libri XII de trinitate is doubtful. Printed in CHIFFLET's ed. of Victor Vit. (Divion. 1664), in MIGNE 62, 93. Vigilius also wrote under the name of Ambrosius and Augustinus; probably to him should be assigned the Altercatio Augustini cum Pascentio (in MIGNE 33, 1156) and Contra Felicianum Arianum (ib. 48, 1157). See n. 1.

12. GENNAD. vir. ill. 100 *ego Gennadius, Massiliae presbyter, scripsi adversus omnes haereses libros VIII et adversus Nestorium libros VI et adversus Pelagium libros III et tractatus de mille annis et de apocalypsi b. Ioannis et hoc opus et epistolam de fide mea missam* (thus the cod. Veron., see REIFFERSCHEID, bibl. patr. lat. 1, 91) *ad b. Gelasium* (n. 5), *urbis Romae episcopum.* This 'epistula de fide mea' is usually supposed to be embodied in the pseudo-Augustinian treatise de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus in MIGNE 58, 979 (a version of this treatise differing totally from the printed one is to be found in a cod. Sessor. s. IX/X, see AREIFFERSCHEID, l.l. 1, 137). Jungmann connects with this a Confession of Faith which in Monac. 14461. 62, both of s. XI, bears the superscription: *Gennadius Massiliensis eps de fide disputans inter cetera dixit*, printed in EJUNGMANN l.l. 23 and CPCASPARI, Anecdd. 1, 301. Cf. KSITTL, JB. 1888 3, 246.—Cf. also vir. ill. 72 extr.: *hunc ipsum libellum* (Timothei ad Leonem imp.) *noscendi gratia ego rogatus a fratribus in latinum transtuli.* Gennadius brings the vir. ill. down to his contemporaries: the book has however, especially at the close (cf. e.g. the articles given above n. 2–7. 9), been enlarged by additions by another writer. Has the work suffered by the loss of particular vitae? § 472, 2 init. JUNGMANN l.l. JHUEMER, de Sedulio 18. The book is connected in the MSS. (see on this § 434, 11) with Hieronymus' book of the same name (see ibid.), a connection which is already attested by CASSIOD., inst. div. litt. 17. Heading in the cod. Veron. s. VIII: *Explicit de illustribus viris S. Hieronymi presbyteri. Incipit Gennadii presbyteri Massiliensis idem virorum inlustrium, quos beatum Hieronymum sequens commemorat.* Criticism: WGEMOLL, JJ. 127, 866.—Edited with the work of Hieronymus (e.g. ed. VALLARS. 2, 2, 967) by SECYPRIANUS (Jena 1703), in MIGNE 58, 1053, by WHERDING (see § 434, 11) and others. It was subsequently continued by Isidorus (§ 496, 5). All these together (with their mediaeval continuations) in the treatises De illustribus ecclesiae scriptoribus by SUFFRIDUS PETRUS (Colon. 1580) and by AMIRAEUS (Antv. 1639), also in JAFABRICIUS' Biblioth. ecclesiastica

(Hamb. 1718). Hist. litt. de la France 2, 632. AEbert, LdMA. $1^2$, 447. EJungmann, quaestt. Gennadianae, Lps. 1881.

470. Historical works of the second half of the fifth century are Victor Vitensis' history, in three books, of the persecution of the orthodox Church by the Arian Vandals, and the Chronicle of the Spaniard Idacius (more correctly Hydatius, c. 395–470), which embrace the years 379–469 and are especially important for the history of his native country. A list of the consuls from the beginning of the Republic until A.D. 468 may also be the work of Idacius. To the same period belongs the Easter-table by Victorius, which forms a continuation of Prosper's Chronicle.

1. Title: *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae temporibus Geiserici et Hunirici regum Wandalorum scribente sancto Victore episcopo patria Vitensi* (in the prov. Byzacena). From the preface, which is unjustifiably called in question by Petschenig, Wiener SBer. 96, 727: *ego iubentis imperio oboedientiae cervicem submittens quae obvenerunt in partibus Africae debacchantibus Arianis sensim breviterque indicare tentabo.* Chronological statement 1, 1 *sexagesimus nunc, ut clarum est, agitur annus ex quo populus ille crudelis ac saevus Wandalicae gentis Africae miserabilis attigit fines* (a. 427+59=486). B. 1 contains the persecutions by Geiseric († 477), b. 2 and 3 those by his son and successor Huneric (a. 477 to end of 484); at the end of b. 2 is added the Confession (*liber fidei catholicae*) presented to the latter by the orthodox bishops (see § 469, 4). The old division into five books is incorrect. Under the fresh impression of personal experience, the narrative is one-sided and crude, the diction uncultivated (see the indices verborum et locutionum in Halm's and Petschenig's edd., the latter writer also in Wiener SBer. 96, 674). FPapencordt, Gesch. der vandal. Herrschaft in Afrika (Berl. 1837) 366. AEbert, LdMA. $1^2$, 454. AAuler in his hist. Unterss. für ASchäfer, Bonn 1882, 253. WPötzsch, Vict. v. Vita u. d. Kirchenverfolgung im Vandalenreich, Döbeln 1887.

2. On the manuscripts (esp. Bamb., Vind. 983, both s. X, Vind. 408 s. XI, Laud. s. IX) see Halm and Petschenig before their edd., the latter also Wien. SBer. 96, 637.—Ed. princ. (by IPetit) Par. c. 1500. Then edd. by BRhenanus, Bas. 1535 cum notis PFChiffletii (with Vigil. Thaps.), Divion. 1664. c. n. et obss. Th Ruinart, Par. 1694. Ven. 1732. Also Migne 58, 180. Esp. rec. CHalm, Berl. 1879 (in the Monum. Germ. Auctt. antiquiss. 3, 1) and rec. MPetschenig, Vienna 1881 (in the Corp. scriptt. eccles. lat. b. 7).—Translated by MZink, Bamb. 1883.

3. The persecutio wandalica is followed in the MSS. (in Halm p. 59, in Petschenig p. 108) by a *passio beatissimorum* (i.e. of seven) *martyrum qui apud Carthaginem passi sunt sub impio rege Hunirico die VI non. Iulias* (a. 483), which, to judge from its contents and diction, belongs to the same period, perhaps to Victor (doubts regarding this in Petschenig, Wiener SBer. 96, 717). This same Martyrium is referred to by Victor hist. persec. 3, 41. Ebert l.l. 458.—In the incomplete Laudun. s. IX (n. 2), which contains only the liber fidei catholicae (n. 1), this is followed (p. 63 Halm, p. 117 Petsch.) by the so-called *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae*, i.e. *nomina episcoporum catholicorum diversarum provinciarum qui Carthagine* (1 Feb. 484, cf. Victor 2, 52) *ex praecepto regali venerunt pro reddenda ratione fidei.*

4. Idac. praef.: *Idacius, provinciae Gallaeciae natus in Lemica civitate*

(Lamego), . . . *summi praesul creatus officii* (cf. c. 4 *capto Idacio episcopo VII kal. aug.*—a. 463—*in Aquaeflaviensi ecclesia*), . . . *perexiguum informatus studio saeculari*, . . . *sanctorum eruditissimorum patrum in praecedenti opere suo* . . . *ostensum ab his secutus exemplar. quorum primus Eusebius* etc. *post hunc Hieronymus presbyter* etc. *quem quodam tempore propriae peregrinationis* (in Palestine c. a. 407) . . . *adhuc infantulus vidisse me certus sum.* . . . *partim ex studio scriptorum, partim ex certo aliquantorum relatu, partim ex cognitione quam iam lacrimabile propriae vitae tempus ostendit quae subsequuntur adiecimus.* . . . *ab anno primo Theodosii Aug. in annum III Valentiniani Aug., Placidiae reginae filii,* . . . *a nobis conscripta sunt studio vel ex scriptorum stilo vel ex relationibus indicantum. exin immerito allectus ad episcopatus officium* (a. 427) . . . *subdidimus* (his personal experience: in this lies the value of the Chronicle). *posteris in temporibus quibus offenderint reliquimus consummanda.* The author evidently endeavours to relate the truth. Arrangement according to the Emperors. Cf. FPapencordt, Gesch. d. vandal. Herrschaft (1837) 352. HHertzberg, d. Hist. des Isid. (1874) 52. AEbert l.l. 1², 443. OHolder-Egger, NArchfädGesch. 1, 334. KCichorius, Lpz. Studd. 9, 189. OSeeck, JJ. 139, 608.

5. A manuscript belonging to Sirmond (now in Berlin, Herm. 24, 401), which he subsequently edited Par. 1619; also in his Opp. (Par. 1696 2, 291. Venet. 1718 2, 228); by Bouquet (recueil des hist. de la France 1, 612), Florez (Esp. sagr. 4. 345), Roncalli (vetust. latt. scr. chron. 2, 337). Also in Migne, patrol. 51, 873. Idatii chronicon . . . illustr. a JMGarzon, ed. FXdeRam, Brussels 1845.

6. The list of consuls ascribed to Idacius by Sirmond contains also historical notices, at first scanty but more frequent in the last two centuries. It is no doubt of the same time as Idacius, and is also preserved in the same MSS. Edited by Sirmond and Roncalli (see n. 5), in Graevius' Thesaur. antiqq. rom. 11, 246. Migne 51, 891 and elsewhere. GKaufmann, Phil. 34, 244. 294. 42, 471. OHolder-Egger l.l. 2, 69.

7. A list of consuls (belonging to the end of the century), originally covering a. 439–486, then continued by way of supplement to a. 494, in the Kapitelsbibliothek at Verona; see Mommsen, röm. Forsch. 2, 86.

8. Gennad. vir. ill. 88 *Victorius, homo natione Aquitanus* (of Limoges?), *calculator scrupulosus* (cf. Victorii calculus ex cod. vatic. ed. GFriedlein, Rome 1872 [bull. di bibliogr. delle scienze matem. vol. 4] and on this WChrist, Münch. SBer. 1863 1, 100. FHultsch, metrol. rom. 24. 87). *invitatus a s. Hilario urbis Romae episcopo composuit paschalem cursum* . . . *et protendit annorum seriem usque ad a. DXXXII.* He drew up his Easter-table (canon paschalis) a. 457, deriving his earlier materials from Prosper's Chronicle, with various omissions and alterations (Mommsen, Cassiodor. 565. 660) and fixing in advance the Easter festival for the next 102 years. Cf. § 460, 3. Sirmond tried to identify him with the author specially referred to as a poet in Sidon. epp. 5, 21 (§ 466, 13). AeBucher, de doctrina temporum comm. in Vict. Aq. canonem pasch., Antw. 1633 (1664). Hist. litt. de la France 2, 424. Cf. Mommsen l.l. 677. 690. GOppert, JJ. 91, 817. On the MSS. of the can. pasch. cf. GKaufmann, Phil. 34, 385. AReifferscheid, bibl. patr. lat. 2, 93. On the introductory letter before the can. pasch. see BKrusch, NArch. f. ält. d. Gesch. 4, 169. On a MS. of 'Victurius' (Goth. 75 s. VII) see BKrusch, ib. 9, 269.

9. A sketch of general history down to a. 452 from a Berne MS. of Orosius is given in Pallmann, Gesch. der Völkerwanderung 1, 504.—Gregor. Tur. hist.

Franc. 2, 8 *quid de Aetio . . . Renati Frigiredi narrat historia. . . . cum in duodecimo historiarium libro referat . . . adicit.* Cf. ib. 9 *Renatus Profuturus Frigiretus cum Romam refert a Gothis captam atque subversam, ait* (the name Frig. points to a Visigothic origin; KSchirren, de Iord. et Cassiod. takes him to be Profuturus, bishop of Bracara, to whom Pope Vigilius writes a. 538, Jaffé, reg. [2] no. 907). In each case lengthy quotations follow. In the same place Gregory of Tours quotes a few passages from the Historia (b. 3 and 4) of a certain Sulpicius Alexander. According to the quotations both these historical works bear a general resemblance to that of Ammianus Marcellinus.

## 471. The history of the destruction of Troy by the pretended Phrygian Dares belongs, both in its framework and style, to the apocryphal literature. It became the chief source of the Trojan chivalric romances during the Middle Ages.

1. As with Dictys (§ 423) so with Dares it is doubtful whether the extant Latin work is the original or a translation, or (more accurately) a free version from a Greek original. Here too it is customary, without sufficient reason, to decide in favour of a Latin original. The name Dares is borrowed from Iliad *E* 9 *ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης ἀφνειὸς ἀμύμων ἱερεὺς Ἡφαίστοιο κτλ.* (Verg. Aen. 5, 369). Cf. Ptolemaios Chennos (c. 70–100 a.d.) in Phot. bibl. cod. 120 *Ἀντίπατρος δέ φησιν ὁ Ἀκάνθιος* (one of the numerous authors invented by Ptol. Chenn., RHercher, JJ. Suppl. 1, 269) *Δάρητα πρὸ Ὁμήρου γράψαντα τὴν Ἰλιάδα μνήμονα γενέσθαι Ἕκτορος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀνελεῖν Πάτροκλον ἑταῖρον Ἀχιλλέως.* On Ptol. Chenn. is also based the statement of Eustath. on Odyss. p. 1697 *Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ὁ Ἀκάνθιός φησι καὶ τῷ Ἕκτορι Δάρητα Φρύγα δοθῆναι μνήμονα μὴ ἀνελεῖν φίλον τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Θυμβραίου τοῦτο χρήσαντος. τὸν δὲ αὐτομολήσαντα ὑπ' Ὀδυσσέως ἀναιρεθῆναι.* Possibly the passage in Ptolem. Chenn. first gave rise to the hypothesis of a Greek original by the so-called Dares. Cf. Aelian (c. a.d. 170) var. hist. 11, 2 *καὶ τὸν Φρύγα δὲ Δάρητα, οὗ Φρυγίαν Ἰλιάδα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποσωζομένην οἶδα, πρὸ Ὁμήρου καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι λέγουσι.*

2. The author of the Latin *historia de excidio Troiae* assumes the mask of Cornelius Nepos, who is here made to dedicate his translation to Sallust (a combination rather significant of the author's knowledge of history). He says in the prologus: *Cum multa ago Athenis curiose, inveni historiam Daretis Phrygii ipsius manu scriptam, ut titulus indicat, quam de Graecis et Troianis memoriae mandavit. quam ego summo amore complexus continuo transtuli. cui nihil adiciendum vel deminuendum rei formandae causa putavi: alioqui mea posset videri. optimum ergo duxi ut ita ut fuit vere et simpliciter perscripta sic eam in latinitatem transverterem, ut legentes cognoscere possent quomodo res gestae essent quas Dares Phrygius memoriae commendavit qui per ipsum tempus vixit dum Graeci Troianos obpugnarent. minime Homero credendum . . . de qua re Athenis iudicium fuit, cum pro insano haberetur quod* (which shows that we have to deal with a Christian writer) *deos cum hominibus belligerasse descripserit.* The author's ambition to outdo Homer leads him to alter the legend in the most extravagant fashion. The Latin adapter wrote before Isidorus (see n. 4), perhaps in the fifth century, which is suggested by the diction (see the Index latinitatis in Meister's ed. p. 55) and by the dry monotonous tone and paltry affectation of its uniformly short sentences.

3. The author pretends to have been an eyewitness of and participator in the war, an assertion which gave him great importance in the Middle Ages. Cf. c.

12 *Dares Phrygius, qui hanc historiam conscripsit, ait se militasse usque dum Troia capta est. hos se vidisse* etc. c. 44 *hactenus Dares Phr. graecis litteris mandavit.* GParis (rev. crit. 1874, 289 and Romania 1874, vid. inf. n. 4) sees in this and in the mannered style (with GKörting) evidence that the extant work is an abridgment from a more elaborate version, in which Dares spoke in the first person. At the close the author sums up the number of the slain on both sides (*sicut acta diurna indicant quae Dares descripsit*), which is given as 676,000 Trojans, and 886,000 Greeks. For as Dictys shows a preference for the Greeks, so does Dares for the Trojan: this told in his favour in the Middle Ages, during which the influence of Vergil was paramount. The wooden horse is rationalistically transformed into a horse's head painted on the Skaian gate (c. 40, cf. Serv. Aen. 2, 15). The author of the excid. Troiae has not yet been proved to have made use of Latin sources, whereas the surprising similarity which exists between the description of the Homeric heroes of Dares and those of Malalas shows them to have been derived from a Greek physiognomical source (cf. Isaac Porphyrog. in Hinck's Polemo p. 80. Tzetz. posth. 654 and passim).—In general CWagener, Phil. 38, 97. HHaupt, ib. 40, 107.

4. Isidorus is already acquainted with the Latin version and believes in the genuineness of the book, see orig. 1, 41 *historiam primus apud nos Moyses . . . conscripsit; apud gentiles vero primus Dares Phr. de Graecis et Troianis historiam edidit, quam in foliis palmarum* (an erroneous reminiscence of and confusion with the *libri ex philyra*, that is, the tiliae in Dictys praef. and prol.) *ab eo conscriptam esse ferunt. post Daretem autem in Graecia Herodotus primus historiographus habitus est.* The Middle Ages knew Dares only in the present shape of the work, not in a longer version. See on the numerous mediaeval versions HDunger, die Sage vom troj. Krieg etc. (n. 5) 23; JJ. 107, 565. 113, 649. FMeister, on Dares 25 and pref. to his ed. p. xviii. AJoly, Bénoît de Sainte-More et le roman de Troie, Par. 1870. 71 II. RJäckel, Dares Phr. u. Benoît de S.-M., Berl. 1875.—Also an *historia Daretis Frigii de origine Francorum* (in which the work de excidio Troiae has been used; the Franks claimed to be descended from the Trojans) is also found interpolated in MSS. of Fredegar, published by GParis, Romania 1874, 129 and in the ed. of Fredegar by Krusch p. 194. Cf. BKrusch, NArch. f. ält. d. Gesch. 7, 512.

5. Manuscripts: Paris. 7906 s. IX and Bamb., Bern., Leid., Monac., all s. X; FMeister, on Dares 1 and praef. to his ed. p. iii.—Editions usually with Dictys (§ 423), esp. by Mercier, Smids and by ADederich (Bonn 1835 and in his ed. of Dictys, 1837), best by FMeister (rec., Lps. 1873). Criticism: JSchmid (ZföG. 20, 819) and HDunger (JJ. 107, 562).—On Dares HDunger, die Sage vom trojan. Kriege in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters etc., Dresd. 1869. AJoly (n. 4). FMeister, über Dares v. Phr., Bresl. 1871. GKörting, Diktys u. Dares, Beitr. z. Gesch. der Trojasage etc., Halle 1874. CWagener, Phil. 38, 91.

472. Grammarians of about this period were Cledonius of Rome, professor at Constantinople, and Pompeius of Mauretania, both commentators on the Ars of Donatus. Of the grammatical work of the Gallic writer Consentius we also possess two sections de nomine et verbo and de barbarismis et metaplasmis; by the grammaticus urbis Romae Phocas an Ars de nomine et verbo and a vita Vergilii in hexameters. Priscian's

master Theoctistus and probably the glossographer Placidus belong also to this time.

1. The 'Ars Cledonii romani senatoris, Constantinopolitani grammatici' (in KEIL's GL. 5, 9) has come down to us in a cod. Bern. 380 s. VI, which is however very confused and corrupt. It forms a continuous commentary on Donatus, derived from the authorities current in school use (e.g. commentaries on Vergil), the same which are also used in the more extensive works of Sergius (§ 409, 2) and Pompeius (see n. 2). Varro, Pliny, Probus, Terentianus and Sabinus are mentioned. Besides the ordinary information the work contains also some of a higher character. It originated in school-lectures; cf. p. 14, 4 *quodam tempore, dum Ars in Capitolio die competenti tractaretur, unus e florentibus discipulis Iohannes a grammatico venia postulata . . . sciscitatus est* etc. It is preceded by an affected dedication to an unknown correspondent. Cledonius (Κληδόνιος) is not mentioned by any other author. FOSANN, Beiträge 2, 314. KEIL l.l. p. 3.

2. Pompei commentum Artis Donati, first edited by LINDEMANN (Lps. 1820), now in KEIL's GL. 5, 95. On the MSS. see KEIL l.l. 83. The character of this work as a text-book for schools is strongly marked (by questions, addresses etc.). The materials are treated with wearisome diffuseness and from the lowest point of view, yet P. has retained from his sources much that is useful. The works principally used are Donatus' longer Ars and Servius' commentary on Donatus in its original shape, with arbitrary alterations. Probus and Pliny are very frequently mentioned; besides them also Claudius Sacerdos, Caper, Juba, Terentianus, and many earlier authors (Lucilius, Cato, Varro, Caesar, Verrius Flaccus and others), these no doubt only from later sources. The Astyagius who is twice quoted 209, 5. 211, 8 is otherwise unknown. Pomp. designates himself as Maurus p. 205, 5; cf. p. 287, 5. In the Middle Ages his book was very often used and quoted along with Priscian, Donatus and Servius, first by JULIANUS OF TOLEDO (§ 495, 7) GL. 5, 317, 13. 319, 23 and BAEDA ib. 7, 228, 25. 231, 21. Excerpts from it are also extant (s. KEIL l.l. 88). OSANN, Beitr. 2, 311. GRÄFENHAN, Gesch. d. class. Phil. 4, 108. KEIL l.l. 89, cf. his Prorectoratsprogramm of Erlangen 1868, p. 3.

3. *Ars Consentii v.c. de duabus partibus orationis, nomine et verbo. Ars Consentii v.c. de barbarismis et metaplasmis* (GL. 5, 386). Sole complete MS. Monac. 14666 s. X. From the choice of the instances given of local names the author appears certainly to be a Gaul (FOSANN, Beitr. 2, 346) and probably belonged to the family of Sidonius' poetical friend Consentius at Narbo (§ 466, 5), though it is hardly possible to establish his identity with the latter (HKEIL in GL. 5, 333). References to non-extant earlier (p. 353, 17. 398, 35 sq. 399, 30) and later (p. 377, 26. 393, 30 sqq.) parts of the work tend to show that the two treatises are the remains, accidentally preserved, of a complete grammar. Consentius rarely mentions the names of any of his predecessors, though we meet with those of Varro, Probus, (Arruntius) Celsus, Palaemo, Pansa (FLEO, Herm. 24, 294) and Asper. The extensive agreement with Donatus, Charisius and Diomedes (which does not, however, look like direct use) seems to prove that Cons. used the same sources as they did, i.e. Palaemo, Probus and Cominianus. KEIL l.l. 334.

4. Prefixed to the Ars of Phocas are two prefaces (GL. 5, 410), in metrical form and in prose. From the latter: *praecipue discipulis nostris . . . nominum regulas et verborum in unum congessi. . . . quo in opere nihil mihi sumam nec a me novi quidquam repertum adfirmabo. multa namque ex multorum libris decerpta*

*concinna brevitate conclusi.* The work is based on the same sources as Charisius, especially on Palaemon and (the Catholica of) Probus. Ph. is quoted already by Priscian (GL. 2, 515, 16) and Cassiodorus GL. 7, 146, 21. 214, 25 (inst. div. 30). For numerous and early MSS. of the ars (the earliest Paris. 7530 s. VIII) see Keil GL. 5, 405.—There is also extant (through the Paris. 8093 s. IX) a *vita Vergilii a Phoca grammatico urbis Romae versibus edita* (see § 224, 1, b), derived entirely from Donatus. This work is written in hexameters (with a preface in sapphic metre), and its close is incomplete; printed in Reifferscheid's Suetonius p. 68, 403. AL. 671 PLM. 5, 85; cf. MHaupt, op. 3, 335.

5. The name of Phocas is also prefixed to the treatise de aspiratione (GL. 5, 439), extant only in MSS. s. XV, which is most probably a compilation dating from a late period, see Keil l.l. 409. On two Venetian MSS. JStowasser, Wien. Studd. 7, 164.

6. *Adamantii sive Martyrii* (*Sardiani grammatici*, see GL. 7, 178, 14) *de* B *muta et* V *vocali* has been preserved by means of copies of old MSS. from Bobbio and Venice, first edited by HKeil in two Progr., Halle 1878 and recently GL. 7, 165. This short treatise attempts to establish a line of demarcation between the two sounds, which at that time had come to be frequently merged in one another in pronunciation, and it is therefore not without importance in its bearing on philology. The reference to a twofold authorship is explained by Martyrius' preface: *placet hoc commentario nostro acceptis seminibus ab Adamantio, patre meo, qui sanctissimo gravissimoque iudicio auctor doctorque elocutionis latinae visus est non futilis, quantum natura ministravit exponere duorum gratia.* A long extract from this work in Cassiod. de orthogr. 5 (also in GL. 7, 167). On the remains of early Graeco-Lat. glossaries (similar to those of Philoxenus, § 42, 7) in Martyrius, see FBücheler, RhM. 35, 69. Besides the above-mentioned work Cassiodorus also quotes others, which are now lost, by Adamantius Martyrius (thus Cass. erroneously calls him both here, and GL. 7, 147, 8), divin. lect. 30 p. 525 Gar. (printed also GL. 7, 212, 26): *orthographos antiquos id est . . . Curtium Valerianum . . . Adamantium Martyrium de v et b, eiusdem de primis mediis atque ultimis syllabis, eiusdem de b littera trifariam in nomine posita.* Cf. Keil's GL. 7, 36. FBücheler, RhM. 37, 330.—Excerpts from the orthographical work of this Valerianus (cf. Symm. ep. 8. 69?) in Cassiodor. de orthogr. 3 (in Keil's GL. 7, 155, 23. 147, 6).

7. *Glossae Luctatii Placidi grammatici.* These glosses, which are provided with Latin commentaries, contain excellent matter from the early Latin authors, especially (not exclusively, as the heading of the cod. Corsianus *glossae in Plauti comoedias* assumes) from Plautus, and also from Lucilius etc. (Loewe, prodrom. 254. 293. Ritschl, op. 3, 55. HAKoch, RhM. 26, 549). The extant (late) MSS. of the gl. Pacidi give us this, much abridged on the one hand in some respects, but on the other hand greatly enlarged by additions from extraneous sources. Meanwhile the omissions caused by the abridgment can in some measure be supplied from the liber glossarum (§ 42, 8) and some other collections of glosses (e.g. in the Paris. Suppl. 1298 s. XI and Vatic. 1469 s. X; cf. GGoetz l.l.). The gl. Plac. were edited by AMai, class. auct. 3, 427. Subsequently by RKlotz, Jahn's Arch. 2 (1833), 439. 485. Esp. rec. ADeuerling, Lps. 1875; also Glossae quae Placido non adscribuntur nisi in libro glossarum, rec. ADeuerling, Munich 1876; the same author, JJ. 121, 847. 131, 643; BlfbayrGW. 8, 150. 319. 14, 285. GLoewe, Jen. LZ. 1875, Art. 598; glossae nom. 85. HKettner, krit. Bem. zu Varro u. lat. Gloss., Halle 1868; zur Krit. der gl. Plac., Dramb. 1872; Herm. 6,

165. HHagen, de Pl. glossis in libri gloss. codice Bern. obviis, Berne 1879; JB. 1874/75 1, 716. GGoetz, de Pl. glossis, Jena 1886. ThBirt, RhM. 34, 557. FBücheler, RhM. 35, 402. JHOnions, Journ. of philol. 11, 75. 12, 77. 15, 167. HNettleship, essays 244. WHeraeus, ArchflatLexikogr. 6, 273. The compiler of these glosses is probably identical with Lactantius Placidus, the commentator of Statius (§ 321, 10; cf. also § 249, 2). Placidus is quoted only by Isidor. diff. verb. 99 *Placidus 'conscribere' inquit, est* (a passage which is wanting in our glosses of Placidus) etc. On the strange use made of Placidus-glosses in a *praefatio* of the cod. Salmas. see § 476, 1. In support of Pl. having been a Christian we have the description of Plautus as *saecularis poeta comicus* (s.v. *anclare*). EBährens, PLM. 4, 29 argues that he was a native of Africa.

8. Priscian. GL. 2, 283, 5 *quod . . . doctissime attendit noster praeceptor Theoctistus, omnis eloquentiae decus, cui quidquid in me sit doctrinae post deum imputo.* Cf. ib. 3, 231, 24 *teste sapientissimo domino et doctore meo Theoctisto, quod in institutione artis grammaticae docet* etc. Cassiod. divin. lect. 30 (=GL. 7, 213, 1) *Theoctistum quoque aliqua de tali arte* (orthogr.) *conscripsisse comperimus.* Ps.-Acro on Hor. S. 1, 5, 97 (*Barium*) *civitas est quae Atbaris dicitur hodieque, ut dixit grammaticus Theoctistus.* He cannot be identical with the Thacomestus mentioned § 395, 1. Cf. OHense, de Iuba 125.

9. The so-called Berne scholia on Verg. Buc. and Georg. claim to have been compiled from three earlier collections: Schol. Bern. before the Georg. (in JJ. Suppl. 4, 839): *Haec omnia de commentariis Romanorum congregavi i.e. Titi Galli et Gaudentii et maxime Iunilii Flagrii Mediolanensis.* The subscriptio below Georg. I reads thus: *Titus Gallus de tribus commentariis Gaudentius haec fecit* (corrupt, standing perhaps for: *Titus Gallus. Gaudentius.* [*Iunilius Flagrius*]. *De tribus commentariis haec feci*). There is moreover extant before Georg. I the dedication from the authority which has been chiefly employed: *Iunilius Flagrius Valenti(ni)ano Mediolani.* The compiler, as is sufficiently evident from the observation preceding the Georg., was not a Roman but probably a Scot (an Irishman, see schol. Bern. georg. 2, 115 '*Pictos*' *quos alii dicunt* '*Cruithnec*' *diu sed false;* concerning this designation of the Picts see e.g. Diction. Scoto-Celticum, Edinb. 1828, 1, 302 b) of about the eighth century, whose name was Adananus, inasmuch as the Berne scholion on ecl. 3,90 *de Mevio nihil repperi* in an excerpt (vid. inf.) from the explan. of Philargyr. ad loc. gives the addition *ut Adananus dicit* (GThilo, RhM. 15, 131): this name (Adamnanus, Adamanus, Adamnanus) also is Irish; for works by an abbot Hyensis of this name in Scotland s. VII/VIII see Migne 88, 722.—Of these three authorities T. (Titius?) Gallus is quoted eleven times, only on Georg. 1, 1–149, not elsewhere; Gaudentius nearly sixty times on the Eclogues (except 2–4. 9. 10) and all the books of the Georg.; Philargyrius is the author quoted most frequently (over 200 times) and most uniformly on Ecl. and Georg. (but not on ecl. 2–4).—From the commentary on Verg. ecl. by Junius Philargyrius (or Philargyrus; corrupted into *Iunilius Flagrius* in the Bern. scholia) there are extant, apart from the excerpts in the above-mentioned triple scholia at Berne, two abridgments under the title *Explanatio Iunii Filargynii grammatici in bucolica Valentiniano* (cf. above l. 8), not yet printed in a complete form (specimens in the ed. of Ursinus [vid. inf.] and in the RhM. 15, 120). The *Brevis expositio* (on georg. 1, 1–2, 90) transmitted together with the explanatio (in Laur. 45, 14. Par. 7960. 11308. Leid. 135, all s. X) contains besides excerpts from Servius some from Philargyrius,. On the scholia on Verg. Georg. in the Vatic. 3317 wrongly ascribed to Philargyrius, see above § 431, 2 in fin.—Cf. in gen. PhWagner, de Iunio Philarg., Dresd. 1846. 47 II. GThilo, RhM. 15, 119. Mommsen, ib. 16, 442. ORibbeck, prolegg. ad Verg. 193. HHagen, pref.

to his ed. p. 696. ETHOMAS, scoliastes de Virg. 275. RPERUSEK, de scholl. Bern. auctoribus, argum., indole, Serajewo 1881. The date of Gallus, Gaudentius and Philargyrius cannot be exactly determined; they probably belong to the fifth century (see THILO l.l. 134). HIERONYMUS' Chronicle (§ 434, 8) is frequently quoted and so is (by Gaudentius?) AGROECIUS GL. 7, 120, 10 (cf. § 457, 11).—First (very defective) edition of the Berne scholia (from Bern. 172 s. VIII/IX. 167 s. VIII/IX; also Leid. Voss. F. 79 s. X) by CWMÜLLER, Rudolst. 1847–54 IV; next re-edited by HHAGEN, JJ. Suppl. 4, 749.

473. Among the Christian poets of this period Sedulius is remarkable for simplicity and vivacity of diction and a treatment of technicalities not greatly deviating from classical usage. He composed a version of the history of the New Testament under the title of Paschale carmen, at first in epic metre in five books, (b. 1 the Old-, b. 2–5 the New Testament), which he subsequently enlarged in rhetorical prose, under the name of Paschale opus. Both versions have come down to us. The poetical version is much more natural and interesting than the one in prose. We also possess by Sedulius two hymns in honour of Christ; the first in artistically treated elegiac metre gives parallels between the Old and the New Testament, the other celebrates the life of the Saviour in strophes of four lines each, consisting of iambic dimeters with an almost uniformly rhyming close.

1. Preface to the carm. paschale: . . . *Macedonio presbytero Sedulius* (there is no sufficient manuscript authority for the surname Caelius; see HUEMER de Sedul. 8, ELUDWIG, JB. 1878 2, 147) . . . *salutem.* . . . *cum saecularibus studiis occupatus vim impatientis ingenii* . . . *inani vitae dependerem et litterariae sollertia disciplinae lusibus infructuosi operis* . . . *serviret, tandem deus* . . . *ingenium caelestis* (prudentiae) *sale condivit.* . . . *quattuor ergo Mirabilium divinorum* (because the work treated of the miracles of Christ) *libellos, quos ex pluribus pauca complexus usque ad passionem et resurrectionem ascensionemque* . . . *Christi quattuor evangelistarum dicta congregans ordinavi,* . . . *tuae defensioni commendo. huic autem operi* . . . *'Paschalis carminis' nomen imposui, quia pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus.* From the dedication of the prose version to the same Macedonius: *praecepisti* . . . *paschalis carminis textum* . . . *in rhetoricum me transferre sermonem.* . . . *iniunctam suscepi provinciam.* . . . *tradita multa pro metricae necessitatis angustia priori commentario nequaquam videntur inserta quae postmodum linguae resolutio magis est assecuta.* . . . *quae defuerant primis addita sunt secundis* (libellis). . . . *priores libri, quia versu digesti sunt, nomen Paschalis carminis acceperunt; sequentes autem in prosa* . . . *conversi 'Paschalis' designantur 'operis' vocabulo nuncupati.*

2. Sedulius is not mentioned by Gennadius, but it is possible that the article concerning him may have dropped out and the subscription of early and good MSS. of Sedulius may be traceable to Gennadius: *Sedulius versificus primo laicus in Italia* (was he a native of Italy?) *philosophiam didicit; postea cum aliis metrorum*

*generibus heroicum metrum Macedonio consulente docuit. In Achaia libros suos scripsit tempore imperatorum minoris Theodosii* († 450), *filii Arcadii, et Valentiniani* (III, † 455), *filii Constantii. Sicut in catalogo illustrium reperimus, quem b. Hieronymus inchoavit, Paterius* (*? posterius* HUEMER, Gennadius is here intended; Paterius, the pupil of Gregory the Great [see MIGNE 79, 677], suggested by EJUNGMANN quaestt. Gennad. 22 is hardly likely) *vero discipulus eius perfecit.* According to this Sedulius flourished in the first half of the fifth century. We have further evidence concerning his date in the edition of the carmen paschale (see n. 6) prepared by Asterius a. 495 and the reference in Gelasius' decree de libr. recip. of a. 496 (see § 469, 5): *item venerabilis viri Sedulii paschale opus, quod heroicis descripsit versibus, insigni laude praeferimus. item Iuvenci* (§ 403, 4) *nihilominus laboriosum opus non spernimus, sed miramur.* JHUEMER, ZföG. 27, 500; de Sedulio (Vienna 1878) 17. Sedulius is also mentioned by Cassiodorus, Lactantius Placidus (see however § 321, 10), Venantius Fortunatus (carm. 8, 1, 57 *Sedulius dulcis*, vita Mart. 1, 15), Isidorus (ill. 7) etc. See HUEMER, de Sedul. 51.

3. SEDUL. 1, 23 *cur ego davidicis assuetus cantibus odas chordarum resonare decem sanctoque verenter stare choro et placidis caelestia psallere verbis clara salutiferi taceam miracula Christi?* As such he considers the miracles related in the Old Testament, and in b. 1 he describes them (after a preface in elegiacs). B. 2 begins with the birth of Christ, b. 3 with the miracle at the marriage at Cana, the remaining miracles are dealt with in b. 4. B. 5 relates the history of the Passion as far as the Ascension, and concludes with an epilogue. In a portion of the MSS. the whole work, in accordance with the (misunderstood) statement of Sed. (n. 1), is divided into only four books; HUEMER, de Sed. 39. Some of Christ's discourses (abbreviated) are also put into verse. No importance is attached to transitions in the narrative, or to connections between the various portions; on the other hand much prominence is given to mystical interpretation. The diction attests rhetorical training, a knowledge of Terence, Tibullus, Ovid, Lucan and a specially close acquaintance with Vergil, with whose poetical diction Sed. deals very freely indeed. Some reminiscences show Sedulius to have been acquainted with his predecessor Juvencus ((§ 403, 4); Sed. keeps much less strictly to the text of the New Testament than does Juvencus. His principal source is the Gospel according to St. Matthew. Poetical considerations determine the greater or less amount of detail in the narrative; hence the prominence given to the miracles of Christ. According to LEIMBACH (n. 8) the carm. pasch. was written before a. 431 (see also ELUDWIG, Jen. LZ. 1879, 449). The metrical version is kept within bounds by the strictness of the classical models, whereas the prose version is rendered almost incomprehensible and unreadable by its involved mode of thought and by the bombastic style of expression which was then in vogue.

4. In the first hymn the same words form both the first half of the hexameter and the second half of the pentameter (epanaleptic construction, § 26, 4), the result being intolerably monotonous. The second hymn is a so-called abecedarius. The suppression of final *m*, *s*, *t*, then customary shows itself in rhymes such as *pectoris —dei; inpie—times; viderant—praeviam; personat—pignora; millia—victimam; fundere—originem; plurimus—febrium; vinculis—sibi; torridi—obstruit* etc. Cf. AEBERT, LdMA. 1 ², 380. The other deviations from classical prosody and construction in Sed. consist in the lengthening of short syllables by arsis (e.g. carm. 5, 162. hymn. 1 69 sq. *pér hominem*), the shortening of long syllables in thesis (e.g. *haec spŭta* 5, 102; *īdŏla* 5, 146; also hiatus (e.g. 2, 77 *ducém hoc;* hymn. 1, 6 and 62 between the two halves of the pentameter; hymn. 2, 17 *enixa ést*). The use of caesura is limited almost entirely to *πενθημιμερής* and the combination

of τριθημιμερής with (κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον and) ἐφθημιμερής. Leonine lines occur frequently (esp. carm. 2, 82 sqq.). See on Sed.'s prosody HUEMER de Sedul. 102 and his ed. p. 394.

5. The ascription to Sedulius of a poor cento Vergilianus (entitled by Martène: De verbi incarnatione) rests merely on the circumstance that in the only known MS. (Paris. 13047 [SGerman.] s. IX) this work is followed immediately without break or heading by the first book of the opus paschale. This cento was first published by MARTÈNE and DURAND (Collectio ampl. 9, 125), then especially in AREVALO's ed. of Sed. (see n. 7)=MIGNE 19, 773, lastly in RIESE's AL. 719 and esp. in HUEMER's Sedul. p. 310 and by KSCHENKL in the poett. christ. lat. 1 (Vienna 1888), 615. A new collation of the MS. by HOMONT; rev. de phil. 4, 68. It is far inferior to Sedulius in artistic quality, but much resembles the cento Tityrus (see § 26, 2), which was perhaps intended to form a kind of introduction to this cento de incarn. CBURSIAN, Münch. SBer. 1878 2, 29. Cf. also § 436, 7, 453, 5.

6. In the earliest MSS. of Sedulius there is given with many variants (see HUEMER, pref. to his ed. p. VII), a remarkable subscription which relates to the carm. pasch., e.g. in the Taurinensis (see n. 7.): *opus . . . quod Sedulius inter cartulas suas sparsas reliquit et ⟨libri⟩ recollecti adunatique sunt a Turcio Rufio Asterio v. c. et ex cons. ord.* (therefore a. 495 or 494) *et patricio suprascriptorum editore librorum* (AREIFFERSCHEID, bibl. patr. 2, 137). Then follows a dedicatory poem by the editor in four distichs (v. 6 *Asteriique tui, . . . cuius ope et cura edita sunt populis*), addressed perhaps to Pope Gelasius (n. 2) who was just at that time preparing his decree concerning the books recommended by the Church (§ 469, 5). OJAHN, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 350. FHAASE, Bresl. Ind. lect. 1860 sq. RIESE's AL. 491. HUEMER, de Sedul. 31. This Asterius is the same from whom originated the famous subscriptio in the Mediceus of Vergil: see § 231, 9. Is a metrical work by this same Asterius referred to in a catalogue of books at Bobbio given by GBECKER, catalogi biblioth. antiqui p. 69 (*libros Marii grammatici de centum metris II . . . Asterii grammatici, Honorati de ratione metrorum*)?—Acrostic and telestic poems on Sedulius antistes by Belisarius scholasticus and Liberius (or Liberius Belisarius? HUEMER, de Sedul. 51) are given in MIGNE 19, 782 and in RIESE's AL. 492 (cf. 2, p. 44).

7. Numerous early manuscripts of the poems of Sed. (HUEMER pref. to his ed.); amongst them a Bobiensis s. VII in capital and uncial letters, now at Turin (specimen of the writing in ZANGEMEISTER-WATTENBACH's Exempla codd. latt. t. 16 and 56; a second Bobiensis s. VII at Milan (Ambros. R. 57 sup., see above § 180, 2), Gothanus I 75 s. VIII, Basil. O. IV. 17 s. VIII. The MSS. for the prose work are fewer in number, in particular Paris. 12279 s. IX, Rheinaug. 77 s. X in Zürich, Harlei. 3012 s. X and others.—Editions e.g. by CHRCELLARIUS (Halle 1704. 1739), HJARNTZEN (Leovard. 1761) and esp. recogn. et ill. a FARÉVALO, Rome 1794. A reprint of the latter in MIGNE 19, 433. Sedulii opera (i.e. only the poems) recens. ad codd. Monac. (ed. JLOOSHORN), Munich 1879. Sedulii paschalis operis liber quintus, revised by ELUDWIG, Heilbr. 1880. Recently esp. Sed. opp. omnia ex rec. JHUEMER, Vienna 1885 (=Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. vol. 10).—On a commentary by Remigius of Auxerre (in the 9th cent.), preserved in the Monac. 19456 s. X and 22307 s. XII, on the carmen paschale see JHUEMER, Wiener SBer. 96, 505 and in his ed. p. 316.

8. On Sedulius cf. RCEILLIER, hist. gén. 10, 631 and AREVALO's prolegg. JKAYSER, Beitr. zur Geschichte der Kirchenhymnen 2 (Paderb. 1868), 212. AEBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 373 and esp. JHUEMER, de Sedulii poetae vita et scriptis,

Vienna 1878.—CLLeimbach, patristische Studien I: üb. Sedul. u. dessen carm. pasch., Wolfenbütt. 1879. GBoissier, le carm. pasch. et l'op. pasch. de Sed., rev. de phil. 6, 28.

9. In the work by the Irish monk Dicuil (§ 453, 5 in fin.) de mens. p. 13 *auctoritate . . . Vergilii, quem in talibus causis noster simulavit* (=*imitatus est*) *Sedulius* etc. the reference is to the compatriot of Dicuil, the Scotch grammarian Sedulius (§ 392, 1) in the 9th century (cf. AEbert, LdMA. 2, 191). By the latter writer we have also a 'Commentum in Eutychis (§ 482, 1) Artem de discernendis coniugationibus,' printed from a Zürich MS. s. IX in HHagen's Anecd. Helvet. p. 1, derived from Macrobius (§ 444, 9) and Priscian. An excerpt from this Commentum in the Monac. 6411 s. X/XI with the subscription Theodosius Macrobius. HKeil in the Halle ind. lect. 1875, p. v.

474. The other writers who composed in metrical form during this period either observed the traditional rules, though they were unable to escape the influences of their time, which witnessed the complete dissolution of the old language and prosody, or else they constructed their verse in popular fashion according to verbal accent. To the latter class belongs Auspicius, bishop of Toul about a. 470, with his letter to Arbogast; among the first we have Paulinus of Périgueux (c. 470) with his work in six books on the life of St. Martin of Tours. The Christian poems of Avitus (from about 460–c. 525), the diplomatic bishop of Vienne (from 490), are remarkable for correct and careful versification, to which the freely treated subject-matter (from the Old Testament) is made to conform.

1. *Auspicii episcopi ecclesiae Tullensis* (to him is addressed Sidon. epp. 7, 10) *ad Arbogastem* (§ 391, 1) *comitem Treverorum epistola*, printed e.g. in Migne 61, 1006. The lines run like alexandrines without the least regard for quantity or hiatus. Instances: *praecelso ét spectabili his Arbogasto cómiti Auspícius, qui díligo, salutem dico plurimam* (1 sq.). *clarús eténim génere, clarús et vitae moribus* (15). *patér in cunctis nobilis fuit tibi Arigius* (17). *tamen non géneraliter istá de cunctis dixerim* etc.

2. The Christian poet Amoenus (his supposed verses are given in Migne 61, 1075) has been completely explained away. For the so-called *Amoeni enchiridion veteris et novi testamenti* is identical with the 'Dittochaeon' of Prudentius (§ 436, 3 ad fin.), and the abecedarian Hymnus in Leontium episcopum ascribed to him belongs to Venantius Fortunatus (=his carm. 1, 16; see § 491, 9), lastly the 15 lines on Martinus and the 22 lines on an Egyptian who was saved during a storm by invoking *Martini deus*, are to be found in the same Ven. Fort. vita Mart. 4, 372–386 and 4, 404–425. MManitius, ZföG. 37, 401.

3. The work of Paulinus Petricordiae is dedicated in a prose preface (cf. vita Mart. 6, 301) to Bishop Perpetuus of Tours, who had himself been a pupil of St. Martin. Cf. 6, 13 *quinque prius recolenssi gnavi gesta libellis* etc. The subject-matter is derived from Sulpicius Severus (cf. 5, 195 sqq.), the legends being merely more detailed; Vergil, Ovid, Juvencus, Sedulius and others were Paulinus' models for

style. See concerning this and linguistic and metrical details the references in PETSCHENIG l.l. Cf. MMANITIUS, ZföG. 37, 402 ; WschrfklPhil. 1888, 1135. The diction is on the whole careful and fluent, though there are the traditional licences, such as *erēmo*, *idōla*, *clāmantum*, *largītione* and makeshifts, e.g. frequently *mage*. Likewise dedicated *domino sancto ac beatissimo patrono Perpetuo episcopo* are Paulinus' *versus de orantibus* (25 hex., *quos pagina in pariete reserata* [in S. Martin's church at Tours] *susciperet* p. 161, 4 Petsch.) and the *versus Paulini de visitatione nepotuli mei* (80 hex.), who had been miraculously cured by contact of the diseased body with a letter of Perpetuus. Editions: cum notis Iureti all. (edited by KASP. BARTH), cura CHRDAUMII, Lps. 1681. (Oeuvres . . . revues et traduites par EFCORPET, Par. 1852.) In MIGNE 61, 1009 and recently esp. (after Vatic. Regin. 582 s. IX/X, Vatic. Palat. 845, SGall. 573, all s. IX/X, and others) by MPETSCHENIG in the Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. 16 (Vienna 1888), 1.—Cf. Hist. litt. de la France 2, 469. EBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 402. 537.

4. By another 'Paulinus,' born a. 376 at Pella in Macedonia of a noble family, which however belonged by origin to Burdigala (perhaps a grandson of Ausonius § 421 through his son Hesperius? WBRANDES, JJ. 123, 60 and intr. to his ed. p. 266; OSEECK intr. to his Symm. p. LXXVII differs), we possess an autobiography in the form of a prayer of thanksgiving in 616 hexameters, which though somewhat loose in structure is most interesting in substance (Εὐχαριστικὸς *deo sub ephemeridis meae textu* is the title in the Bern.; cf. in the prose preface: *eucharisticon . . . opusculum sub ephemeridis meae relatione*); it was composed a. 459 when he was over 83 years of age. The correctness of the name of the author it is no longer possible to verify, as it is wanting in the only extant MS. Bern. 317 s. IX; it was however probably given in the MS. (which has now disappeared) from which MARGARINUS DE LA BIGNE first published the poem in the appendix of the bibl. patr. 8 (Par. 1579), 281. Subsequently the poem was edited by DAUM (n. 3), recently (prolegg. et adn. illustr.) by LLEIPZIGER, Bresl. 1858 and esp. by WBRANDES in the Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. 16, 263. Cf. EBERT, l.l. $1^2$, 405. Criticism: WBRANDES, ZföG. 31, 248.

5. Alcimus Ecdicius (cf. Ἐκδίκιος) Avitus. The full name occurs before the prologue to the poems p. 201, 1 Pp. GREGOR. TUR. hist. Franc. 2, 34 *magnae facundiae erat tunc temporis b. Avitus. namque insurgente haeresi apud urbem Constantinopolitanam, tam illa quam Eutyches quam illa quam Sabellius docuit . . . rogante Gundobado rege contra eos scripsit* (there are extant contra Eutychianam heresim libri II, also fragments of a treatise against the Arians, p. 1 Pp.), . . . *scripsit . . . homiliarum librum unum*, cf. AVIT. p. 201, 3 Pp. *nuper paucis homiliarum mearum in unum corpus redactis hortatu amicorum editionis discrimen intravi.* The considerable remains of this book according to Paris. 8913. 14 s. VI (on this see LDELISLE in his étud. paléogr. et hist., Geneva 1866) and to the excerpts of Florus at Lyons (EBERT, Lit. d. MA. 2, 268) in the cod. Cheltenham. 14036 s. XI have been printed in PEIPER's ed. p. 103.—GREGOR. l.l. continues: (*scripsit Avitus*) *de mundi principio et de diversis aliis condicionibus libros VI versu compaginatos* (see next page l. 2), *epistolarum libros IX.* About 100 letters have been preserved through Lugdun. 111 s. XI, Sirmond's now lost MS. and others. They are important for the history of the time and fall in the years 497–517 (PEIPER's ed. p. 372). ISID. ill. 23 *Avitus episcopus scientia saecularium litterarum doctissimus edidit quinque libellos heroico metro compositos* (by Avitus himself ep. 51 p. 80, 21 Pp. designated *libelli de spiritalis historiae gestis*), *quorum primus est de origine* (*initio*) *mundi* (esp. of mankind), *II de originali peccato*, *III de sententia dei*, *IV de diluvio mundi*, *V de transitu maris rubri. scripsit et ad Fuscinam sororem de laude virginitatis* (renunci-

ation of marriage, Avitus himself calls it p. 247, 6 Peip. *de consolatoria castitatis laude*) *librum unum* (in the MSS. counted as b. 6) *pulcherrimo compositum carmine et eleganti epigrammate coaptatum.*—For the poems the most important MSS. are Leid. Q. 86 s. IX, Laudun. 279 s. IX, Vatic. Regin. 2078 s. IX/X, Laur. 33, 30 s. X. Avitus proposed to collect his poems *non minimo volumine* p. 201, 8 Pp., but prevented by the *notissima perturbatio* (at the taking of Vienna a. 500) he did not carry out the publication until c. a. 507, and then b. 1–5 only appeared. B. 6 followed later, and was intended to fall into the hands of those only *quos revera nobis aut vinculum propinquitatis aut propositum religionis adnectit* (p. 275, 3 Pp.). These poems show a close assimilation to Vergil, but especially to Sidonius, then to Juvencus, Sedulius etc. See on this and on the diction and prosody the references in Peiper l.l. Cf. also MManitius, ZföG. 37, 244. KWeyman, RhM. 42, 637.—The metrical epitaph of Avitus is extant in a collection of Christian inscriptions from Gaul of the 6th cent., which was compiled from monumental stones by a certain Manno s. IX; it was handed down in the Paris. 2832 s. IX, last printed in Peiper's Avitus p. 183. It is there said of Avitus p. 185 Pp.: *unus in arte fuit quoquo libet ordine fandi, orator nullus similis nullusque poeta, clamant quod sparsi per crebra volumina libri.* See also the early Vita in Peiper p. 177. Avitus died after a. 525/6 and before a. 533.—An early important edition by JSirmond (Par. 1643; in Sirmondi opera Par. 1696 2, 185 and elsewhere), in Migne vol. 59. Recently esp. Alc. Ecd. Aviti opp. quae supersunt, rec. RPeiper, Berl. 1883 (=Mon. Germ. hist. Auctt. antiquiss. 6, 2).—Cf. Hist. litt. de la France 3, 115. Parizel, St. Avite, sa vie etc., Löwen 1859. VCucheval, de s. Aviti opp., Par. 1863. Binding, Gesch. d. burgund. Königr. (1868) 168. Ebert, LdMA. 1², 393. ACharaux, St. Avite, sa vie etc., Par. 1876.

6. On an epic version of the history of the Jews see § 491, 3.

475. One of the most gifted African poets is Blossius Aemilius Dracontius of Carthage, by whom we possess a Christian didactic poem de laudibus dei in three books, short epics of which the subjects are taken either from ancient legends (Hylas, Raptus Helenae, Medea) or from rhetorical school-exercises (verba Herculis, Deliberativa Achillis, Controversia de statua viri fortis), two epithalamia and an elegiac poem (Satisfactio) in which the author asks pardon of the Vandal king Gunthamund (a. 484–496) for having written a poem in honour of one of his enemies instead of himself. All these poems are very rhetorical and show a knowledge both of the Bible and of the classical Roman literature, the latter to an extent very remarkable for the period. The surprising resemblance in language, prosody and treatment of the subject-matter makes it very probable that the Orestis tragoedia is also by Dracontius.

1. Subscriptio of the Controv. (p. 21 Duhn): *Exp. Controversia statuae viri fortis quam dixit in Gargilianis thermis* (at Carthage) *Blossius Emilius Dracontius vir clarissimus et togatus* (cf. § 488, 5 l. 7) *fori proconsulis almae Karthaginis apud proconsulem Pacidegium.* On his circumstances see n. 2 and 3 together with c. 7, 69 (*captus . . . dederant quia carmina clades*). 7, 127 (*non male peccavi nec rex*

*iratus inique est* etc.). A pupil of the grammaticus Felicianus (n. 5), *qui fugatas Africanae reddidit urbi litteras* (praef. 13, cf. c. 3). Drac. calls himself *exiguus inter iura poeta* (7, 123), *vilis vates* (8, 23). His juridical learning (cf. 5, 250) is not however more profound than his Christianity (cf. *horam quaesivit faciens miracula Christus*, satisf. 263; cf. 8, 466), which is explained by 10, 600 *sitque nefas coluisse deos, quia crimen habetur relligionis honos.* In gen. cf. AEbert, LdMA. $1^2$, 383.

2. The three books de laudibus dei (de deo) treat of the grace (pietas) of God, as it reveals itself in the Creation of the World (b. 1, the most successful part), in its preservation (b. 2), and of how man should make himself worthy of this grace (b. 3). This work, like the Satisfactio (n. 3), was written by Drac. when in prison (3, 582 *gravor undique pressus, vincla ligant.* 3, 649 *me . . . catenarum ferrato pondere pressum*) and consequently often corresponds in matters of fact with that poem, which was written at about the same time. Their application to the poet's own fortunes frequently lends a touching fervour to his narratives. The dogmas set forth in b. 3 are supported with plentiful illustrations from Biblical and Roman history, the dry didactic tone being often happily relieved thereby. In the MSS. the work is wrongly attributed to Augustine. Manuscripts (concerning which see esp. WMeyer l.l.): Bruxell. 10722 s. XII (derived from this Vatic. 3853. 5884. Urb. 352. Rhedig. 59, all s. XV) and Berol. Meerm. 1824 s. IX (gives only a selection of lines; on it WMeyer, Berl. SBer. 1890, 257). The poem was first edited from the Urbin. 352 by FArevalo (see n. 6). Addenda thereto were obtained from the other MSS. above mentioned by CEGläser (b. 3 and 2, Bresl. 1843. 47), AMai, nova patr. bibl. 1, 1, 162, IBPitra, anall. sacra et class., Paris 1888, 176, WMeyer l.l. 269. 279.—Cf. in general Ebert, LdMA. $1^2$, 386. On an excerpt from the work see n. 4. Earlier editions see n. 6.

3. The *Satisfactio Dracontii ad Guthamundum regem Guandalorum dum esset in vinculis* (Subscr.), 158 eleg. distichs, seems to have been hastily composed; here too illustrations from legend and from history, Biblical and Pagan, are dragged in without limit. The occasion: (19) *mea corda deus . . . pellit ad illicita, ut qui facta ducum possem narrare meorum, nominis asdingui bella triumphigera, . . . praemia despicerem . . . ut peterem subito certa pericla miser.* (93) *culpa mihi fuerat dominos reticere modestos ignotumque mihi* (the Emperor of the Eastern Empire?) *scribere, nec dominum.* (105) *te coram* (God) *. . . me carminis illius, . . . quod male disposui, paenitet et fateor.* He is *peccando . . . peior factus deteriorque cane* (39), has suffered with his family (283) *verbera, vincla, fames* (312) and now imploringly begs the king's forgiveness (107 sqq., 177 sqq.) *avi ut laudes dicam patriasque suasque* (51). The king's *terrae pelagique triumphos Ansila testatur, Maurus ubique iacet* (213). Best MS. Vatic. Reg. 508 s. X/XI. On Eugenius' edition see n. 4.—Cf. Papencordt, Gesch. der vandal. Herrschaft 374. Drac. also composed a poem in eulogy of king Thrasamund (496–523), the successor of Gunthamund; see ARiese, RhM. 32, 319. EBährens, ib. 33, 314.

4. The account of the Creation, the most interesting portion of the lengthy didactic poem (n. 2), was excerpted at an early period and separately circulated. Only this piece is known to Isidorus ill. 24 (*Dracontius composuit heroicis versibus hexaëmeron creationis mundi et luculenter quod composuit scripsit*), and Eugenius of Toledo (§ 495) published this same piece together with the Satisfactio (n. 3), to which he added preposterous emendations; see (in Ildefons. ill. 14) Eugenius' dedication (Migne 60, 604) to Chindasuinth (reg. a. 642–653) king of the Visigoths: *clementiae vestrae iussis . . . deserviens . . . Dracontii cuiusdam libellos multis videns erroribus involutos . . . pro tenuitate sensuli mei correxi, hoc videlicet modera-*

*mine custodito quo superflua demerem, semiplena supplerem, fracta constabilirem et crebro repetita mutarem . . . et quoniam de die septimo praefatus auctor omnino reticuit semum mihi opusculum videbatur, si non inde aliquid in hoc codiculo haberetur. idcirco in fine libelli, quamvis pedestri sermone, sex dierum recapitulationem singulis versibus quos olim condidi denotavi: de die vero septimo quae visa sunt dicenda subnexui.* This recapitulatio *sex dierum* with the supplement *de die septimo*, together 35 hex., printed in MIGNE 60, 611. The critical labour of which Eugenius boasts was however expended less on the history of the Creation (i.e. de deo 1, 116–754 with the omission of a few lines) than on the Satisfactio which Eugenius published together with it, and which he largely curtailed (on æsthetic, political and dogmatic grounds). EBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 392.

5. The Neapol. (n. 6) contains a number of youthful poems by Drac., nearly all in hexam., viz.: 1) *Praefatio Dracontii discipuli ad grammaticum Felicianum* (troch. tetram.), *cum* 2) *fabula Hylae;* 3) *praef. ad Felic. gramm. in auditorio cum adlocutione;* 4) *Verba Herculis cum videret Hydrae serpentis capita pullulare post caedes;* 5) *Controversia de statua viri fortis* (whether it might not, contrary to his wish, secure his enemy against injury); 6) *Epithalamium in fratribus* (Victorianus and Rufinianus) *dictum;* 7) *Epithalamium Ioannis et Vitulae;* 8) *Opus de raptu Helenae*, spun out with lengthy similes and speeches; the conclusion is written trashily and in a moralising tone; 9) *Deliberativa Achillis an corpus Hectoris vendat;* 10) *Medea;* the action (e.g. the flight, 364 sqq.) very summarily treated. This is probably the same collection which was discovered a. 1493 together with Rutilius Namatianus (§ 454, 4), the satire by Sulpicia (§ 323, 7) and other works at Bobbio (RVOLATERRANUS, urb. comm. IV. s. f. p. 140 ed. Francof. a. 1603 *Draconti varium opus*). In the cod. Veron. 168 s. XIV (§ 212, 4 l. 12) Blossius (Dracontius) is quoted four times as *Blos(x)us in Romulea.* Three of the lines quoted occur in the carm. min. 8, 131. 9, 5, 8. According to this the conceited title of the African writer was perhaps Romulea=Latina? WMEYER l.l. (n. 2) 267.—There are besides 7 distichs *de origine rosarum* and 24 hex. *de mensibus*, extant in BCORIO's Historia di Milano (Ven. 1554) p. 13: cf. EBÄHRENS, RhM. 33, 315; PLM. 5, 214. Possibly AL. 676 R. is the introduction to this poem, see KROSSBERG, de Dracontio (Gött. 1880) p. 34. For a different view ARIESE, JB. 1881 2, 100. The poem in laudem solis (AL. 389 PLM. 4, 434) also probably belongs, judging by its diction and metre, to Dracontius. KROSSBERG, JJ. 133, 721.—In the library catalogue at Lorsch (in BECKER, catal. bibl. antiq. no. 37, 465) *de virginitate metrum Dracontii* is based on a confusion: Avitus' de virginitate (p. 502 ad fin.) is the work referred to. RPEIPER, intr. to his Avitus p. LIII. Cf. besides § 492, 4.

6. The earlier editions (esp. by JSIRMOND, Par. 1619 and repeatedly; also that of JBCARPZOW, Helmst. 1794) give only the hexaemeron and the Satisfactio in Eugenius' edition (n. 4). First edition of both completed works by FAREVALO, Rome 1791 (also in MIGNE 60, 595). Cf. also n. 2 in fin. The Satisfactio also in DUHN's ed. The Raptus Helenae (derived from early and good sources) first appeared in the Appendix ad opera edita ab ANG. MAIO (Rome 1871) p. 12. Dracontii carmina minora plurima inedita ex codice neapolitano (of the close of s. XV, from the monastery at Bobbio, above 5, l. 13) ed. FDEDUHN, Lps. 1873. The same also in BÄHRENS' PLM. 5, 126. Critical and other works: EBÄHRENS, JJ. 107, 69. 265 cf. 647. 852; JB. 1873, 224. FBÜCHELER, RhM. 27, 477. ORIBBECK, ib. 28, 461; Geschichte d. römischen Trag. 91. MSCHMIDT, RhM. 29, 202; cf. ib. 362. KSCHENKL, ZföG. 24, 485. GLOEWE, act. phil. Lps. 2, 483. RELLIS, Journ. of phil. 5, 252. CROSSBERG, in Dr. carmm. minora et Orestis tragoed. obss., Stade

1878; JJ. 119, 475. 135, 833. BWesthoff, quaestt. gramm. ad Drac. carmm. min. et Orest. trag., Münster 1884. BBarwinski, quaestt. ad Drac. et Or. trag.: I de genere dicendi, Gött. 1887. II de rerum mythicarum tractatione, Deutsch Krone 1888; RhM. 43, 310. See also n. 7.—Drac. is well acquainted with the old legends, quotes (d. d. 3, 257) Statius (Theb. X) and avails himself largely of him and of Vergil, Ovid, Lucan and Claudian (n. 7 l. 14). Yet (Satisf. 188) he confuses Commodus with M. Aurelius, and his prosody for many Greek names is defective. *Mulĭēris* (8, 508. 10, 5. Satisf. 161. de deo 2, 660) is probably popular and so is *quia* for acc. c. inf. (cf. Duhn p. 112), the use of the inf., the lengthening of short syllables before *h* and by the rhythmic accent, the scansion *mĭtéscit*, *senéctŭs* and other peculiarities. Cf. in Duhn's ed. p. 102 the specimen sermonis Dracont. s. v. correptiones, elisiones, productiones (cf. above § 473, 4). The caesurae are strict, the synaloephae infrequent and rarely objectionable (*omina* 8, 648 should probably be *numina*).

7. The *Orestis tragoedia*, 971 hexam., was during the Middle Ages even attributed to Horace or Lucan (HHagen, anecd. Helv. 236; Phil. 27, 167). The designation of this narrative poem is a strange one: is it called *tragoedia* because the subject is mournful? the author is not, however, ignorant of the real meaning of tragoedia: 13 *te rogo, Melpomene, tragicis descende cothurnis et pede dactylico resonante quiescat iambus.* MHertz believes the curious title to be a reminiscence of Donat. GL. 4, 375, 25: *sunt alia sono masculina, intellectu feminina, ut Eunuchus comoedia, Orestes tragoedia.* In diction and syntax, in scansion and metre and in the structure of the poem (Mähly p. xi. xxviii. Schenkl p. 17. 34) the Orestis tragoedia agrees most closely with Dracontius: in it we also find the most extensive use made of those models whom Dracontius employed (n. 6): hence there is much to be said for the view first advanced by Duhn on Dracont. p. viii, then by Bährens, Peiper and Rossberg, that Dracontius is also the author of the Or. trag. KRossberg, de Dracontio et Orestis quae vocatur tragoediae auctore eorundem poetarum Vergilii, Ovidii, Lucani, Statii, Claudiani imitatoribus, Gött. 1880; Materialien zu einem Commentar zu d. Orest. trag. des Drac., Hildesh. 1888. 89 II. Cf. above n. 6.—Manuscripts: Bern. 45 (Bongarsianus) s. IX and an interpolated Ambros. O 74 s. XV. Heading in the former: *Orestis tragoedia*, in the latter: *Horestis fabula ab Enoch Asculano* (cf. on him GVoigt, Wiederbeleb. d. klass. Altert. $2^2$, 201) *reperta*. A new collation of the Bern. by HHagen, Phil. 27, 157. —Ed. princ. by CWMüller, Rudolst. 1858 and 1859. Then edd. by JMähly (Lps. 1866), CSchenkl (Prague 1867), in the Appendix ad opera ab AMaio edita (1871) p. 1, by RPeiper, Bresl. 1875 and in Bährens' PLM. 5, 218.—Criticism: FHaase, miscell. philol. 3, 8, Breslau 1861, ARothmaler, Nordhausen 1865; JJ. 95, 861, LMüller, RhM. 21, 455. KSchenkl, ZföG. 18, 81, LSchwabe, Dorpat Ind. lect. for 1867. EBährens, JJ. 105, 636, KRossberg (see n. 6).

8. To this period (or to an earlier rather than a later period) may belong the epyllion *Aegritudo Perdiccae*, which was published from Harleian. 3685 s. XV (cf. § 401, 8) by EBährens, unedierte lat. Gedichte, Lpz. 1877, 12 and PLM. 5, 112; it relates in fluent and refined language, and with touching though rather monotonous description of feeling, Perdiccas' devotion to his mother and his lamentable end. On the legend see ERohde, Roman 54. FKuntze, Grenzboten 1890 no. 5, 6. The poem is strict in metrical construction (esp. the synaloephae), in the quantities various licences occur (esp. the lengthening of short syllables), but they are not too frequent and the Greek names are correctly scanned. Criticism: KRossberg, JJ. 115, 427. 123, 357. 127, 569. 135, 833; ArchfLexikogr. 4, 44. REllis, Journ. of phil. 8, 226. AOtto, JJ. 135, 783.

476. In the codex Salmasianus are preserved the poems of Flavius Felix, Florentinus and Luxorius, all three poets living under the Vandal kings Thrasamund (a. 496–523) and Hilderic (a. 523–530) in Africa (at Carthage), and who also resemble one another in the poverty of their circumstances and the meagreness of their literary style. The latest and most prolific of them was Luxorius, who imitated Martial in jocular poems in various metres (especially elegiacs and hendecasyllabics). A fellow-countryman and friend of Luxorius was the grammarian Coronatus, a few poems by whom have been preserved in the same MS.

1. The so-called cod. Salmasianus (thus named from its former possessor Claude de Saumaise), now Paris. 10318 s. VII (–VIII; specimen of the writing in WATTENBACH-ZANGEMEISTER'S ex. codd. lat. t. 46) contains on p. 1–188 the much mutilated copy of an extensive collection consisting chiefly of short poems by various poets of earlier and later date, and at one time divided into 24 books. As the first 11 quaternions have been lost, b. 1–6 of this collection are missing. This loss is however to some extent made good by Leid. Voss. Q. 86 s. IX, Paris. 8071 s. IX and other MSS. The division into books is determined by the contents and by differences of authorship or form. The numerous references to personages and affairs under the Vandal kingdom in Africa make it probable that the collection was produced there about a. 534 by means of compilation and enlargement of earlier collections. On the compiler see n. 3. 6. ARIESE, AL. 1, XX. 2, LV. OSCHUBERT, quaestt. de cod. Salm. 16. RPEIPER, RhM. 31, 183. EBÄHRENS, PLM. 4, 328.

The extant 'praefatio' to one of the sections (AL. 19 PLM. 4, 241) is written in unintelligible prose, patched together mainly from the glosses (esp. those of Placidus, § 472, 7). FDÜBNER, RhM. 3 (1835), 470. GLOEWE, RhM. 31, 55. Another metrical 'praefatio' before a separate collection of the Salm. is similar to that of Luxorius (n. 3) AL. 90 sqq. PLM. 4, 281 sqq.—Regarded linguistically, this prose preface is a precursor of the subsequent foolish cant and occult language of the Scotch monks, which originated in the same manner and has come down to us in the so-called Hisperica famina (edited from Vatic. Reg. 81 s. XI by AMAI, class. auctt. 5, 479 and JMSTOWASSER, Vienna 1887; cf. PGEYER, ArchfLexikogr. 2, 255. STOWASSER, ib. 3, 168), the Hymnus Lorica of a certain Gildas (hardly the one mentioned § 486, 1), the Luxemburg fragment and other examples (JMSTOWASSER, Wien. Studd. 309; stolones latini: I de quarto quodam Scoticae latinitatis spec., Vienna 1889). Cf. also § 497, 7 sqq.

2. *Fl. Felicis v. cl. postulatio honoris apud Victori(ni)anum v. inl. et primiscriniarium*, in the cod. Salm. (AL. 254 PLM. 4, 356), with the quantities *stŏlida*, *mĕroris*, *ecclĕsiae* and the conclusion: *adnue poscenti, miserum sustolle ruinae: clericus ut fiam, dum velis, ipse potes.* Without doubt he is the same Felix by whom in AL. 210–214 PLM. 4, 334 sqq. we have five epigrams de thermis Alianarum, the last containing the acrostic *Thrasamundus*, the mesostic *cunta innovat*, and the telestic *vota serenans.* Each line moreover consists of 37 letters. Cf. LMÜLLER, RhM. 23, 94. JJ. 95, 796. RIESE, AL. 1, p. XXIV. XXVII. See also § 21, 2 ad fin. § 26, 3 ad fin.—Florentinus' 39 hexameters in praise of king Thrasamund are given AL. 376 PLM. 4, 426.

3. To Luxorius (or Luxurius, Lusorius; WFröhner, Phil. Suppl. 5, 61) belongs in AL. 18 PLM. 4, 237 the *Epithalamium Fridi a Luxorio v. cl. spect.*, a Vergilian cento (see § 22, 1. 26, 2); also AL. 203 PLM. 4, 331 (on Hildericus rex) and AL. 287–375 PLM. 4, 386 sqq. These latter numbers (287 sqq.) form a consecutive collection of youthful poems (*quos olim puer in foro paravi versus ex variis locis deductos*, 287; cf. 288 *paginam . . . quam . . . tiro lusi*), dedicated to his friend Faustus (n. 4), *grammaticae magister artis* (287). Superscription in the Salmas.: *incipit liber epigrammaton viri clariss. Luxori et spectabilis* (cf. l. 2). It consists of epigrams on persons and things, chiefly ludi circenses and works of art (374 we have even: *de Diogene picto, ubi lascivienti meretrix barbam vellit et Cupido mingit in podice eius*). Here also obscenity is supposed to be essential to this kind of literature (e.g. 297. 301 sq. 308 sq. 317. 322 sq. 340. 358. 363. 368). The author notwithstanding his numerous allusions to the old legends (OSchubert, n. 4) was a Christian. His former circumstances: *nostri defugiens pauperiem laris* (289). We possess also a book (*liber* AL. 80, 2 PLM. 4, 267 no. 268, 2) of versus serpentini or epanaleptici (§ 26, 4) in 42 (43) distichs, which is probably also by Luxorius. For it is preceded by an epigram placed here in honour of the poet by the compiler of the Anthol. Salmas. (n. 1): *Priscos, Luxori, certumst te vincere vates, carmen namque tuum duplex Victoria gestat* (correctly explained by REhwald, Phil. 46, 632. 47, 764). Many consider Luxorius to be also the compiler of the collection of poems preserved in the Salmas.—The name of the supposed poet Etemundes (=*item unde s⟨upra⟩* AL. 78 PLM. 4, 267) is based on an absurd blunder (see Bährens ad loc.).

4. Most of the pieces by Lux. are in elegiac metre; next to these hendecasyllabics are most frequent. There are also hexameters, iambic poems (288. 315. 360. 309), trochaics (291), anapaestic dimeters (299. 322. 357), glyconeans (295), anacreontic (298) and asclepiadean (314. 316. 323. 356. 361) lines, also asynarteti (292. 305). Various licences in the quantities, especially in foreign words, but otherwise not exceptionally frequent. Cf. on this HKlapp l.l. p. II; on the diction of Lux. ib. p. VI.—In a glossary at Cheltenham cod. 4626 s. XII. 6 separate lines (otherwise unknown) of *Lisorius* (i.e. Luxorius) are quoted (now also given PLM. 4, 440); here too we read *Lisorius in ortographia*, therefore Luxorius, to whom Coronatus (n. 5) dedicated a grammatical work, himself wrote on similar subjects. In the same glossary is also quoted *Faustus in epylogo 'de lavăcro redeunt, numerantur et inde videntes,'* probably the friend of Luxorius mentioned n. 3. Here too besides lines otherwise known are mentioned the following: *Possidonius 'hic specular renitens fert et cristallina mira,' Livius 'aspice monstrorum praeeuntia signa duorum'* and *Affranius 'exuitur peplis celerans agitatque tribulas.'* REllis, Journ. of philol. 8, 122. ARiese, JB. 1878 2, 261.—On Luxor. cf. LMüller, JJ. 95, 783. Riese, AL. 1, p. XXIV. XXVII. OSchubert, quaestt. de anthol. cod. Salm. I: de Luxorio, Lps. 1875. HKlapp, de Anth. lat. carm. nonnullis, Wandsbeck 1874.

5. By Coronatus, vir clarissimus, AL. 223 PLM. 4, 186 (a variation on a Vergilian theme [*locus Vergilianus*], 29 hexameters are extant) and epigrams on dainties AL. 226. 228 PLM. 4, 342. Also one of similar contents by a certain Donatus (*de ovata* sc. gallina). Remains of *Coronati scholastici de ultimis syllabis partium orationis* with the dedication: *Domino eruditissimo peritissimorum atque inlustri fratri Luxorio Coronatus.* HKeil, GL. 4, p. L (cf. ib. p. 565); cf. de gramm. inf. aetat. (Erlang. 1868) 4. Riese, AL. 1, p. XXIV. XXVI.

6. As the codex Salmasianus (n. 1) contains among the works of a later period chiefly poems by natives of Africa, we may assign to the same period and circle the versifiers known only through it, Calbulus grammaticus (a Christian poem on a

spring, AL. 378 PLM. 4, 428), Petrus referendarius (AL. 380 PLM. 4, 431), Octavianus vir illustris ann. XVI, filius Crescentini viri magnifici (AL. 20. 21 PLM. 4, 244 sqq., cf. MHAUPT, op. 1, 217; BÄHRENS PLM. 4, 30 supposed this mere boy Octavianus to be the compiler of the anthology of Salmas.!), Cato (AL. 387 PLM. 4, 433) under Huneric (a. 477–484; excerpts concerning the adverbs *ex libro Catonis* [which of them?] in the Montepess. 306 s. IX, printed in JHUEMER, Wiener SBer. 99, 519), Lindinus (AL. 28 PLM. 4, 257), Avitus (AL. 29 PLM. 4, 258), Regianus (AL. 270–272 PLM. 4, 359), Ponnan(i)us (AL. 274 PLM. 4, 360), Tuccianus (AL. 277. 278 PLM. 3, 360. 361), Vincentius (AL. 279 PLM. 4, 361), Bonosius (AL. 280 PLM. 4, 362), and generally the carmina de singulis causis (ib. 383–388, cf. p. XXV. PLM. 4, 432). Cf. RIESE AL. 1, XXVI.

7. A barbaric and conceited letter addressed to a certain presbyter Parthenius in Africa by the comes Sigisteus, together with the answer of Parth. and verses, the adulatory tone as well as the poetical style of which are evidently calculated for barbarian taste, in REIFFERSCHEID'S analecta Casinensia (Bresl. 1871), p. 3. (FPR. 420).

## F. The Sixth Century.

477. After the German mercenary leader Odoacer, who had in a. 476 overthrown the last Roman Emperor of the West, was himself conquered (a. 493) by Theoderic, the king of the Ostrogoths (a. 454–526), who then made himself king of Italy with the sanction of the Eastern Emperor, that country enjoyed during thirty years the blessings of peace and order. Boethius, Ennodius and partly Cassiodorus, and Priscian (who lived at Constantinople) wrote under Theoderic. Under his weak successors the kingdom again fell to pieces, and the country was exposed to continual devastations, which destroyed the last remnants of intellectual life. The literary language was continually reduced to greater straits, as its supporters were few and it had to be learnt expressly and almost like a foreign tongue. The difference between the literary and the popular speech became more and more accentuated, partly owing to the introduction of the speech of the conquerors, and there were already various signs of the coming victory of the popular language over the antiquated and petrified literary language. In the other countries of the West Roman civilisation could hardly weather the storms that threatened to destroy it. It survived longest in Gaul, where Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus, Arator and others may be mentioned among its literary representatives. Historical composition was most studied; Africa possessed bishop Victor, Britain Gildas, and even the Goth Jordanis wrote an historical work. The East produced under Justinian Prokopios of Caesarea. The numerous attempts to compose comprehensive works on Roman law for the

use of the different countries were at last terminated under Justinian by the Corpus iuris. In general, literature was chiefly cultivated by the clergy; at the close of the century it received the special attention of the Roman bishop Gregory I, and as early as 529 the Benedictine order was founded.

1. Anon. Vales. 79 *rex Theodericus inlitteratus erat et sic obruto sensu ut in decem annos regni sui quattuor litteras subscriptionis edicti sui discere nullatenus potuisset. de qua re laminam auream iussit interrasilem fieri quattuor litteras legi* (JBernays, ges. Abhh. 2, 323) *habentem; unde si subscribere voluisset posita lamina super chartam per eam pennam duceret.* A panegyric on him by Ennodius, see § 479, 2.

2. Justinianus, born 482, Emperor from 527, † 565.

3. Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius, cos. 527, and his assistant in emending MSS., Felix orator urbis Romae; see § 240, 6, cf. § 436, 5. 452, 6. Cf. OKeller, Epilegom. zu Horaz 785. The name of Mavortius (but perhaps a different person) is prefixed to the cento vergilianus in the cod. Salmas. on the judgment of Paris (AL. 10 PLM. 4, 198), and also the one de ecclesia (AL. 16 PLM. 4, 214; also edited by KSchenkl in the Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. Vindob. 16, 621) appears to belong to the same author. Cf. after v. 110 *Cum Mavortio* (thus Juretus correctly reads, notwithstanding Schenkl l.l. 565; the MS. gives *abortio* and in the title of the iudic. Par. the MS. has *Maborti*) *clamaretur 'Maro iunior', ad praesens hoc recitavit* etc. Riese l.l. 1, p. xxviii. WDHSuringar, Anonymi cento vergilianus de ecclesia, Utr. 1867. FLatendorf, JJ. 103, 861.

4. *Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus v. c. et inl. ex cons. ord.* (cos. 485) *ac patricius* (thus he is called by his own son-in-law. Boethius in the dedication of his work de trinitate, Usener l.l. 15), was a worthy descendant of his great-grandfather Symmachus the orator (§ 425, 2). He is frequently mentioned in Ennodius. It is said of him in the anecdot. Holderi (cf. also GSchepss, NArchfältdGesch. 11, 126): *vir philosophus qui antiqui Catonis* (Uticensis) *fuit novellus imitator, sed virtutes veterum sanctissima religione transcendit . . . dixit sententiam pro allecticiis in senatu . . . parentesque* (the elder Nicomachus Flavianus is here meant: on him and his connection by marriage with the Symmachi see § 428) *suos imitatus historiam quoque Romanam septem libris edidit.* A fragment of this Roman history has been preserved in Jordanis de reb. get. 15 (*ut dicit Symmachus in quinto suae historiae libro*, HPeter, hist. rom. fr. 370). He also (like the younger Nicomachi § 428, 2. 3) produced critical editions: e.g. of Macrobius' Somnium Scipionis, as is shown by the subscription to the MSS. (§ 444, 8).—Besides the treatise de trin. Boethius dedicated to Symmachus his work on arithmetic, and Priscian dedicated his short works to the same author (§ 481, 4). Symm. was put to death a. 525 shortly after Boethius. OJahn, Leipz. SBer. 1851, 347. JBRossi, inscriptt. christ. 1, p. 443. HUsener, anecd. Holderi (Bonn 1877) 17. Cf. also § 451, 2.

5. Deuterius, professor of grammar and rhetoric at Milan, upon whom Ennodius often bestows exaggerated praise. He recommends to Deuterius (dict. 8 and 9) his nephew Lupicinus and Arator as pupils. He praises Deuterius in a jocular poem (2, 104 *verenda calvities*) and consoles him in a letter (1, 19) for the weakness of his eyes (*tua lumina nube doloris hebetantur, cuius tam clara sunt carmina?*). A poetical begging letter in his name in Ennod. carm. 1, 2 (*Deut. v. s. grammatico*). Cf. also Ennod. dict. 24. carm. 2, 90.—It is doubtful

whether he is the *Deuterius scholasticus* in the subscription of Martianus Capella (§ 452, 6). Cf. OJahn, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 350.

6. An enumeration of the Roman nobles who had received a rhetorical education in Ennod. opusc. 6, p. 408 sqq. Hartel: Faustus (cos. 490, *Latiaris flumen eloquii*, also a poet, he celebrated lake Como, Ennod. epp. 1, 6; also carm. 1, 7 *in veterem morem pangit nova carmina Faustus*) and his son Avienus (cos. 501), the patricii Festus (cos. 472), Symmachus (n. 4), Probinus (cos. 489), Cethegus (=Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus, cos. 504. HUsener, anecd. Holderi 6. Below § 483, 2), Boethius, Agapitus (cos. 517), Probus. Also Olybrius (Ennod. carm. 1, 8), and outside the Roman circle Parthenius (Arator ep. ad Parth. 19 sqq.). Cf. § 476, 7. Faustus also composed poems in several books (Ennod. carm. 1, 7. 2, 3. 143). The custom of public recitationes was still prevalent in Italy during this century: Ennod. carm. 1, 9 praef. *cur recitet publice quem laus nec decet publica nec delectat?* Cf. § 491, 2. To this period may also belong Euclerius (? Eucherius, perhaps the Eucherius v. ill. and senator who is several times alluded to in Apoll. Sid., Greg. Tur. 2, 20 ?) who in AL. 789, in a short prayer, implores God=Christ for enlightenment in his calling (that of a lawyer).

7. The 'Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum ne uxorem ducat,' printed in Hieronym. Opp. XI (cf. LMüller, JJ. 95, 790), which is usually assigned to the sixth century, belongs instead to the thirteenth and was composed by Walter Map (Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford from a. 1196), as he himself states in his treatise de nugis curialibus p. 142 Wright's edition. MHertz, pref. to his later edition of Gellius 2, p. xxx.

8. The prevailing views of the time on philosophy are explained by Gregor. Tur., Mirac. 1, praef. *philosophorum inimicam deo sapientiam.* Cf. Ennod. euchar. p. 396, 13 Hartel *illa saecularis pompae philosophia* (=medicinal science). Venant. Fort. ep. 5, 1 confesses: *Plato, Aristoteles, Chrysippus vel* (et) *Pittacus mihi vix opinione noti sunt.*

9. Of the Frankish king Chilperic († 584) Gregory of Tours relates (hist. Franc. 6, 46): *confecit duos libros quasi Sedulium imitatus, quorum versiculi debiles nullis pedibus subsistere possunt, in quibus, dum non intellegebat, pro longis syllabis breves posuit et pro brevibus longas statuebat; et alia opuscula, vel hymnos sive missas.* King Charibert is praised by Venant. Fort. carm. 6, 2 for his fluent command of the Latin language. The earliest example of indigenous poetry among the Franks, the prologue to the Salic constitution, is written in Latin and in a rhythmical form; WWattenbach, D. Geschichtsq. 1 [5], 87.

10. Gregor. Tur. 4, 47 on Andarchius: *de operibus Virgilii, legis Theodosianae libris arteque calculi ad prime eruditus est.*

11. Manuscripts were actively produced esp. in central and southern Italy; see § 483. § 494, 3, and the subscriptions in the Fulda MS. (supr. p. 410, l. 21) of the Vulgate: *Victor . . . episcopus Capuae legi VI non. maias* (a. 546), and in a Dijon MS. of Augustin. de trinit.: *emendavi . . . VI kal. iun.* (of a. 559) *in provincia Campania* etc. AReifferscheid in the Bresl. Ind. lect. 1872 sq. p. 8. In a cod. Casinensis (a Latin transl. of Origen): *Donatus . . . presbyter proprium codicem in castello Lucullano* (near Naples) *infirmus legi* (a. 569), Reifferscheid l.l. p. 3. In Rome there is a MS. of Hilarius (§ 418, 2) originating from Africa (ib. Reifferscheid. p. 2) with the subscription: *contuli . . . apud Casulas constitutus anno XIV° Thransamund regis* (a. 509 sq.). The Leidensis Voss. Q. 9, dates from s. VI, see Riese's AL. 1, p. 18–20, cf. p. xii. Cf. also § 487, 4. To the same date

belong MSS. of Cyprian in Paris and Turin; see WHARTEL's ed., praef. p. II. Further details see above §§ 400, 5. 425, 4. 432, 6. 436, 5. 441, 4 ad fin. 472, 1. 473, 7.

478. The Roman patrician Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius, cos. 510, executed by Theoderic a. 524, occupies a prominent position in this time on account both of his character and his culture. The work de consolatione philosophiae in five books, which he composed in prison, splendidly attests his nobility of mind and his familiarity with the spirit and style of the classical period. We possess also by him numerous translations of Greek works on philosophy and mathematics. Especially by his translations from and commentaries on the logic of Aristotle he gained great influence on mediaeval scholasticism. In his youth he also wrote a few works on Christian theology.

1. *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius v. c. et inl. ex cos. ord. (ex mag. off.) patricius* is the designation of Boethius in the subscriptions of his works; HUSENER, anecd. Hold. 40. 46. USENER ib. 43 shows that the correct spelling is *Boethius* (Βοήθιος), not the plebeian *Boetius* which appears in most of the MSS. and inscriptions. He was born about 480, married Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus (§ 477, 4), received Theoderic a. 500 with an elegant speech in the Senate and was employed by him in various ways. Missives from Theoderic to Boethius in CASSIODORUS' var. 1, 10. 45. 2, 40. A panegyric on Theoderic delivered by Boethius in the Senate on the occasion of his two sons assuming the consulship (a. 522), anecd. Hold. 13. consol. 2, 3. But when the Eastern Emperor Justinus attempted to undermine Theoderic's throne by stirring up Italy against the Arian Goths, and when the national Roman party was suspected of entering into this scheme, B. was drawn into the imbroglio, and his outspoken defence of the senator Albinus, who had been taxed with a clandestine correspondence with Justinus, was used by his enemies as a means of calumniating him to Theoderic. As his independent patriotic conduct during his whole life gave colour to such an accusation, B. was imprisoned at Calvenzano, sentenced by the servile Senate without a hearing and put to death under torture (ANON. VALES). His death at the hand of the Arian king of the Goths, the confusion with others of the name of Severinus, together with his theological works, procured for B. at a later time the reputation of a martyr for the Catholic faith and a halo of sanctity. Cf. n. 2. 3. TEUFFEL PRE. $1^2$, 2415.

2. ENNODIUS ep. 7, 13 to Boethius: *tu, emendatissime hominum, . . . quem in annis puerilibus . . . industria fecit antiquum, qui per diligentiam imples omne quod cogitur, cui inter vitae exordia ludus et lectionis assiduitas, . . . in cuius manibus duplicato igne rutilat qua veteres face fulserunt.* Theoderic (CASSIOD. var. 1, 45) to B.: *te multa eruditione saginatum. . . . translationibus tuis Pythagoras musicus, Ptolemaeus astronomus leguntur Itali. Nicomachus arithmeticus, geometricus Euclides audiuntur Ausoniis. Plato theologus, Aristoteles logicus quirinali voce disceptant. mechanicum etiam Archimedem Latialem Siculis reddidisti. et quascunque disciplinas vel artes fecunda Graecia per singulos viros edidit te uno auctore patrio sermone Roma suscepit* etc. Cf. PROKOP. Goth. 1, 1. (p. 11 Bonn.) and the mediaeval epigram on him AL. 764. This activity was the result of a genuine enthusiasm

for ancient literature and the ancient time; cf. praef. to the comm. in Aristot. categ. l. II (in MIGNE 64, 201): *etsi nos curae officii consularis* (a. 510) *impediunt quo minus in his studiis omne otium plenamque curam consumamus, pertinere tamen videtur ad aliquam reip. curam elucubratae rei doctrina cives instruere* etc. The convictions of B. were, therefore, scarcely different in reality from those of his wife's ancestor (§ 425, 9), though there is no doubt that he professed the Christian religion. KSCHENKL, Verhandl. der Wiener Philologenvers. (Vienna 1859) 79. CHJOURDAIN, mém. prés. par divers à l'acad. des inscript. 1, 6, 1, 330; cf. comptes rend. 1860 4. 17. AHILDEBRAND, B. u. seine Stellung zum Christentum, Regensb. 1885. GBOISSIER, journ. des sav. 1889, 449.

3. The work de consolatione (composed a. 523/4) begins with a complaint in elegiacs concerning the author's position at the time: *Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi* (the anecd. Holderi mentions a carmen bucolicum as having been composed by B.) *flebilis, heus, maestos cogor inire modos* etc. Then Philosophy appears to him and consoles him concerning his fate in a kind of Theodicea. The arguments are purely philosophical, and scarcely leave room for definitely Christian views. The mode of thought evidenced in this work is an eclecticism, with a prevailing Platonic colour. Towards all religions, even the Christian, the author takes the cold attitude of a cultivated aristocrat; he abstains from attacking them, but keeps them at a distance and endeavours to find his intellectual nourishment elsewhere. There are everywhere manifestations of the noblest thought, of endeavour directed to the highest ends of humanity, and frequently a true religious disposition, but always free from any specifically Christian colouring. He never appeals to the works of Christian writers nor to the Christian Church and its dogmas, and does not once mention the name of Christ; whereas he repeatedly refers to Plato, Aristotle (whose Protreptikos he appears to have largely used; JBYWATER, Journ. of philol. 2, 59. USENER, anecd. Holderi 51. HDIELS, Arch. f. Gesch. der Philos. 1, 486), Cicero, Seneca. Cf. FNITZSCH l.l. 42. EZELLER, Philos. d. Gr. 3, $2^3$, 856. Although the names of the heathen gods occur frequently (esp. Phoebus, the Muses, Ceres and others), his allusions to them are hardly to be taken more seriously than are those of the writers of the 18th century. The diction displays the affectation and mannerism of the period, tempered however by an element of sober logic. The form is partly that of a dialogue, while in part it resembles the satura Menippea, inasmuch as the prose argument is often interrupted by metrical pieces in the manner of Martianus Capella. These (39 in number) are in the most varied metres, simple (iamb. troch. dactyl. anap. logaoedic) and compound, of one and two lines; not a few were invented by Boethius himself; analysis in PEIPER's ed. p. 219; cf. ib. p. XXIIII. Seneca's tragedies have been largely drawn upon in the phraseology of these poems; see the list of passages in PEIPER l.l. 228. The author's style is not always technically strict, but it is very skilful. Cf. AEBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 489.

4. Numerous MSS. of the consol. of s. IX/X, see PEIPER intr. to his ed. Cf. also GSCHEPSS, hs. Studd. zu B. de consol., Würzb. 1881. Ed. pr. Nürnb. 1473 (per ACOBURGER): subsequently e.g. cum comment. THOME, Cologne 1504: in usum Delphini cum nott. PCALLYI, Par. 1680; cum nott. PBERTII, Leyd. 1671; cur. JAVULPIO, Padua 1721 and 1744; cum nott. varr., Glasgov. 1751; especially the edition by THOBBARIUS (ad opt. libr. mss. fidem rec. et prolegg. instr.), Jena 1843, and that by RPEIPER, accedunt eiusdem atque incertorum opuscula sacra (see n. 6), Lps. 1871. On the numerous mediaeval commentaries, translations and imitations of the consol. see PEIPER intr. to his ed. p. XXXXI. For the criticism of the Latin text (also of the Aristotelian Kateg. and περὶ ἑρμ.) NOTKER's works are of import-

ance; cf. Schriften Notker's u. s. Schule, edited by PPiper, Freib. 1882–1883 III. —PLangen, quaestt. Boet. in the symb. philol. Bonn. 261. RVolkmann, in B. de cons. phil. libros commentariolum criticum, Jauer 1866. HNolte, ZföG. 31, 87.

5. Other philosophical and mathematical works: Cassiodorus in the Anecd. Holderi p. 4 concerning Boethius: *in opere artis logicae id est dialecticae transferendo ac mathematicis disciplinis talis fuit ut antiquos auctores aut aequiperaret aut vinceret.* There are extant translations and (or) commentaries to all the sections of the Aristotelian Organon, namely the κατηγορίαι (libri IV, composed a. 510), to περὶ ἑρμηνείας, here given in two editions, of which the first presents the elements of the subject in 2 books, while the second treats of *quod altius acumen considerationis poscit* in 6 bb. (composed a. 507–9, Usener, Deutsche Lit. Ztg. 1880, 370. Boetii comment. in Arist. π. ἑρμ., rec. CMeiser, Lps. 1877. 80 II; on the importance of the translation for the Greek text see CMeiser, JJ. 117, 247), then to the ἀναλυτικά (πρότερα and ὕστερα), to the τοπικά (the commentary is lost) and περὶ σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων. Boethius in Aristot. π. ἑρμ. 2, 2, 3 p. 79 Meis. announces his intention of translating and elucidating the entire works of Plato and Aristotle. A commentary on Cicero's Topica, of which there are extant b. 1–5 and a small portion of b. 6, extending to Cic. top. 76. A continuation in connection therewith on top. 76. 77 from Paris. 7711 s. XII in Orelli ll. 390 (de dis et praesensionibus) does not belong to Boethius, but dates only from the Middle Ages. ThStangl, JJ. 127, 193. 285. The commentary is printed e.g. in Orelli's Cic. 5, 1, 269. Th Stangl, Boethiania vel Boeth. comm. in Cic. Top. emendat. ex VIII codd. cum obss. gramm., Gotha 1882. Cf. § 182, 6. 1.—In Porphyrium (his εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοτ. κατηγορ.) a Victorino (§ 408, 2) translatum (before a. 510) dialogi II. In Porph. a se translatum libri V.—De categoricis syllogismis libri II (also introductio ad categ. syll.). De hypotheticis syllogismis ll. II. De divisione. De differentiis topicorum (ll. IV).

Our manuscript text of the last-named works derives its origin, as is manifest especially from the subscriptions in the Aurelian. 223 s. X/XI (+Ashburnham. no. 31 Libri), to a copy which was written by the Theodorus mentioned § 481, 3. 482, 2, and revised by Martius Novatus Renatus v. c. et sp. Montfaucon, bibl. bibliothecarum 2, 1130[d] mentions as contained in a SGerm. among works of Boethius, a subscriptio by Theodorus, according to which the latter *Mavortio consule* (see § 481, 3) *indictione V* with his own hand transcribed *ex authentico Flaviani*, a pupil of Priscian (?). OJahn, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 354; AReifferscheid, bibl. patr. 2, 352. Usener l.l. 47 and especially GSchepss, BlfbayrGW. 24, 24.—In b. 4 of the diff. top. p. 880 ed. Bas. is contained what AMai, class. auctt. 3, 317. 327 erroneously published as two previously unrecognised treatises by Boeth. (communis speculatio de rhetoricae cognatione and locorum rhetoricorum distinctio). (The work which in Mai l.l. 331 follows as ostensibly by B. is 'Franconis [s. XI] ex opere de quadratura circuli specimen.')—The treatise de definitione which is attributed to B. in the edd. rather belongs to Marius Victorinus (see § 408, 2). On Boethius' logical works see esp. KPrantl, Gesch. d. Log. 1, 679.—De institutione musica ll. V (translated and explained by OPaul, Lpz. 1872).—De institutione arithmetica, cf. FGustafsson, de codd. Boet. de inst. arithm. Bernensibus in Act. soc. Fenn. Helsingf. 11 [1879], 341. On the Turin fragments from Bobbio see Lpz. Studien 1, 379. The so-called liber mathematicalis of S. Bernward of Hildesheim is important for criticism. HDüker, Hildesh. Progr. 1875.

De geometria: Boethius wrote on this subject; cf. Cassiod. de geom. p. 577 *ex quibus* (the Greek geometricians Euclid, Apollonios, Archimedes) *Euclidem*

*translatum in Romanam linguam . . . Boethius dedit* and var. 1, 45 (above n. 2 l. 7) and the Reichenau library catalogue of a. 821 in GBecker, catal. bibliothec. antiq. no. 6, 356 (*De opusculis Boetii de arithmetica lib. II de geometrica lib. III et de dialectica*). Whether however Cassiod. l.l. refers to the geometry handed down under the name of B. is very doubtful, because this work does not, as Cassiod. states, give a translation of Euclid, but merely includes a good deal from Euclid, and because it betrays the greatest ignorance and vagueness, whereas B.'s arithmetic is the work of an expert and intelligent, lastly because at p. 397, 3 Friedl. of the treatise in question the Indian (Arabic) figures are mentioned, which are otherwise entirely unknown to the ancient world. The work should therefore probably be assigned to the Middle Ages. So GFriedlein, Gerbert, die Geometrie des B. und die indischen Ziffern, Erl. 1851 (cf. FHultsch, JJ. 87, 422); zur Frage über die Echtheit der Geom. d. B., JJ. 87, 425 and in his edition HWeissenborn, Zeitschr. f. Mathem. u. Phys., lit.-gesch. Abt. Suppl. 24 (1879), 190; zur Boetius-Frage, Eisenach 1880. LHeiberg, Phil. 43, 507. On the other hand the genuineness of the work is maintained by MCantor, mathemat. Beitr. zum Culturleben (1863) 181. 199; röm. Agrimensoren (1875) 130. 216; Zeitschr. f. Mathem. u. Phys., lit.-gesch. Abt. 22, 184; Jen. Lit.-Ztg. 1879, 172; Gesch. der Mathem. 1, 630. —See also ENarducci, un manuscritto (saec. XIII) . . . contenente gli apici (numerals) di Boezio, Rome 1877 (Acad. dei Lincei, Scienze mat. e nat. 1, 503).— Boetii de instit. arithm. libri II, de instit. mus. libri V. acc. (esp. from Erlang. 288 s. XI) geometria quae fertur Boetii. ex libris mss. ed. GFriedlein, Lps. 1867. With this geometry of Boethius must not be confounded the so-called demonstratio artis geometricae (§ 344, 7), which has become merged with the other work in early editions. Last printed in the Berlin edition of the Agrimensores 1, 393 and ibid. Lachmann 2, 79.

6. Boethius de s. trinitate (dedicated to his father-in-law § 477, 4); utrum pater et filius et spiritus sanctus de divinitate substantialiter praedicentur; quomodo substantiae in eo quod sint bonae sint cum non sint substantialia bona (both dedicated to Iohannes diaconus); liber contra Eutychen et Nestorium, all best given in Peiper's ed. of the consol. n. 4; the spuriousness of these Christian theological treatises has been asserted by, amongst others, FNitzsch, d. System. d. B. und die ihm zugeschriebenen theologischen Schriften, Berl. 1860, chiefly on account of the impossibility of reconciling the fundamental views of these works with those expressed in the books de consolatione. But Cassiodorus (see HUsener's Anecdotum Holderi p. 48) expressly mentions among the works of Boethius: *scripsit librum de s. trinitate et capita quaedam dogmatica et librum contra Nestorium.* Cf. Peiper's ed. p. xxii. Usener, anecd. Hold. 48. This testimony by the best-informed of his contemporaries is not successfully shaken by FNitzsch, Jen. LZ. 1877, 714, who assumes a subsequent interpolation in the words of Cassiodorus. Cf. also JDräseke, Jahrbb. f. protest. Theol. 12, 312. CKrieg, Jahrb. d. Görres-Gesellsch. 1884, 23. Prietzel, B. und s. Stellung z. Christentum, Löbau 1879. AHildebrand, B. u. s. Stellung z. Christentum, Regensb. 1885. Cf. n. 2 ad fin.— On the other hand the following have been erroneously attributed to B.: de fide catholica, de unitate et uno and de disciplina scholarium; the last is the production of a monk of Brabant of the 13th cent. by name Thomas (Brabantinus Cantipratanus).

7. Collective editions of the works of B.: Ven. 1491. 1492 (cum comm. s. Thomae). Bas. 1546. 1570 (ex rec. Glareani). Indiscriminately collected in Migne vol. 63. 64.—On Boethius e.g. CGHeyne, op. 6, 144. CFBergstedt, de vita et scriptis B., Upsala 1842. JGSutterer, B. der letzte Römer, sein Leben etc.,

Eichst. 1852. LCBourquard, de B. christiano viro, philosopho ac theologo, Angers 1877. VdiGiovanni, Boezio filosofo ed i suoi imitatori, Palermo 1880.—GBednarz, de universo orationis colore Boethii, Bresl. 1883. HFStewart, Boethius, an essay, London 1891.

479. Magnus Felix Ennodius (a. 473–521), bishop of Pavia, a native of Gaul, was a rhetorician and versifier of the time of Theoderic. The most important of his writings in regard to history are the biography of his predecessor Epiphanius and the panegyric on Theoderic (about a. 507), the latter exaggerated in flattery, cautious in its reserve, and intolerably inflated in style. His letters are deficient in substance, and even more so his scholastic declamations. Ennodius was in his time considered a master of style and thus was called upon to write speeches and letters for others, nay even sermons for bishops. Among his poems are compositions of some length (descriptions of journeys, an epithalamium, several hymns), short occasional pieces (so-called epigrammata), and some very insignificant poems both laudatory and the reverse. The verse exhibits frequent irregularities.

1. Ennodius was a native of Gaul (ep. 1, 2 cf. 6, 24. c. 2, 73), perhaps of Arelate, and of noble origin. Eucharist. (p. 398, 23 Hart.): *tempore quo Italiam optatissimus Theoderici regis resuscitavit ingressus* (a. 489) . . . *ego annorum ferme XVI amitae quae me aluerat* . . . *solacio privatus sum. remansi solus, inops* etc. *poposci in matrimonium cuiusdam nobilissimae* . . . *parvulam filiolam, protinus* . . . *exceptus*, . . . *ut alimentis affluerem*, . . . *ex mendico in regem mutatus.* When however his wealthy bride lost her fortune, Ennodius gave her up and became a priest (Vogel pref. to his ed. p. vi). Bishop of Ticinum (Pavia) from a. 513? He was twice (a. 515. 517) sent by Pope Hormisdas as envoy to the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius with the object of uniting the two Churches. Previous journeys carm. 1, 1 (to Briançon at the instance of a *vates*=a bishop). 5 (across the Po to a sister). 6 (from Rome by sea). He died at Ticinum a. 521. See his epitaph in the CIL. 5, 6464 (where we read *Ennodius vates* . . . *pollens eloquio, doctrinae nobilis arte*). It is given also in Hartel's ed. p. 609.—Ennodius published his works separately or in small groups: he did not himself prepare a collective edition. After his death such an edition appears to have been produced by some one else in a hasty and unmethodical fashion, yet with some regard for a classification according to date and subject-matter (n. 9). The extant collection is however only brought down to a. 513.

2. Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico, composed a. 507.—In spite of his tasteless flourishes, his tiresome bombast and affected obscurity, he still remains an important source of history (cf. RKöpke, deutsche Forschungen 165, esp. 173), Manso l.l. 435. Cf. MFertig l.l. 3. Printed in the collections of the panegyrici (§ 391, 3), cum annotationibus in Manso's Gesch. d. ostgot. Reichs 437, cf. ib. 435. 487. CCipolla, archiv. stor. ital. 11 (1883), 353; intorno al paneg. di Enn. per Theod., Padova 1888.—Translated by MFertig (Ennod. u. seine Zeit III), Landshut 1858.

3. Vita b. Epiphanii episcopi Ticinesis († 496, composed c. a. 503, cf. BINDING das burgund.-roman. Kgr. 1, 97): b. Antonii monachi Lerinensis (composed soon after his death). Libellus adversus eos qui contra synodum (of a. 502) scribere praesumpserunt (for Pope Symmachus). The so-called eucharisticum de vita sua, a brief autobiography, in the form of a prayer in imitation of AUGUSTINE's Confessiones (FERTIG l.l. 1, 7). Cf. § 474, 4. (Paraenesis didascalica) Ambrosio et Beato (a. 511, being a recommendation of poetry, verecundia, castitas, fides, grammatica, rhetorica, each introduced by verse). Among the (10 incl. the Paneg.) opuscula are also numbered praeceptum quando iussi sunt omnes episcopi cellulanos habere (a. 503), petitorium quo absolutus est Gerontius puer Agapiti, and two benedictiones cerei.

4. The 28 dictiones contain speeches written for others, occasional speeches (e.g. in natali Laurentii Mediolanensis episcopi c. a. 505) and scholastic declamations, seven of which were actually delivered in schools (on introducing or promoting pupils), 15 being model speeches (10 controversiae, 5 ethicae or suasoriae) remarkable for the choice of the subjects (which move entirely on the old lines, see § 45, 9).

5. The letters, altogether 297, without chronological order, which Sirmond contrary to the MSS. (n. 9) divided into nine books, are partly addressed to men of high position in the Church (e.g. Symmachus, Hormisdas) and the State (e.g. Boethius and Liberius); to Venantius 5, 22, cf. p. 105, 10 Htl. and CASSIOD. var. 3, 8, 46. Also letters to ladies, e.g. to his sister Euprepia (whose son Lupicinus is frequently mentioned by Ennodius. On the latter as an editor of Cæsar see § 196, 2 ad fin.). All seem to have been written by E. while deacon (at Milan) and previously to a. 513. See also USENER, anecd. Hold. 12. There is scarcely any mention of public, least of all political, affairs. The diction is extremely affected.

6. Enn. feels as much as Sidonius that versifying is not proper for a priest (§ 467, 5), and excuses himself repeatedly (c. 1, 6, praef. and 1, 9, praef.). Pagan mythology was however considered a necessary part of verse and even Enn. repeatedly brings in *Phoebus*, *Apollo*, *Venus* (esp. 1, 4), *Parcae* (1, 5. 2, 2. 109), *Pierides*, *di* (2, 24, 1), though of course quite innocently, taking *Olympus* e.g. merely in the sense of the Christian heaven (cf. 1, 6, 29 of Christ: *ille per excelsum videat me dexter Olympum*). But there were also moral objections to versifying, if offensive subjects were so little avoided as by Enn. 2, 25. 29–31. 51 sqq. 69 sqq. 97. 101 sqq. But that versifying was only a literary exercise, appears from the frequent combination of verse with a prose preface (carm. 1, 6. 7. 8. 9. 2, 150) or epilogue (2, 107), from the use of verse in the form of dictiones (carm. 1, 2. 6. 9) and from subjects such as carm. 2, 23 sq. (*de eo qui ut filium matri reconciliaret furtum fecit; de eo qui dicebatur meretricis filius esse*), cf. n. 4.

7. B. 1 of the carmina contains, owing to their diffuseness, less of material interest than one would expect from such headings as *Itinerarium Brigantionis castelli*, *Itinerarium* (Padi), *Dictio Ennodii diaconi quando de Roma rediit* (cf. n. 1). The *Epithalamium dictum Maximo v. s.* is, in imitation of the manner of Claudian, in a variety of forms (dist., tetr. troch., sapph. str., hex., hendecas.) and speaks freely of sensual pleasure. 1, 7 addressed to Faustus (§ 477, 6) is also in various metres. 1, 9 is an epic poem on the birthday of Epiphanius (see n. 3), in annum XXX sacerdotii=a. 496. 1, 10–21 are hymns in dim. iamb. acat., chiefly on saints.

8. Book 2 contains 151 short poems (to it we should add epist. 5, 8), mostly in elegiac and epic metre (c. 107 sapphic strophes, ib. and 123 tetr. troch.): epitaphs, poems on the consecration of churches, on works of art, derisive epi-

grams (e.g. 2, 118–122 on a certain Virgilius Maro of his time, who can hardly be the one mentioned § 497, 7; still less are we justified in ascribing to the Virgilius of Ennodius the epigrams AL. 160 PLM. 4, 158 [no. 164. 165]), poems in praise especially of bishops (77 sqq.); cf. 150 praef. *qui miratur officii terminos in amicorum me laudibus egressum recolat quam imperiosa est semper affectio* etc. De horto regis (Theoderici) 111. De eo quod Messala consul (a. 506) Ennodius in cognomine dictus est, 32, cf. 144–146. Much is so insignificant that it was scarcely worth while to preserve it; Enn. however expressly adds when he wrote some poem *ex tempore* (25. 57. 107) or *subito* (142). Cf. also 67, 6 *carmina biblis sulcavi, tumulo ne tenear moriens.*—Ennod. carm. 2, 67, 8 and elsewhere excuses his faulty prosodies. They occur most frequently in proper names and foreign words. See the references to metre, prosody and diction in Hartel's and Vogel's edd. and those given by the latter Arch. f. lat. Lex. 1, 267. Of his predecessors E. chiefly uses Vergil, and next to him Ovid, Horace, Sedulius, Sidonius, Claudian, Lucan and others.

9. The customary division (which is followed here in citation) into epistulae, opuscula, dictiones and carmina and the sub-division of the epistulae and carmina into books originated with Sirmond and is unknown in the MSS.: in these the poems grouped in each class are thrown together indiscriminately (n. 1 ad fin.). The MS. sequence of the pieces is retained by Vogel in his ed.—Manuscripts: the most important is Bruxell. 9845–48 s. IX, then Vaticanus 3803 s. IX/X, 325 s. X. Hartel and Vogel preff. to their edd.—Editions: princ. Bas. 1569. ASchott, Tornaci 1611. Especially by JSirmond, Par. 1611 (and in Sirmond's opera 1, Par. 1696 p. 1353, Ven. 1728 p. 371). In Migne 63, 13. Recently esp. recens. et comment. crit. instr. GHartel, Vienna 1882 (=Corp. scr. eccles. Vindob. b. 6) and rec. FVogel, Berl. 1885 (=Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiquiss. vol. 7).

10. Hist. litt. de la France 3, 96. MFertig, Enn. u. s. Zeit, I and II Passau 1855. III Landshut 1858 (n. 2). AEbert, LdMA. $1^2$, 432. PTalini, Epifanio (see n. 3) ed Ennodio e i loro tempi in the pamphlet gli studi in Italia 3, 1, and 2. FMagani, Ennodio, Pavia 1886 III.—CTanzi, cronologia d. scritti di Ennod., Archeogr. Triest. 15 (1889).—Criticism: WHartel, Wiener Studd. 2, 226. 3, 130. LDuchesne, rev. de phil. 7, 78. BDombart, JJ. 127, 278. PMohr, phil. Rundsch. 1883, 879.

11. In Ennodius, in Avitus (ep. 38), and Cassiodorus (var. 4, 24) mention is repeatedly made of Helpidius diaconus, whose *attica eruditio* is praised by Ennod. epp. 8, 8. He became the physician of Theoderic and died c. a. 533 at Spoleto. AEbert, LdMA. $1^2$, 415 attributes to him 'Rustici Elpidii carmen de Christi beneficiis' in 140 skilfully constructed hexameters (Migne 62, 545: ed. HMüller, Gött. 1868 and especially WBrandes, text and commentary, Brunswick 1890). See however to the contrary MManitius, RhM. 45, 153. It should rather be assigned to the writer mentioned above § 468, 1. 2, whom however Brandes l.l. distinguishes from the Domnulus in Sidonius, placing him not earlier than the 6th cent.

480. By Fabius Planciades Fulgentius (c. a. 480–550 in Africa) we possess four works: Mythologiarum (mythologicon) libri III with a setting similar to that of Martianus Capella and full of fantastic explanations of legends and names; an allegorical explanation of the contents of the Aeneid (Virgiliana continentia);

a very singular kind of Universal History (de aetatibus mundi), and lastly an Expositio sermonum antiquorum, in which quotations are boldly invented by the author, whenever he cannot lay his hand on any at once. His diction is conspicuous for affected, bombastic and tasteless phrases. The bishop Fulgentius of Ruspe in Africa (a. 468–533; bishop from 508) has often been mistaken for him and was related to him; in the numerous theological works of the latter which are extant, we observe a style just as sober and dry as that of his conceited namesake is involved. At the same period lived Dionysius Exiguus, an industrious translator, the author of important compilations of ecclesiastical law and a chronologer.

1. ISIDOR. vir. ill. 14 *Fulgentius Afer, ecclesiae Ruspensis episcopus . . . scripsit multa, ex quibus legimus De gratia dei et libero arbitrio libros responsionum VII* (against Faustus § 468, 7). . . . *de s. trinitate ad Felicem . . . de veritate praedestinationis* etc. *est et liber altercationis eius quo de fide cum Thrasamundo rege . . . disputavit*, and others. . . . *claruit sub Thrasamundo* (a. 496–523) *rege Vandalorum, Anastasio imp. regnante* (a. 491–518). Besides numerous writings of this F. (in MIGNE b. 65) we possess also a Vita of him, probably by his pupil (Fulgentius) Ferrandus (see § 494, 5), a source of contemporary history respectable for its veracity. Cf. MBÜDINGER, Wiener SBer. 91, 805.

2. In the headings of the Mythol., Virg. contin. and Expos. (see n. 4–7) the author is called *Fabius* (cf. p. 19 M.) *Planciades Fulgentius* (cf. p. 23. 27 M.) *v. cl.* Only in the expositio he is often called episcopus in consequence of an obvious confusion with the writer mentioned n. 1. On the other hand in de aetat. mundi (n. 8) his name is given as *Fabius Claudius Gordianus Fulgentius v. cl.* As Claudius is the name of the father of the bishop, while Gordianus is that of his grandfather (n. 1) and as the name Fulgentius was given to the bishop to-be by his father *quasi praescius qualis esset futurus* (see vita Fulg. in MIGNE 65, 117), and therefore was not traditional in the family, it follows that the mythologist Fulgentius was related to the bishop; see AREIFFERSCHEID, RhM. 23, 135. In the preface of the aetat. m. F. several times calls himself an African, and that he was not an Italian is shown by p. 142 M.: *serva istaec tuis Romanis: . . . nobis vero erit maximum si* etc. Cf. MZINK l.l. 4. He is a Christian and hence he speaks of the pagani as outsiders (myth. 1, 23. 2, 9. 3, 7. Virg. contin. p. 162 M.). He lived after Martian. Cap., whom he quotes exposit. s. v. *caelibatus*. As a younger relative of Fulgentius of Ruspe, he is to be assigned to the first half of the 6th century. All further evidence relating to him depends on the interpretation to be given to the indistinct statements in the praef. of the myth. ad Catum presbyterum: *me discedentem a te, domine, dum quasi urbanis extorrem negotiis ruralis otii torpor astringeret, evitans aerumnosa calamitatum naufragia quibus publicae incessabiliter vexantur actiones. . . . sopitis in favilla silentii raucisonis iurgiorum classicis quibus me galagetici* (SALMASIUS: *gallogetici; galagetici*=getici MHERTZ, JJ. 103, 273; cf. also KSITTL, JB. 1888 2, 242) *quassaverant impetus defaecatam silentio vitam agere creditabam. . . . tributaria in dies conventio compulsantium pedibus limen proprium triverat, nova indictionum ac momentanea proferens genera. . . . addebatur his quod etiam bellici frequenter incursus pedum domo radicem infigere*

*iusserant. . . . tandem domini regis felicitas adventantis velut solis crepusculum mundo tenebris dehiscentibus pavores extorsit. . . . licuit tandem arva visere. egredimur nautarum in morem quos tempestatum flamento confractos exoptata reduces excipit ripa . . . intuemur arva quibus adhuc inpressae bellantium plantae muricatos, quod aiunt, sigillaverunt gressus et . . . hostes in vestigiis pavebamus* etc. These allusions are referred with the greatest probability to the Arian king of the Vandals, Hilderic (a. 523–530), who was lenient, compared with his predecessor Thrasamund, towards the Catholics, and to his wars against the invading Moors and their allies the Goths, which he brought to an end by his victorious battle at Capsa shortly after the commencement of his reign. AReifferscheid, RhM. 23, 136; JB. 1880 2, 288 d. EJungmann, de Fulgentii aetate et scriptis in act. soc. phil. Lips. 1 (1871), 53; RhM. 32, 564. AEbert, LdMA. 1 ², 477. Different inferences e.g. in MZink l.l. 13, LMüller, JJ, 95, 791.

3. Earlier works which have been lost. Fulg. Virgil. cont. p. 149 M.: *saturanter haec in libro physiologo quem nuper edidimus de medicinalibus causis et de septenario ac de novenario numero* etc. *qui ista discere cupit nostrum physiologicum perlegat librum.* According to this list of contents the liber physiologus in question has nothing to do with the so-called Physiologus which, originally composed in Greek, has been preserved in a great variety of translations and versions (some in Latin, e.g. in the Bern. 233 s. VIII/IX, 318 s. IX; see specimens in AMai's class. auctt. 7, 589); cf. FHommel, die äthiopische Übers. des Physiologus, Lpz. 1877 (introduction).—The biblioth. Vallicell. formerly possessed a MS. which has now disappeared: *Fulgentii de musica excerptum ex libro de ficticiis poetarum* (KSittl, JB. 1888 2, 242).—In the Paris 3012 s. XIII the name of Fulg. is wrongly affixed to a mediaeval commentary super Thebaiden (GGoetz, commentat. Macrob., ind. schol. 1890 p. VI).—On the youthful poems of F. see praef. myth. p. 2 sq. M.: *meas cachinnantes saepius nenias lepore satirico litas, . . . dum ludicro Thalia ventilans epigrammate comoedia solita (est) vernulitate mulcere.* Specimens of his poetical talent myth. praef. p. 11 sq. (trochaic tetrameters, frequently with accentual rhythm, e.g.: *Thespiádes Hippocrene; ferte grádum próperantes; úbi guttas florulentae; rupe pastor cécinit; quod cecinit pastorali Máro silva Mantua* etc.) and p. 23–25 (hexameters). Verg. contin. p. 140 (five hexameters).

4. Fulg. mythologiae p. 3 M. *parumper ausculta dum tibi* (the presbyter Carth. Catus) . . . *ordior fabulam quam nuper . . . nocturna praesule lucerna commentus sum*, the dialogue with Kalliope which forms the introduction. ib. p. 20 *mihi non cornutus adulter arripitur* (in the book) etc. (p. 21) *certos rerum praestolamur effectus, quos repulso mendacis Graeciae fabuloso commento quid mysticum in his sapere debeat cerebrum agnoscamus.* Composed at a mature age (cf. n. 3), c. a. 524 (cf. n. 2). Specimens of his explanation of names: *Cybebe=κῦδος βέβαιον* (3, 5 p. 111); *Alpheus =ἀληθείας φῶς* (3, 12), *Medusa=μὴ ἰδοῦσα* (1, 26), *Mida=μηδὲν ἰδών* (2, 13). More in Zink l.l. 33–35. Cf. Ebert l.l. 1 ², 478. GKaibel, Herm. 15, 449.

5. The title of the second work is in the best MSS. *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis.* The dedication ad Chalcidium grammaticum is wrong; the cod. Goth. correctly gives: *ad Catum archidiaconum Carthaginensem* (cf. p. 137 *levitarum sanctissime*) p. 138. *Virgilianae continentiae* (contents) *secreta physica tetigi. . . . bucolicam georgicamque omisimus.* The author is so much pleased with his work that he even puts his absurd comments into Vergil's own mouth. Towards the end he seems to become tired of the subject and breaks off suddenly; we can hardly suppose that any portion is missing. Cf. Jungmann,

de Fulg. 73. EBERT 1.1. 1², 480. AGASQUY, de Fulgentio Vergilii interprete, Berl. Studd. f. Philol. 6 (1887), 1.

6. The MSS. of the Myth. and Verg. cont. (the best are Vat.-Palat. 1578 s. IX. Vat.-Reg. 1462 s. XI) are all descended from the same original. See on this subject EJUNGMANN, de Fulg. 61.

7. The preface of Expositio sermonum antiquorum (in the Bruxell. 9172 de abstrusis et inusitatis sermonibus), according to most of the MSS. *ad grammaticum Chalcidium* (see n. 5), according to Bruxell. 10083 and SIGEBERT GEMBLAC. de script. eccl. 28 (cf. JUNGMANN, p. 57; RhM. 32, 568) also addressed *ad Catum presbyterum: . . libellum quem de abstr. serm. parari iussisti in quantum memoriae entheca subrogare potuit absolutum retribui, non tam phaleratis sermonum studentes spumis quam rerum manifestationibus dantes operam dilucidandis.* The work contains explanations of 63 obsolete and rare words chosen at random and put together without any method, with numerous forged or fictitious citations from real or imaginary writers (e.g. *Crispinus Heraclea, Q. Fabius Lucullus epico carmine, Lucilius comicus in Immolaria, Callimorphus Pisaeis, Antidamas in moralibus libris, Cornelius Tacitus in libro facetiarum* [see § 339, 2. LMÜLLER, JJ. 95, 789]). LLERSCH, Fab. Pl. Fulg. de abstr. serm. nach zwei Brüsseler HSS. herausgg. u. gewürdigt, Bonn 1844 and on this KFROTH, Heidelb. Jahrbb. 1845, 603, RKLOTZ, JJ. 43, 71. On a Berl. MS. s. X see ARIESE, RhM. 19, 297. The work is also found in PDANIEL's Servius, MERCERIUS' Nonius, in GERLACH and ROTH's Nonius (p. 387–398) and elsewhere. As the anecdote of Metennia (MHAUPT op. 1, 159) is fully related in the Aetates but merely briefly mentioned in the Expositio, the latter would seem to have been written after the Aetates (JUNGMANN, de Fulg. p. 55).

8. *Fabii Claudii Gordiani Fulgentii* (on the name see n. 2) *v. cl. liber absque litteris de aetatibus mundi et hominis.* Of this work there are extant in MSS. (Vatic. Palat. 886 s. XII, Vatic. Regin. 173 s. XII, Sorbon. 268 s. XIII) books 1–14 (at the close of b. 14 there is the subscriptio: *quartus decimus liber absque O explicit. incipit quintus decimus absque P*). According to the preface the work (in harmony with the number of letters) was intended to consist of 23 books. The only editions prepared by JHOMMEY, Poit. 1694 and Paris 1696 from the Sorbon. give, as does the latter, only b. 1–13 entire, and the beginning of b. 14. B. 14 is edited complete from Palat. and Regin. (see above) by AREIFFERSCHEID, anecdot. Fulgentianum, Bresl. ind. lect. 1883/84. Cf. the same author RhM. 23, 133. Also JUNGMANN, de Fulg. 40. The historical matter is scanty, most of the space being devoted to Biblical history. B. X contains the history of Alexander the Great, XI that of Rome down to Caesar, XII the contents of the four Gospels, XIII the Acts of the Apostles, XIV the history of the Roman Empire. The arrangement is λειπογράμματος; that is, in the respective books one letter of the alphabet in succession remains unemployed, in b. 1 the letter A, in b. 2 the letter B and so forth, which is always stated at the commencement and close (e.g. *decimo libro absque K finito undecimus absque L incipit*). The absurd idea of the work, its mystical numeration (cf. n. 3 l. 3), its style and vocabulary, and lastly the fact that the model claimed for the *mirificum opus* is supposed to be *librorum bis duodenum volumen Xenophontis poetae*, are all quite in keeping with the manner of Fulgentius as we know it from his other works.

9. Fulgentius' models in style are Apuleius and Martianus Capella. His structure is cumbrous, so that it is with difficulty that the reader penetrates through the bombastic verbiage to the writer's ideas, and extracts from the enormously long and laboured periods the scanty sense which they contain (ZINK l.l.

39). In this writer irregularity becomes the rule, and is shown especially in his use of the moods and tenses; see the instances in ZINK l.l. 37. On the showy, but in reality very meagre scholarship of F. as exhibited in his quotations see ib. 62 and JUNGMANN, coniect. Fulg. (n. 10) 27. 42.

10. The works (with the exception of the Aetat. mundi, n. 8) are printed in the edd. of the mythographi (§ 42, 10).—CHRFBÄHR in Ersch and Gruber 1, 51, 26. MZINK, der Mytholog Fulg., Würzb. 1867. EJUNGMANN, quaestt. Fulgent., in Ritschl's Acta soc. philol. Lips. 1, 45, and coniectanea Fulgentiana, in the Begrüssungsschr. der Leipziger Philologenvers. (Lpz. 1872) 27.

11. CASSIOD. inst. div. litt. 23 *fuit nostris temporibus et Dionysius monachus* (surnamed *Exiguus*) *Scytha natione, sed moribus omnino Romanus, in utraque lingua valde doctissimus . . . scripturas divinas tanta curiositate discusserat atque intellexerat ut* etc. . . . *qui mecum dialecticam legit et in exemplo gloriosi magisterii plurimos annos vitam suam . . . transegit. qui petitus a Stephano episcopo Salonitano ex graecis exemplaribus canones ecclesiasticos moribus suis pares ut erat planus atque disertus magna eloquentiae suae luce composuit quos hodie usu celeberrimo ecclesia Romana complectitur . . . alia quoque multa ex graeco transtulit in latinum* (see the summary in JAFABRICII bibl. lat. med. aetat. s. v.), *qui tanta latinitatis et graecitatis peritia fungebatur ut quoscumque libros graecos in manibus acciperet latine sine offensione transcurreret iterumque latinos attico sermone relegeret . . . sed ille iam . . . in ecclesiae pace sepultus*, after a. 526 and perhaps before a. 540 (see § 483, 8). Dion. is designated as an abbot at Rome (BAEDA, de temp. rat. 45, PAUL. DIAC. gest. Langob. 1, 45), whither he came c. a. 500. These canones ecclesiastici (a collection of the decrees of the Councils) were published by Dionysius in two editions, the second c. a. 515. He also collected the Papal decrees c. a. 510; see on this subject FMAASSEN, Gesch. der Quellen u. Lit. d. canon. Rechts 1 (Graz 1870), 422; ib. 960 Dion.'s prefaces to his various collections, which were much esteemed in the Church. Dion. also composed a. 525 an Easter-table (liber de paschate), in which he first took the birth of Christ (=754 ab U. c. according to Varro) as the starting-point of his chronology (Dionysian era); see IDELER, Handb. der Chronol. (Berl. 1826) 260. 285.—The works are printed in MIGNE 67, 9.

481. About the time of the Emperor Anastasius, the grammarian Priscianus wrote at Constantinople, but in Latin. We owe to him the most complete and perfect work on the Latin language, being eighteen books Institutionum grammaticarum, which are especially important on account of their abundant quotations from the ancient literature, and the terminology of which maintains its influence even in our own time. The work was among those most widely read in the Middle Ages and hence it has been preserved in countless MSS. Besides this great work we possess also some smaller writings by Priscian, the most important of which are the three addressed to Symmachus, also a panegyric in verse on the Emperor Anastasius and a text-book on geography.

1. The time of Pr., a native of Caesarea in Mauretania, is fixed by his panegyric on Anastasius (n. 6), the subscription of Theodorus (see n. 3), and the

title of CASSIOD. de orthogr. 12 (also GL. 7, 207): *ex Prisciano grammatico, qui nostro tempore Constantinopoli doctor fuit.* He came into contact with Symmachus (§ 477, 4), who went to Constantinople on some occasion unknown to us, see n. 4. On his master Theoctistus see § 472, 8. A vita Prisciani inedita from a Berne MS. saec. XI in HHAGEN, anecd. Helvet. p. CLXVIII sq.

2. The dedication of the inst.: *Iuliane consul ac patricie, . . . tibi hoc opus devoveo.* The end of the preface contains a list of the contents. B. I–XVI contain the accidence, XVII and XVIII treat de constructione s. ordinatione partium orationis inter se. The sources: see ib. *cum eos* (Apollonios Dysk. and Herodian) *omnia fere vitia quaecumque antiquorum Graecorum commentariis sunt relicta artis grammaticae expurgasse comperio, . . . nostrorum autem neminem post illos imitatorem eorum extitisse, . . . conatus sum . . . supra nominatorum praecepta virorum quae congrua sunt visa in latinum transferre sermonem, collectis etiam omnibus fere quaecumque necessaria nostrorum quoque inveniuntur artium commentariis grammaticorum.* A great part of Pr. proves to be a translation of Apollonios (cf. THMATTHIAS, JJ. Suppl. 15, 593 together with PEGENOLFF, WschrfklPh. 1890, 33), and of the scholia on Dionysios Thrax. The explanations of metre are taken from Heliodorus and Hephaistion, together with Juba (OHENSE de Iuba 148). In accordance with these Greek sources Pr. deviates in details from the traditional arrangement (and always loudly emphasises these deviations); for example in omitting *qualis, quantus, quot, unus, alter, alius, totus* etc. among the pronouns, in taking a different view of nomina adiectiva and several technical expressions, also in a different division of the conjunctions (WCHRIST, Phil. 18, 140). On the other hand he closely follows his Roman predecessors (esp. Flavius Caper, cf. on this HNEUMANN, de Plinii dubii serm. libris Charisii et Prisciani fontt., Kiel 1881, 36) in details and in quotations. In the last two books, in which Priscian could not avail himself of such ample ready-made materials, the insufficiency of his studies and the narrowness of his circle of specialist authors become very evident. His diction is very prolix and he seems to have but faint ideas of the Latin order of words.

3. The number of manuscripts is about a thousand. The majority contain only b. 1–16 (=de VIII partibus orationis or 'Priscianus maior'), while a few have b. 17–18 (de constructione or 'Prisc. minor'), and likewise only a few all the 18 books, HERTZ pref. to his ed. 1, XIII. They are all derived from the copy made by Flavius Theodorus antiquarius (a calligrapher, see § 482, 2. 478, 4 in fin.), who subsequently held an appointment at Court. His subscriptio in the Priscian MSS. reads thus: *Fl. Theodorus Dionysii v. d. memorialis s. scrinii epistolarum et adiutor v. m. quaestoris s. palatii scripsi artem Prisciani eloquentissimi grammatici doctoris mei manu mea in urbe Roma Constantinopoli . . . Olybrio* (i.e. *Mavortio*, of a. 526 and 527) *v. c. cons.*; see OJAHN, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 354. HHAGEN, anecd. Helv. p. CLXIX, 12. We possess, however, neither the recension of Theodorus nor a direct copy of it; on the contrary even our earliest MSS. give a text which is interpolated and corrupt in many places. The principal MS. is Paris. 7496 s. IX (R in HERTZ), chiefly important for the corrections of the second hand (r), which go back to a codex vetustus. Cf. MHERTZ, Berl. MBer. 1847, 417; ed. Prisc. 1, X. WCHRIST, Phil. 18, 142. HHAGEN, anecd. Helvet. p. CLXX. Considerable fragments of various MSS. s. IX and X which have become detached from the incunabula covers in the abbey of St. Maximin at Trèves (NOLTE).

4. Lesser works: Three of them are dedicated to Symmachus (cos. 485, above § 477, 4; cf. HUSENER, anecd. Hold. 27). The preface: *Omni te, Symmache, nobili-*

*tatis splendore celebratum, . . . studiis etiam optimarum artium disciplinarumque florentem . . . fama quidem antea nobis absentem venerabilem faciebat, nunc autem praesentem . . . ostendit . . . itaque . . .* (a) *de figuris, sicut iussisti, numerorum breviter collecta demonstrabo et de nummis vel* (=et) *ponderibus, praeterea* (b) *de Terentii metris, nec non etiam* (c) *de praeexercitamentis rhetoricis, quae Graeci προγυμνάσματα vocant, quoniam diligentius ea sophistae iuniores, quos sequimur, . . . exposuisse videntur.* The first treatise (on the numerical symbols used in Latin and Greek, on the gradations of the coinage and the formation of Latin numbers) is derived from Dardanos (perhaps saec. IV) *περὶ σταθμῶν*; the second is intended to prove that the plays of the palliata comedy were actually written in metre, though in a very irregular kind, and is taken from Heliodorus, Hephaistion, Terentianus and Asmonius; the third is a translation of the *προγυμν.* of Hermogenes.—There are also extant: (d) Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo (entitled de declinationibus etc. in earlier editions), an abridgment of the larger work (n. 2–3) for school-use.—(e) Partitiones XII versuum Aeneidos, to which the scholastic exercise (*μερισμός*, later *ἐπιμερ.*) is applied, which the Greeks usually practised with Homer, the metrical and grammatical parsing of lines, in the form of questions and answers.—(f) De accentibus: rules on accent, generally agreeing with Priscian, but not by him. See concerning these works and their text KEIL l.l. 395. Cf. also WCHRIST, Phil. 18, 153. The best and earliest MS. of the praeexercitamenta (Paris. 7530 s. VIII) gives (as also did the now lost Spirensis) the short and not unskilful essay on some branches of Rhetoric (de ethopoeia, praeceptum loci communis, demonstrativae materiae, deliberativae) by a certain Emporius orator otherwise unknown, best printed in HALM's rhett. lat. 561. Critical observations on this by RVOLKMANN, Progr. of Jauer 1869.

5. Editions of the grammatical works in EPUTSCHE's gramm. p. 533. Ed. AKREHL, Lpz. 1819 sq. II. Principal edition in KEIL's GL., b. 2 and 3 (Inst. gramm. ex rec. MHERTZII; opera minora ex rec. HKEILII), Lps. 1855–59.—Separate editions of the minor works by FLINDEMANN. Leid. 1818. The praeexercitamenta also in HALM's rhett. lat. 551.—NFNILÉN, Priscianea (on a MS. at Upsala s. XII), Ups. 1884.

6. Prisciani grammatici de laude imp. Anastasii (a. 491–518) . . . nunc primum . . . ed. et ill. STLENDLICHER, Vienna 1828 (from this in the Bonn corp. hist. Byzant. 1 [Bonn 1829, rec. IBEKKER], 517), and in BÄHRENS' PLM. 5, 264. This panegyric (312 hexameters with a preface in 22 jingling iambic senarii) appears to have been composed c. a. 512. In spite of all the writer's efforts it remains thoroughly prosaic. Manuscripts: Vindob. 16 (Bobiensis) s. VIII/IX and Bern. 363 s. IX (incomplete). Conclusion in the Vindob.: *expl. laudes sacratissimi imp. An. . . . dictae a Prisciano grammatico.*

7. Prisciani periegesis e Dionysio, 1807 hex. with the conclusion: . . . *pelagi partes percurri carmine vastas et terrae pariter regiones finibus amplis. omnipotens pro quo genitor mihi praemia donet.* Printed e.g. WERNSDORF, PLM. 5, 265, in BÄHRENS' PLM. 5, 275 and with the Greek original (*Διονυσίου περιήγησις οἰκουμένης*, cf. § 420, 3) in GBERNHARDY's Geogr. gr. min. 1, 461, and in CMÜLLER's Geogr. gr. min. 2 (1861), 190. Best MS. Turic. 78 s. IX (collated by JWERNER, RhM. 43, 639). —MMANITIUS, RhM. 44, 544.

8. Priscian's name is in several MSS. wrongly given to the versus de XII signis (12 [–16] hex.), and equally erroneously that of Ausonius (for whose ecloga 3 [p. 412 Peip.] they formerly used to pass): printed e.g. AL. 679 PLM. 5, 351. Cf. also above § 229, 2.

9. The carmen de libra et partibus eius (20 hex., printed AL. 741, HULTSCH, script. metrol. rom. p. 99, cf. KSCHENKL, Wiener SBer. 43 [1863], 58), which is frequently assigned to the 6th century, is the work of Fulbert bishop of Chartres (1017–28). In the cod. Par. 17160 s. XII it bears the heading *Domnus Fulbertus eps de libra et partibus eius*, among whose poems (e.g. Fulberti Carnotensis carmm. ed. ARIVINUS, Lps. 1655 no. 20) vs. 9–20 actually occur. BÄHRENS, RhM. 32, 225.

482. During Priscian's life-time his pupil Eutyches likewise wrote grammatical works, of which an Ars de verbo, in two books, has come down to us. It shows that he used the works of his master, but also earlier authorities. The great superiority of the East in this department appears most clearly by comparing with the work of Priscian the wretched performances of Asper and Audax, which are little later, or even the preposterous inventions of Virgilius.

1. CASSIOD. GL. 7, 147, 12. 199, 4 bears the heading *Eutychis de aspiratione*, and the name is also written thus in the best MS. of the ars (Paris. 7498 s. IX). Others (e.g. Vindob. 16 s. VII) have *Euticii*, whence the author has also been called Eutychius. EUTYCH. GL. 5, 456, 28 *de quibus . . . quia romanae lumen facundiae, meus, immo communis omnium hominum praeceptor, in quarto de nomine libro summa cum subtilitate copiosissime grammaticus Priscianus disseruisse cognoscitur* etc. From the prologus: *tuis petitionibus satisfaciens, meorum dilectissime discipulorum Cratere, . . . opusculum hoc ad discernendas pertinens coniugationes duobus libellis inclusi, quorum prior observationibus instruitur generalibus, alter . . . speciales exequitur regulas.*—Ed. princ. of Eut.'s work by ICAMERARIUS (Tüb. 1537), recently best given in HKEIL's GL. 5, 447, cf. ib. 442. FOSANN, Beitr. 2, 162. Cf. also § 473, 9.

2. On Theodorus and Flavianus, who were likewise pupils of Priscian, see § 481, 3. 478, 4. The grammarian Terentius (mentioned in Sedulius in Eutychem, HHAGEN, anecd. Helvet. p. 1), also calls himself a pupil of Priscian; he cannot well be the author who is frequently quoted (see HUEMER's Ind. p. 179) by the grammarian Virgilius § 497, 7. Cf. also § 352, 2 in fin. MHERTZ, anall. ad Horatii hist. 3, 4.—To the same period would appear to belong Eugraphius, whose commentary on Terence is still extant (in Leid. Voss. Q. 34. 36, Paris. 16235, all s. X, and other MSS.). HGERSTENBERG, de Eugraphio Terentii interprete, Jena 1886. Cf. § 109, 3.

3. Under the name of a grammarian Asper (see § 328, 2) we possess two different treatises, which are however both alike worthless. The one has been edited (from Berne MSS. s. VIII and IX) by HHAGEN, anecd. Helvet. 39 (cf. praef. p. LXXX). The other, which is probably considerably later, is printed (after PUTSCHE p. 1752, LINDEMANN p. 309) in KEIL's GL. 5, 547; cf. ib. 530. The two works are independent of each other.

4. *Audacis de Scauri et Palladii libris excerpta per interrogationem et responsionem*, transmitted in Bern. 336 and Monac. 6434, both s. IX, published by HKEIL (in five progrr., Halle 1872–77 and) GL. 7, 320. of which the first portion is for the most part in agreement with Victorinus de arte gramm. and de metr. et hexam. (see § 408, 3. 4), the second with the so-called Probi instit. artium (§ 300, 7[b]), but several variants and some valuable matter are found there (see KEIL GL. 7, 317). Palladius is otherwise unknown, Scaurus probably means Terentius Scaurus

(§ 352, 1), whom however Audax can certainly not have used at first hand, but rather through a second or third dilution. Audax is mentioned or used by Iulianus Toled. (§ 495, 7) in GL. 5, 317, 21. 318, 13, Baeda GL. 7, 241, 17, Aldhelmus (§ 500, 2) and others: see Keil l.l. 316.—Cf. also HKeil, Herm. 1, 332; quaestt. gramm. 2 (Halle 1871), viii; de gramm. quibusd. inf. aet. Erl. 1868) 4.

5. A follower of Priscian, who is of importance for the criticism of his writings, is the author of the Ars anonyma Bernensis, edited by HHagen, anecd. Helv. p. 62, cf. p. lxxxiii.

483. Next to Boethius, the most important man of this century, both as concerns his official position and his personal worth, is Magnus Aurelius Cassiodor(i)us Senator, of a noble and rich family in Bruttii. His long life (about 480–575) extends from Theoderic to Justinian, but his career culminated under Theoderic, when Cassiodorus was consul (a. 514) and then presided over the actual administration of affairs in his position as private secretary to the king. Independently of his speeches, his Chronicle was his first publication, a work embracing the history of the World from Adam to A.D. 519, a compilation from earlier sources, based from a. 496 on the author's personal knowledge, but meagre in substance and courtier-like in tone. His history of the Goths is more valuable, though we possess it only in the barbaric version of Jordanis, and so are his twelve books Variarum, a collection of the official documents, decrees in the name of the ruler, and other papers, composed by Cassiodorus. In his later years Cassiodorus entered the Benedictine order, which had been founded a few years previously (a. 529), and it was he in particular who taught the monks to prize the ancient literature, in regard to the preservation of which this order has done imperishable service. In the monastery which he founded, and whither he retired c. a. 540, he wrote a series of theological and encyclopaedic works. Among these are the Institutiones divinarum et saecularium (humanarum) litterarum (lectionum), which consist partly of a review of the literature recommended to his monastic brethren, partly of a sketch of the seven liberal arts; in addition there are the treatises de anima and others, and grammatical works (de orthographia etc.). His style is in the taste of the period and therefore bombastic; he himself was full of vanity and self-conceit, but he was nevertheless honourable in character and highly deserving as a statesman and an author.

1. His complete name: Fl. Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorius (or Cassiodorus) Senator. In the earliest MSS., e.g. in the Veron. of the complexiones (n. 12 ad fin.)

s. VII, in the Bamb. of the instit. hum. (n. 9) s. VIII, in the Casin. of the tripart. (n. 11) s. IX/X, occurs the genitive *Cassiodorii*, which SMaffei, osservaz. letter. 2, 299 noticed and accordingly adopted *Cassiodorius* as the more correct form of the name; see AReifferscheid, bibl. patr. lat. 1, 49. 51. 2, 356. HUsener, anecd. Hold. 16. Cf. also Cassiod. var. 1, 4 *Cassiodorios . . . praecedentes fama concelebrat.* The (contracted) genitive *Cassiodori* probably first suggested *Cassiodorus*, especially as this name was more obviously explained as a transliteration of Κασ(σ)ιόδωρος than was its derivative. See also JBRossi, inscr. christ. 1, p. 431. Mommsen, Iord. p. xl.—C. himself informs us about his ancestors during three generations through the medium of king Theoderic in the two edicts (var. 1, 3 and 4) which conferred distinctions on his father, whose official career was a very brilliant one (Usener, anecd. Hold., 67). Concerning the career of Cassiodorus the writer, or as he is more properly designated, Senator (for this was his surname, cf. Hasenstab, studien 1, 3), we read in the anecd. Holderi: *Cassiodorus Senator vir eruditissimus et multis dignitatibus pollens. iuvenis adeo, dum patris Cassiodori patricii et praefecti praetorii consiliarius fieret et laudes Theodorichi regis Gothorum facundissime recitasset* (n. 2), *ab eo quaestor est factus, patricius et consul ordinarius* (a. 514), *postmodum dehinc magister officiorum.* When Athalaric succeeded to the throne (a. 526) he was again *magister, sed implevit quaestoris officium* (var. 9, 25 cf. 1, praef. *frequenter quaesturae vicibus ingravato*), defended and governed for some time the maritime provinces (var. 9, 25), and became praef. praet. a. 534 (var. 9, 25). Cf. var. 1, praef. *praefectum te praetorianae sedis omnes noverunt.* 9, 25 *cumulavimus* (Athalaric) *beneficiis nostris copiosum virtutibus, divitem moribus, plenum magnis honoribus Senatorem.* He was four times prefect, and served four kings during at least 40 years. Probably after the fall of Vitigis (a. 540) he retired to the monastery of Vivarium which he himself had founded on his estates in Bruttii; here he composed his theological and general works and died c. a. 575. Cf. n. 3. RKöpke, deutsche Forschungen 85.

2. The literary career of C. may be divided into two parts: the one historical and political (speeches, chronicles, Goth. hist. and Variae) during his tenure of office, the other theological and grammatical, beginning with his retirement to Vivarium. Cf. var. 1, praef. *dixisti ad commendationem universitatis frequenter reginis* (esp. Amalasuntha) *ac regibus* (esp. Theoderic, var. 9, 25 see n. 1) *laudes* (the fragments of these panegyrici from a MS. s. VII/VIII now at Milan and Turin [AReifferscheid, bibl. patr. lat. 2, 117] in CBaudi di Vesme, frammenti di orazioni panegiriche di Cassiod. raccolti, in the Memorie of the Turin Academy 8, 169). *duodecim libris Gothorum historiam defloratis prosperitatibus condidisti* (see n. 5). The Chronicle, which had been previously (a. 519) composed (see n. 4), is passed over as a non-political work. Fragments of a panegyric on Theodahad, king of the Ostrogoths (a. 534–536) from a Nancy MS. s. IX (in the Herm. 7, 377=Haupt, op. 3, 303) are certainly by Cass., in support of whose authorship we have, besides var. 1, praef., the phrase *deo nobis praestante* (cf. n. 3. 9. 13). Valuable excerpts from a treatise composed by Cassiodorus and addressed to Cethegus (cos. 504 see § 477, 6), containing the *ordo generis Cassiodoriorum*, in which he treats of those: *qui scriptores extiterint ex eorum progenie*, in particular of Symmachus (§ 477, 4), Boethius (§ 478) and of himself, are extant in a Carlsruhe MS. edited from Reichenau 106 s. X and elucidated by HUsener, anecdotum Holderi, ein Beitrag zur Gesch. Roms in ostgotischer Zeit, Bonn 1877. Cf. GScheps, NArchfältdG. 11, 125.

3. The works of C. which were written in the monastery are enumerated de orthogr. praef. (GL. 7, 143): *I post commenta psalterii, ubi praestante domino conversionis meae* (i.e. after his becoming a monk, § 485, 1) *tempore primum studium*

*laboris impendi* (n. 12); *II deinde post institutiones quem ad modum divinae e humanae debeant intellegi lectiones, duobus libris . . . sufficienter impletis* (n. 8. 9) . . . ; *III post expositionem epistolae quae scribitur ad Romanos, unde pelagianae haereseos pravitates amovi; . . . IIII post codicem in quo artes Donati cum commentis suis et librum de etymologiis et alium librum Sacerdotis de schematibus dom. praest. collegi* (cf. CASSIOD. at the close of the inst. gramm. GL. 7, 216, 2 *haec breviter dicta sufficiant. ceterum . . . qui ea voluerit latius pleniusque cognoscere cum praefatione sua codicem legat quem nostra curiositate formavimus, id est artem Donati, cui de orthographia librum et alium de etymologiis inseruimus, quartum quoque de schematibus Sacerdotis adiunximus, quatenus diligens lector in uno codice reperire possit quod arti grammaticae deputatum esse cognoscit) . . . ; V post librum quoque titulorum, quem de divina scriptura collectum Memorialem volui nuncupari; . . . VI post complexiones in epistolis apostolorum et actibus apostolorum et apocalypsi, quasi brevissima explanatione decursas VII ad amantissimos orthographos discutiendos anno aetatis meae nonagesimo tertio* (perhaps a. 572) . . . *perveni* (n. 10).—The computus paschalis, which is found among his works, is not by Cass. but by a copyist of his Chronicle. MOMMSEN, Cassidor, 572.

4. *Chronica M. A. C. Senatoris, v. c. et inl., ex quaestore sacri palatii, ex cons. ord., ex mag. off., praef. po. atque patricii.* This work was composed at the request of Eutharic, the son-in-law of Theoderic. From Adam to Eutharic's consulate, a. 519, during which the book was published, 5271 years are reckoned. The first 5 epochs (from Adam to the primi consules) are *ex chronicis Eusebii-Hieronymi.* The sixth, *a Bruto et Tarquinio usque ad consulatum vestrum*, 1031 years, one of the longest ancient list of consuls. The older part down to A.D. 31, *ex Tito Livio* (probably an abridgment) *et Aufidio Basso*, always gives the consuls two names, the later one (from the Easter-table of Victorius Aquit.) only one. The Xviri and military tribunes are omitted and in their place the decemvirate is calculated at 40 years, instead of 3. The list of the Emperors with the historical notices is added from Hieronymus, and then from Prosper's list of consuls (§ 460, 3) arranged according to the Emperors. A. 455–495 are probably taken from the Ravenna Chronicle (§ 413, 3) in its original complete state. From 496, Cass. seems to have drawn upon his own knowledge, and to have noted down contemporary events in a very poor selection, such as a courtier would make. The errors are numerous. The historical tradition is frequently made to suit party views. Special attention is due to the additions concerning Gothic history. On the continuations see GKAUFMANN, Phil. 34, 395. 42, 479. Principal edition by MOMMSEN, Abh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 3 (Lpz. 1861), 549. On the manuscripts of the Chronicle ib. 571. Cf. EBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 508.

5. HUSENER's anecd. Holderi (n. 2), p. 4 *scripsit praecipiente Theodoricho rege historiam Gothicam, originem eorum et loca moresque XII libris annuntians.* In reference to this Cassiod. makes Athalaric say of himself a. 533 (var. 9, 25): *tetendit se etiam in antiquam prosapiem nostram, lectione discens quod vix maiorum notitia cana retinebat. iste reges Gothorum . . . latibulo vetustatis eduxit, iste Amalos cum generis sui claritate restituit, evidenter ostendens in XVII^am^ progeniem stirpem nos habere regalem. originem gothicam historiam fecit esse romanam, colligens . . . quod per librorum campos passim fuerat ante dispersum.* Cf. n. 2. Var. 12, 20 *in historia nostra . . . retulimus.* JORDAN. Get. praef. 1 *XII Senatoris volumina de origine actusque Getarum ab olim usque nunc per generationes regesque descendentia.* The work appears to have brought the history of the Goths down to the death of Theoderic (a. 526) and to have been published between a. 526 and 533. MOMMSEN's Iordan. p. XLI. USENER, anecd. Holderi 73 takes a different view.

Orosius is used in the fragm. in CASSIOD. var. 12, 20, Trogus (also Justinus, at least in reminiscences, AVGUTSCHMID, JJ. 85, 140. FRÜHL, Verbreitung des Just. 5), Ammianus (see KSCHIRREN, de ratione inter Iordan. et Cassiod. 31; AVGUTSCHMID, JJ. 85, 118; C. also imitates Ammianus' style) and Greek authors; the traditions and heroic legends of the Goths were also used, KÖPKE, deutsche Forschungen 71. HVSYBEL, de fontibus Iord. 12. Jordanis' abridgment (§ 485, 2) is our sole substitute for the original. Other alleged excerpts relating to the earlier history of the Goths have been published from Laur. 66, 40 s. X, Bamb. s. X by FRÜHL, JJ. 121, 549.

6. Var. 1 praef. *dicta(ta) mea quae in honoribus saepe positus pro explicanda negotiorum qualitate profuderam in unum corpus redigere suadebant (diserti). . . . ideo quod in quaesturae, magisterii ac praefecturae diversis publicis actibus potui reperire bissena librorum ordinatione composui. . . . cunctarum dignitatum sexto et VII° libris formulas comprehendi. . . . librorum vero titulum . . . Variarum nomine praenotavi, quia necesse nobis fuit stilum non unum sumere qui personas varias suscepimus admonere. . . . huc accedit quod modo regibus, modo potestatibus aulicis, modo loqui videamur humillimis, . . . ut merito Variarum dicatur quod tanta diversitate conficitur.* Although the work is cast in an official mould, its dry technical contents are overgrown with an exuberant rhetoric nearly akin to the unctuousness of ecclesiastical diction. The first 5 books contain the missives and decrees under Theoderic, b. 6 and 7 formularies (see HASENSTAB, Studd. 1, 41) now carefully revised with a view to publication; b. 8–10 those issued in the names of Athalaric, Theodahad and Vitigis; b. 11 and 12 missives and edicts of Cassiodorus himself at the time when he was praef. praet. The latest date is a. 538 (var. 12, 16). CSCHIRREN l.l. 69 conjectures that there was a general revision for the purpose of publication. Against this view HASENSTAB, Studd. 1, 9. WATTENBACH, DGeschqu. 1⁵, 69.—The extant MSS. are mostly late, dating from s. XIV and XV. The collection as transmitted falls into two sections (b. 1–7 and b. 8–12). C. probably published b. 1–7 while he was still in office, and b. 8–12 after his retirement. Important for the first section are esp. Monac. 13072 s. XII, Leidens. s. XII (there is a collation by LTROSS at Munich), Vaticano-Palatinus 273 s. XIII. Cf. BHASENSTAB, de codicibus Cassiodorii Variarum Italis, Munich 1879; Studien zur Variensammlung des Cass. I, Munich 1883.—LTROSS in Cass. Varr. libros sex priores symbolae criticae, Hamm 1853. ATHORBECKE l.l. 50. EBERT l.l. 510. HKOHL, zehn Jahre ostgotischer Gesch. (526–536), Lpz. 1877. CTANZI, sulla cronologia dei libri var. di Cass., Trieste 1886 (Archeogr. Triest.). LSCHÄDEL, Plin. d. J. u. Cassiodor, Darmst. 1887.—LECHLER, d. Erlasse Theodorichs in Cass. Varien, Heilbr. 1888.—THHODGKIN, the letters of Cass.; a condensed translation of the Var. of Cass. with an introduction, Lond. 1886.

7. CASSIOD. de anima praef. (friends encourage him after the publication of the first part of the Variae) *ut aliqua quae tam in sacris libris quam in saecularibus abstrusa compereram de animae substantia vel de eius virtutibus aperirem.* This is carried out in the usual (see n. 13) twelve sections. Cf. c. 19 *clausimus itaque nostrum munusculum numero duodenario, qui coelos signorum diversitate decoravit* etc. The work appears to have been published with the second part of the Variae. Cassiodorus himself in his commentary on the Psalms calls the book de anima *liber tertius decimus variarum.* The sources are not mentioned, but the influence of Augustine and Claudianus Mamertus is unmistakeable. The conclusion of the book is of an edifying character. Cf. EBERT l.l. 1², 511.

8. CASSIOD. inst. divinarum litt. (lect.) 1 praef. *cum studia saecularium litterarum . . . fervere cognoscerem, . . . gravissimo sum dolore permotus quod scripturis*

*divinis magistri publici deessent. . . . nisus sum cum beat. Agapeto urbis Romae episcopo* (a. 535–536) *ut . . . collatis expensis in urbe romana professos doctores scholae acciperent christianae. . . . sed cum propter bella ferventia et turbulenta nimis in italico regno certamina desiderium meum nullatenus valuisset impleri, . . . ad hoc divina caritate probor esse compulsus ut ad vicem magistri introductorios vobis libros istos . . . confecerim, per quos . . . et scripturarum divinarum series et saecularium litterarum compendiosa notitia . . . panderetur. . . . in quibus non propriam doctrinam, sed priscorum dicta commendo. . . . nos potius latinos scriptores . . . sectamur, ut quoniam Italis scribimus romanos quoque expositores commodissime indicasse videamur.* Towards the end Cass. treats also briefly of the secular knowledge necessary to the cleric; c. 28 e.g. exhorts to the study of the scriptores rei rusticae : *invitat siquidem vos locus Vivariensis monasterii ad multa peregrinis et egentibus praeparanda, quando habetis hortos irriguos et piscosi amnis Pellenae fluenta vicina.* It terminates with a prayer. Cf. Ebert l.l. 1², 501. The inst. div. et saec. (n. 9) were composed soon after a. 540; cf. also FMaassen, Gesch. d. Quellen d. canon. Rechts 1, 423.

9. Preface of the secular Encyclopaedia: *Superior liber* (see n. 8) *domino praestante completus institutionem d i v i n a r u m continet lectionum. hic XXXIII titulis noscitur comprehensus. qui numerus aetati dominicae probatur adcommodus* etc. *nunc tempus est ut aliis septem titulis s a e c u l a r i u m lectionum praesentis libri textum percurrere debeamus; qui tamen calculus per septimanas sibimet succedentes . . . usque ad totius orbis finem semper extenditur.*—The secular Encyclopaedia has been transmitted in two versions: a shorter one, which evidently represents the original of Cassiodorus and which is extant in particular in the cod. Bamb. s. VIII (with the subscriptio: *Cassiodori Senatoris institutionum div. et human. rerum libri II expl. fel. codex archetypus ad cuius exemplaria sunt reliqui corrigendi*) ; next in a version which has been variously enlarged (especially by additions at the end) but which can hardly be much later. HUsener, anecd. Holderi (Bonn 1877) 2. Cf. AMai, class. auctt. 3, 350; FHaase, de latt. codd. subscript., Bresl. 1860. On the Würzburg and Bamberg MSS. see GLaubmann, Münch. SBer. 1878 2, 71. The section relating to grammar (together with the grammatical passages from the instit.) in the older version is given in Keil GL. 7, 214; the second version adds excerpts from Mart. Cap. b. 3. The section concerning rhetoric is best given in Halm, rhetores latt. min. 495. The 30 short chapters which precede in the later MSS. (Halm 501) are an anthology of dicta chiefly by Quintilian and have no connection with the works of Cassiod. Halm l.l. p. xii.

10. Already instit. div. lit. 30 (GL. 7, 212, 31) Cass. mentions that he had *magno studio laboris* striven *ut in libro sequestrato et composito qui inscribitur de orthographia ad vos* (the monks in his monastery) *defloratae* (i.e. those derived from earlier orthographers) *regulae pervenirent*: this work (concluded in his 93rd year, see n. 3) is extant in the book de orthographia, printed GL. 7, 143. Contents: GL. 7, 209, 26 *ex XII orthographorum libris rectitudinem scripturae docentium defloratas regulas posteris legendas exhibui*, also praefatio and conclusio (cf. ib. 7, 143, 9). The favourite number of sections (n. 13) is made up by Adamantius and Martyrius (§ 472, 6) being employed four times and Caesellius Vindex (§ 343, 4) twice. The others are Cornutus (§ 299, 2), Velius (§ 343, 2), Valerianus (§ 472, 6), Papirianus (§ 445, 8), Eutyches (§ 482, 1) and Priscian. On the MSS. (esp. Bern. 330, Bruxell. 9581, Colon. 83, all s. X) see Keil GL. 7, 129. Whoever among the monks in preference to the excerpts the *auctores orthographos in textu suo legere voluerit, transcriptos inveniet, quos ego, quantos potui reperire, monasterio meo dereliqui.*

11. Cassiodorus was merely editor of the Latin version of the antiquitates Iud.

of Josephus (inst. div. litt. 17 [in MIGNE 70, 1133] *hunc ab amicis nostris . . . magno labore in libris XXII converti facimus in latinum*, that is, the translation falsely attributed to Rufinus § 435, 1 in fin.), also of the ecclesiastical history of Theodoretus, Sozomenos and Sokrates (Tripartita): *quos nos per Epiphanium scholasticum latino condentes eloquio necessarium duximus eorum dicta deflorata in unius stili tractum deo iuvante perducere et de tribus auctoribus unam facere dictionem* (praef.). Cf. divin. lect. 17 *quos a viro Epiphanio disertissimo in uno corpore XII libris fecimus deo auxiliante transferri.* This is, so to say, a synoptical version of the three authors, also divided *per XII libros* (praef.), and the work both of the translator and of the editor (Cass.) has been very hastily done. Cf. AFRANZ (n. 14) 104. On the MSS. see AREIFFERSCHEID in the Bresl. Ind. lect. 1872 sq. p. 5.—On a compilation of philosophical writings for the study of dialectic, prepared by Cassiodorus, see HUSENER, anecd. Holderi 66. On his grammatical compilations see n. 3.

12. The very verbose commentary on the Psalms (in MIGNE 70, 9), beginning *repulsis aliquando in Ravennate urbe sollicitudinibus dignitatum . . . cum psalterii caelestis animarum mella gustassem . . . avidus me perscrutator immersi* etc., is mainly excerpted from Augustine.—On the use made by Cassiodorus in the commentary on the Psalms of notae (signs of abbreviation) intended to help the reader see AREIFFERSCHEID, RhM. 23, 132 (see § 41, 2). He also supplied heretical works with marks in the margin to warn the unsuspecting; cf. OJAHN, Phil. 26, 7.—Complexiones (short explanations) in epistolas et acta apostolorum et apocalypsin (see n. 3 l. 15) first edited from the sole MS. Veron. 37 s. VI/VII by SMAFFEI, Flor. 1721 (in MIGNE 70, 1321). Cf. THSTANGL, Wien. SBer. 114, 405.

13. CASSIOD. var. 9, 25 on Cass.: *numquid . . . aliqua se elatione iactavit . . .? . . . benevolus cunctis, moderatus in prosperis, ignorans nisi graviter lacessitus irasci. qui cum iustitia sit rigidus ad remissiones irarum non perdurat austerus; suarum rerum distributor egregius et dum nescit aliena quaerere novit propria largus offerre.* As a writer Cass. is characterised by striking peculiarities, his wearisome repetition of phrases (esp. pious ones), his mystical theory of numbers (especially 12, 7 and 3; cf. n. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10. 11), by which he pays his tribute to the superstition of his time. His knowledge of books is unusual for his time and embraces Greek works, though here he prefers to use Latin translations; see litt. divin. 17 and n. 11. Among the Roman poets he is familiar with Horace among others; see var. 1 praef. AOLLERIS, Cassiodore conservateur des livres de l'antiquité latine, Paris 1841.

14. Editions of his works. Cum notis FORNERII, Paris. 1579 and subsequently. Ex fide mss. auctiora, Geneva 1656. 1663. Studio IGARETII cum notis, Rothomag. 1679. Venet. 1729 II; reprinted in MIGNE b. 69 and 70.—Vita Cassiodori in GARET's edition. MANSO, Gesch. des ostgot. Reichs (1824) 84. 332. ATHIJM, Cassiodorus en zijne eeuw, Amsterd. 1858. RKÖPKE, deutsche Forschungen (Berl. 1859) 85. ATHORBECKE, Cass. Senator, ein Beitrag etc., Heidelb. 1867. AFRANZ, Cassiodorius, ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der Theolog. Literatur, Bresl. 1872. WATTENBACH, Deutschl. Geschichtsquellen $1^5$, 65. JCIAMPI, i Cassiodori nel V et VI secolo, Roma 1877. HUSENER, anecd. Holderi (Bonn. 1877) 66. MOMMSEN's ed. of Jordan. p. XL.

15. CASSIOD. inst. sacc. litt. p. 539 Gar. (MIGNE 70, 1173) *modos hypotheticorum syllogismorum si quis plenius nosse desiderat legat librum Marii Victorini de syllogism. hypoth.* (§ 408, 2). *sciendum quoque quoniam Tullius Marcellus Carthaginensis de categoricis et hypotheticis syllogismis . . . septem libris breviter subtiliterque trac-*

*tavit* (a table of contents follows: b. 1 *de regula, ut ipse dicit, colligentiarum* (i.e. of the logical conclusions; *colligentia* similarly used in Boethius), 2. 3 *categorici*, 4. 5 *hypothetici*, 6 *mixti*, 7 *compositi syllogismi*) . . . *quem codicem vobis legendum reliqui.*—de orthogr. GL. 7, 175, 6 *inlustris memoriae audivi Memnonium, hominem omnis facundiae iudicem, se dicentem de hoc* (writing *berna* or *verna*) *reprehensum a Romano quodam disertissimo* etc., ib. 164, 19 *Gratus* (corrupt) *artigraphus.* de mus. p. 586 Gar. (70, 1203 MIGNE): his friend *Mucianus, vir disertissimus*, is said to have translated Gaudentius' work on music.

484. Before and after Cassiodorus, chronicles were written by Marcellinus comes v. c. for the years 379–534, exclusively on the events in the Eastern Empire; a chronicle from the Creation until a. 566, of which however only the last part (from a. 444) is extant, was composed by bishop Victor of Tunnuna, and intended chiefly for Africa. These were continued by the abbot Johannes of Biclaro, who treated of his own time a. 567–590, and by bishop Marius of Avenches (Lausanne) who, beginning from the close of Prosper's chronicle, dealt with the years 455–581.

1. CASSIOD. div. lect. 17: *Marcellinus quattuor libros de temporum qualitate et positionibus locorum pulcherrima proprietate conficiens:* in addition to this historical and geographical text-book there were monographs; see ib. 25 *Marcellinus quoque pari cura legendus est, qui Constantinopolitanam civitatem et urbem Hierosolymorum quattuor libellis minutissima ratione descripsit.* The description 'Urbs Constantinopolitana nova Roma,' which we still possess, (ed. OSEECK in his ed. of the Notit. dign. p. 229. RIESE, geogr. 133) is not, as REISE p. XXXIII asserts, by Marcellinus, as it dates from the time of Theodosius II. CASS. l.l. further on: *hunc* (Eusebios-Hieron.) *subsecutus est suprascriptus Marcellinus Illyricianus, qui adhuc patricii Iustiniani fertur rexisse cancellos, sed meliore condicione devotus a tempore Theodosii principis usque ad fores* (GARET: *finem*, a. 565) *imperii triumphalis Aug. Iustiniani opus suum . . . perduxit.* From the chronicle itself it appears that Marc. wrote at Constantinople. MARCELL. chron. praef. *ego simplici dumtaxat computatione orientale tantum secutus imperium per indictiones perque consules infra scriptos CXL annos, . . . a consulatu Ausonii et Olybrii* (a. 379) . . . *enumerans et usque in consulatum Magni* (a. 518) . . . *colligens eorumdem auctorum* (Eusebios-Hieronymus) *operi subrogavi. itemque alios XVI annos, a consulatu Iustini Aug. primo* (a. 519) *usque in consulatum Iustiniani Aug. quartum* (a. 534), *suffeci. id sunt simul anni CLVI, et meum rusticum opus supposui.* The extant work goes on in a valuable continuation down to a. 548. The supposed continuation from 549–566 has no connection with Marc., GWAITZ, Gött. gel. Anz. 1857, 38. The chronicle does not bear any distinct ecclesiastical stamp, although the few literary notices refer almost exclusively to ecclesiastical writers. M. quotes Claudian once (in Eutr. 1, 8). He uses Orosius, Gennadius, the fasti of the Eastern and Western Empire etc., and is distinguished by his industry and accuracy.—Use is first made of Marcellinus' chronicle in the two works of Jordanis. Heading: *Marcellini comitis v. c. chronicon.* Cf. AEBERT, LdMA. 1², 445. OHOLDER-EGGER, die Chronik des Marc. com. und die oström. Fasten, NArchiv f. ält. d. Gesch. 2, 49. MOMMSEN, Iord. p. XXIX.

2. Manuscripts: the oldest is Oxon. (Meerm. 771) s. VI, Audomar. 697 s.

X/XI, Brux. 6441/4S s. XI/XII, see HOLDER l.l. 52. MOMMSEN, Herm. 24, 393. Editions of Marc. by JSIRMOND, Par. 1619=Opera 2 (Par. 1696), 309. 2 (Ven. 1728), 269, in RONCALLI chronica 2, 266; in MIGNE 51, 917.

3. ISID. ill. 38 (script. eccl. 25) *Victor Tunnunensis ecclesiae africanae episcopus a principio mundi usque ad primum Iustini iunioris imperium* (a. 566) *brevem per consules annuos bellicarum, ecclesiasticarum rerum nobilissimam promulgavit historiam.* He took part, it is said, in the quarrel of the three Chapters and was therefore imprisoned in a monastery by Justinian, first in Egypt, then at Constantinople, where he died (a. 569). Cf. VICTOR ad a. 555. 556. ISID. chron. p. 419 Ronc. *Victor Tunnunensis ecclesiae episcopus recensitis praedictorum* (Hieronymus and continuator) *historiis gesta sequentium aetatum usque ad consulatum Iustini iunioris explevit.* The extant part, however, begins: *a XVIII consulatu Theodosii iunioris* (a. 444) *Victor episc. Tunn. ecclesiae Africae historiam prosequitur ubi Prosper reliquit.* But as Victor's chronicle for a. 444–445 agrees entirely with Prosper not only as to facts, but frequently also in the actual words, PAPENCORDT, Gesch. d. vandal. Herrschaft 359, conjectures that Isidorus' statement was right and that the contradictory statement in the MSS. of Victor was merely due to a copyist who possessed Prosper's work only in the edition extending to a. 444 or in a mutilated MS., and that he added Victor's description of the later time as a continuation, omitting the preceding parts from the Creation down to a. 444, which were consequently lost. See also OHOLDER-EGGER, NArch. f. ält. deutsch. Gesch. 1, 298.

4. The political events of the years 444–455 are treated more briefly by Vict., while he dwells more fully than Prosper on the ecclesiastical events. In the subsequent portion he devotes his attention almost exclusively to the ecclesiastical history of Africa. His version of this bears the stamp of sectarian mendacity and of extreme slovenliness in chronological details (AVGUTSCHMID). The marginal notes on his chronicle by an unknown author (most probably Maximus of Saragossa, § 495, 5) contain a few facts of no slight importance, which are in agreement with Isidorus' Historiae (§ 496, 3). PAPENCORDT l.l. 364. HHERTZBERG, Hist. d. Isid. (1874) 68. EBERT l.l. 1², 586. First published from ASCHOTT's copy (now in Leyden) of a Toledo MS. by HCANISIUS, Ingolst. 1600, then less carefully from his own transcript of SCHOTT's copy (KFRICK, RhM. 44, 369) by JJSCALIGER, thes. tempp., Leyd. 1605: subsequently in RONCALLI 2, 337, in MIGNE 68, 937.

5. ISID. ill. 31 *Ioannes, Gerundensis ecclesiae episcopus* (a. 591 sqq.), *natione Gothus provinciae Lusitanae Scallabitanus.* At Constantinople he studied Latin and Greek, and *septimo demum anno in Hispanias reversus est.* He was persecuted by the Arian Leovigildus. *postea* (a. 586) *condidit monasterium quod nunc Biclaro dicitur* (hence Ioan. Biclarensis) . . . *addit et in libro chronicorum ab anno primo Iustini iun. principatus* (a. 567) *usque ad annum octavum Mauritii principis Rom.* (a. 590) *et quartum Recaredi regis annum, historico compositoque sermone.* This chronicle is printed in HCANISIUS and SCALIGER (n. 4. ad fin.), in HFLOREZ España sagrada 6 (Madrid 1773) 382. 430, in MIGNE 72, 863. From the praef.: *post Eusebium, . . . Hieronymum, . . . nec non et Prosperum . . . atque Victorem Tunn. eccl. africanae episcopum . . . nos . . . quae temporibus nostris acta sunt, ex parte quod oculata fide pervidimus et ex parte quae ex relatu fidelium didicimus, studuimus ad posteros notescenda brevi stilo transmittere.* The narrative is impartial and is one of the best sources for Visigothic history. HHERTZBERG, d. Hist. d. Isid. (1874) 61.

6. Marius, born a. 530 or 531 (in the diocese of Autun), became bishop of

Avenches-Lausanne, † 594. He carried on Prosper's chronicle, or more correctly the chronicon imperiale (§ 460, 3), from a. 455 down to 581 (heading: *Usque hic Prosper; quae secuntur Marius episcopus*, subscriptio after a. 581 *Usque hic Marius episcopus*). The information which he gives regarding his own times is very important. This chronicle, which is compiled from various West- (and East-) Roman annals, and is extant in a single MS. (now Brit. Mus. 16974 s. IX. Mommsen, Herm. 24, 398; specimen of the writing in WArndt's Schrifttafeln, Berl. 1874, tablet 16), is printed e.g. in Roncalli 2, 399, Migne 72, 793 and recently most accurately in Arndt l.l. 28 and in the new reprint: Mar. Avent. chron. ed. WArndt, Lps. 1878.—CBinding, Gesch. d. burgundischen Königreichs 1 (1868), 274. GMonod (see § 486, 9) 147. WArndt, Bischof Marius von Aventicum, s. Leb. u. s. Chronik, Lpz. 1875.—The chronicle of M. was subsequently carried down to 623 by an anonymous writer, who pays special attention to the Frankish kingdom and who borrows wholesale from Isidorus' chronicle without the least discrimination. GKaufmann, Phil. 34, 281. 42, 501; Forsch. z. ält. d. Gesch. 13, 418. HHertzberg, ib. 15, 317. HBrosien, krit. Unters. der Quellen z. Gesch. Dagobert's I, Gött. 1868. GMonod, Revue crit. 1873, 255. Wattenbach, D. Geschichtsq. $1^5$, 98. Ebert l.l. $1^2$, 585. OHolder-Egger, NArch. f. ält. de Gesch. 1, 254.

7. A list of the Roman bishops down to Hormisdas († 523), then continued down to Vigilius († 555) from Paris. 12097 s. VI (specimen of the writing in Zangemeister-Wattenbach's Exempla codd. latt. pl. 40) is given in Mabillon, vett. analect. 3, 426 and FXKraus, Tüb. Theol. Quartalschrift 53, 282.—Another list of Popes preserved in a Cologne MS. 212 s. VI goes down to a. 536 (completed by another writer down to Gregory I 590–604). Specimen of the writing in Zangem.-Wattenb. l.l. pl. 37 and 38. Cf. § 413, 2, vii.—On the so-called Collectio Avellana see § 453, 4.

8. On the Anonymus Valesii see above § 429, 9; on Januarius Nepotianus above § 279, 10.

485. In the year 551, the Goth (one of the Alani) Jordanis composed the two extant works de origine actibusque Getarum and de summa temporum vel de origine actibusque gentis Romanorum, the latter being a universal chronicle compiled from the usual sources, while the history of the Goths is important after the loss of the original work of Cassiodorus, which was merely abridged by Jordanis in a superficial and unskilful manner.

1. Jord. get. 265 *Scyri . . . et certi Alanorum cum duce suo nomine Candac Scythiam minorem inferioremque Moesiam acceperunt. cuius Candacis Alanoviiamuthis patris mei genitor Paria, i.e., meus avus, notarius . . . fuit eiusque germanae filio Gunthigis . . . mag. mil. . . . ego item, quamvis agrammatus, Iordanis* (thus and *Iordannis* in the best MSS. both here and in the titles of the two works) *ante conversionem meam* (i.e. before my entering the monastery, § 483, 3) *notarius fui.* In the work of the Geographus Ravennas also (§ 497, 3), the earliest author who mentions Jordanis by name, he is frequently called *Iordanis* (once *Iordanus*) *cosmographus* or *chronographus* and similarly *Iordanis* in the mediaeval historians. *Iordanis* (cf. *Heraclis, Epifanis*) is a popular form for *Iordanes*, Ἰορδάνης (the penultimate syllable being usually short among the Greeks, long among the Latins). Cf. in a Christian inscription in Murat. 1972, 10 *hic positus est*

*Iordanis*. Likewise the nom. *Iordānis* (for the river) in VEN. FORT. carm. 10, 6, 36 (here too the variant *Iordannis*). 100. The form IORNANDES transmitted in MSS. of the second class was defended by J GRIMM, kl. Schrr. 3, 171. 234.—Nothing further is known concerning the personality of Jord. In the title of the Romana (n. 4) Jord. is called *episcopus*, in the title of the Getica the best MSS. generally give no name, others give the name only, a few (of the third class) call J. *episcopus Ravennas*, and so does a MS. which dates from before a. 747 (gesta abbat. Fontanell.. Mon. Germ. 2, 287). This title most probably owes its origin to the identification of the historian with the Iord. episcopus to whom is addressed a poem by Honorius scholasticus (§ 491, 13), which has been transmitted in the MSS. of the first class together with the works of the historian. There is space for such a person in the lacuna before a. 418 which occurs in the list of the bishops of Ravenna; he has nothing to do with the historian (AVGUTSCHMID). The attempt to identify the latter with the bishop Jordanes of Croton, whom Pope Vigilius (a. 537-555) mentions in his condemnatory decree against Theodoros of Caesarea in the dispute between the three Chapters 14 Aug. 551 (in MIGNE 69, 62), thus falls to the ground.—In the same year 551 Jordanis wrote his two works (perhaps in his native Moesia? MOMMSEN p. x; against this SCHIRREN l.l. see n. 3). The Vigilius also to whom J. dedicates the Romana (n. 4 the address: *nobilissime et magnifice frater*) cannot well be the Pope, as Jord. (even had he been a bishop) would hardly have given the following advice to the Pope (rom. praef. 4): *ad deum (te) convertas qui est vera libertas . . . scito quod diligenti mundum semper necessitas imminet . . . estoque toto corde diligens deum et proximum ut adimpleas legem.* EBERT, LdMA. 1 [2], 561. Another Jordanes is mentioned in the missive of Pope Pelagius, the successor of Vigilius, of 15. Feb. 556 ad episcopos Tusciae (*defensore ecclesiae nostrae Iordane deferente*); see KÖPKE, deutsche Forschungen 58. The name of Jord. is not rare in the late period, e.g. the cos. ord. of a. 470 bears this name. See in general MOMMSEN's preface.

2. Superscription: *de origine actibusque Getarum*, the same name which Cassiodorus gave to his work (vid. inf.). Subscriptio: *explicit de antiquitate Getarum actibusque eorum quos devicit Iustinianus imp. per fidelem rei publ. Belisarium cons.* At the close of the get. (315): *haec hucusque Getarum origo ac Amalorum nobilitas et virorum fortium facta.* From the preface, which is translated almost literally from RUFINUS' preface to his translation of Origen's commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (HVSYBEL in Schmidt's Z. f. Gesch. 7, 288; cf. KÖPKE l.l. 65): *me, . . . frater Castali, laxari vela compellis relictoque opusculo quod intra manus habeo, i.e. de adbreviatione chronicorum* (n. 4), *suades ut nostris verbis XII Senatoris volumina de origine actusque Getarum ab olim et usque nunc per generationes regesque descendentem in uno et hoc parvo libello coartem. dura satis imperia* etc. *super omne autem pondus quod nec facultas eorundem librorum nobis datur, quatenus eius sensui inserviamus sed, ut non mentiar, ad triduanam lectionem dispensatoris eius beneficio libros ipsos antehac relegi. quorum quamvis verba non recolo sensus tamen et res actas credo me integre retinere. ad quos et ex nonnullis historiis grecis ac latinis addedi convenientia, initium finemque et plura in medio mea dictione permiscens.* The *initium* moreover is taken from Orosius and some cosmography or other. Conclusion (316): *haec qui legis scito me maiorum secutum scriptis ex eorum latissima prata paucos flores legisse, unde inquirenti pro captu ingenii mei coronam contexam. nec me quis in favorem gentis praedictae, quasi ex ipsa trahenti originem, aliqua addidisse credat quam quae legi et comperi. nec sic tamen cuncta quae de ipsis scribuntur aut referuntur complexus sum* etc. The Getica were composed and published a. 551 (see 104 *pestilens morbus . . . quod nos ante hos novem annos*, viz.

542 in Thrace, *experti sumus*) and in the intervals of the composition of the Romana; see n. 4. Mommsen p. xv. Köpke l.l. 55.

3. The Getica of Jord. are an abridgment from the corresponding work of Cassiodorus (§ 483, 5); SCassel, magyar. Altert. 299. CSchirren, de ratione quae inter I. et Cassiod. intercedat, Dorpat 1858. RKöpke, deutsche Forschungen, Berl. 1859, 60. AvGutschmid, JJ. 85, 124. The learned quotations in Jord. are derived from Cassiodorus or from his sources. Such are the references to Strabo, Josephus, the two Dios, that is Cassius and Chrysostomus, whom Cassiod. believed to be identical (he attributed the Γετικά of the latter writer to the former 40. 58. 65. cf. with 14. 151), to Ptolemaeus, Dexippus, Priscus, Ablabius (=Ἀβλάβιος, *descriptor Gothorum gentis egregius* 28; cf. 82. 117; cf. Mommsen p. xxxvii. KSchirren, DLit. Ztg. 1882, 1422), Trogus, Cornelius (Tacitus), Symmachus (§ 477, 4). Jordanis himself continued Cassiodorus' history of the Goths (on its conclusion see § 483, 5) down to the death of Vitiges (a. 540), and added a variety of marginal notes to the material borrowed from Cassiod. For this purpose he used Orosius and esp. Marcellinus comes; the points of similarity with the Rom. of Jord. are accounted for by the fact that both works were based on an historical abridgment previously prepared (AvGutschmid). This superficial compilation, in producing which Jord. gave prominence to such points as appeared to him as a native of Thrace to be important, is made up of isolated fragments and episodes which are broadly sketched or merely indicated, full of tiresome repetitions, yet full of omissions and abounding in wrong connections and arbitrary transitions from one subject to another. His work is altogether a crude and confused mass, but in details it is important as material, and even interesting when the original colouring is not quite effaced (Köpke l.l. 72). Cf. Ebert, LdMA. $1^2$, 558.

4. Heading of the universal chronicle: *de summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum.* Jord. himself in the preface to the Getica designates the work as *breviatio chronicorum*, see n. 2. The usual title *de regnorum ac temporum successione* is not authenticated by the MSS.—From the preface of the Romana: . . . *nobilissime frater Vigili* (see n. 1) . . . *vis praesentis mundi erumnas cognoscere . . . addis praeterea ut tibi quomodo romana resp. coepit et tenuit totumque paene mundum subegit . . . ex dictis maiorum floscula carpens breviter referam, vel etiam quomodo regum series a Romulo . . . in Aug. venerit Iustinianum, quamvis simpliciter, meo tamen tibi eloquio pandam. . . . quoquo modo valuimus late sparsa collegimus . . . in XXIV° anno Iustiniani imp.* (commenced 1. Apr. 551), *quamvis breviter, uno tamen in tuo nomine et hoc parvissimo libello confeci, iungens ei aliud volumen de origine actusque geticae gentis, quod iam dudum* (i.e. several months previously) *communi amico Castalio edidissem* etc. According to this Jord. resumed his work on the Romana, which had been interrupted by the composition of the Getica, after the publication of this work, and presented the Romana, to which were appended the Getica, to Vigilius; cf. n. 2.—Jordanis (with the exception of some details) derives the Eastern history down to the time of Augustus from (Eusebios-) Hieronymus, then, borrowing from Florus and (to a less extent) from Rufinus Festus, he carries Roman history down through a similar period; this is again followed by the history of the Empire from Hieronymus, and after this is concluded the rest of the work is added from Victor's Epitome and from Marcellinus comes and his continuator. Some details are interspersed which are taken from Eutropius, Orosius and the Getica of Cassiodorus. On the sources see esp. Mommsen's Iord. p. xxiii and the authorities noted in the margin of his edition.

5. Jord. calls himself (see n. 1) *agrammatus* and this is only too true of him.

He indeed understood Greek and was acquainted with Iamblichos among the Jurists (quoted rom. 6; from Stephanus in schol. Basilic. in EHuschke, iurispr. anteiust. [5]880 referred to by ERohde; see also NArch. f. ält. d. Gesch. 8, 352), and among the Patristic writers he knew Epiphanios and perhaps also Joannes Chrysostomos, and he made great use of Sozomenos (AvGutschmid): but he writes as a less than half educated man in the popular language, which was already far on the way to decay and beginning to show signs of Romance tendencies. In the best MSS. (the Heidelberg and the Vat.-Pal. see n. 6) this jargon is preserved, but in the other MSS. the flaws in Jordanis' Latin are more and more effaced and the diction is brought into conformity with the rules of scholarship. By way of testing Jord.'s barbarous Latin we can compare the Latin inscriptions in the popular language given in JBRossi, inscriptt. christt. 1 no. 966–1116, which are in close agreement with it; cf. Mommsen in his ed. p. 167, where see also the Indices relating thereto and references p. 169. Everything, forms and constructions alike, is out of joint and disordered: confusion of genders (e.g. *dolum quod*, *fluvium quod*; *iugus antefatus*, *flumine qui*, *gaudium feliciorem*, *regnum occidentalem*, *orientalem*, *iuvenilem*; *floscula*), declension (*adventui*, *exercitui*, *principatui* as genitives), conjugation (*cognoscent*, *tradent*, *vivent* amongst other instances, for present tense; *indulgi*= *indulgeri*; *fugire*, *fugiret*; *obstrepebit*), use of the cases (e.g. abl. for acc.: *hoc nomine nactus*, *tam navali quam equestri agmine ductans*, *eodem regno invadens*, *sequi* with dat., acc. absol. is very frequently used for abl. abs.), designation of localities (*in Constantinopolim*, *in Ravenna*; the locative has entirely fallen into disuse with the exception of *Romae*, which however does duty regularly for *Romam*), especially irregular use of the prepositions (*longo per tempore*, *cum XL milia*, *cum successores*, *cum multas opes*, *recedere in Haemi partibus*, *movere arma in parentibus*, *de origine actusque Getarum*, *de fines Italos*). And amidst all these decayed linguistic forms we find lurking in the Getica the florid phraseology of Cassiodorus!

6. Manuscripts: of these Mommsen distinguishes three ordines. The MSS. primi ordinis are generally the earliest and best and in these alone the Romana have been preserved in addition to the Getica: to them belong *Heidelbergensis 921 (Palatinus) s. VIII, Vatic.-Palat. 920 s. X, Valencienn. s. IX. MSS. secundi ordinis excerpta Cheltenhamensia s. IX, Vatic.-Ottobon. 1346 s. X, *Vratislav. s. XI; MSS. tertii ord. *Cantabrig. s. XI and *Berol. s. XII (the MSS. marked * were burnt at Berlin a. 1881, the collations of them are also to be found in Mommsen). Cf. in gen. Mommsen's ed. p. XLVI.—Editions of the Getica and Romana: e.g. in Gruter's hist. aug. scriptt. lat. min., Hanau 1611, by FLindenbrog, Hamb. 1611, in Muratori's scriptt. rer. ital. 1, 187. Principal edition: Iordanis Romana et Getica recensuit ThMommsen, Berl. 1882 (=Mon. Germ. hist. Auctt. antiquiss. 5, 1; compare LErhardt, Gött. GA. 1886, 669).—Separate editions of the Getica in IGaret's Cassiodorus (§ 483, 14), by CACloss, Stuttg. 1861 (cf. Gutschmid, lit. Centr.-Bl. 1861, 612) and by AHolder, Freiburg 1881.—A translation of the history of the Goths (together with excerpts from the Roman history) by WMartens, Lpz. 1884.

7. Papencordt, vandal. Herrschaft 383. SFreudensprung, de Iornande eiusque libr. natalibus, Münst. 1837. HvSybel, de fontt. libri Iord. de Get., Berl. 1838. JJordan, Iordanes' Leben und Schriften, Ansb. 1843. Hansen, PRE. 4, 241. JGrimm, über Iorn., kleine Schriften 3 (Berl. 1866), 171. RKöpke and others (see n. 3). WWattenbach, Deutschl. Geschichtsquellen 1[5], 70 and especially Mommsen's introduction. LvRanke, Weltgesch. 4, 2, 313.

486. The Briton Gildas (Sapiens) of Bath is not properly

reckoned among the historians; on the other hand, the work of Gregorius, bishop of Tours, a native of Auvergne, is a departmental history of the first importance. Gildas (about 516–573) describes the sufferings of his native country subsequent to the landing of the Saxons in his liber querolus de calamitate, excidio et conquestu Britanniae; Gregorius of Tours (538–593) composed miraculous legends of Saints, which prove either the strong faith or the credulity of their author, and more especially ten books on the history of the Franks (mainly what fell within his own recollection), truthful in intention and not without critical acumen, but with all the prejudices and limitations of his time, and unpolished though not unskilful in diction.

1. Gildas 1, 26 *usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis* (a. 516; landing of the Anglo-Saxons 445) . . . *quique quadragesimus quartus oritur annus, mense iam primo emenso, qui iam et meae nativitatis est.* According to this 516 was probably the year of his birth (another view is e.g. that of de la Borderie, rev. celtique 6, 1), 560 (516+44) the year in which he writes. For a different account see Baeda, hist. eccl. 1, 16. Praefatio: *in hoc libro quidquid deflendo potius quam declamando . . . fuero prosecutus . . . non tam fortissimorum militum enuntiare trucis belli pericula mihi statutum est quam desidiosorum. silui . . . spatio bilustri temporis vel eo amplius praetereuntis. . . . amicis imperantibus ut qualemcunque gentis britannicae historiolam sive admonitiunculam scriberem. . . . nunc persolvo debitum multo tempore antea exactum, vile quidem stilo, sed fidele (ut puto)* etc. The first half (Historia) contains in 26 chapters not an historical account, but merely declamations concerning history, the second (Epistola) adds *increpationes*, first against the *reges patriae* (Constantinus, Aurelius Conanus, Vortiporius, Cuneglassus, Maglocunus), *non minus prophetarum oraculis* (citations from the Old Testament) *quam nostris sermonibus* (2, 18), then (pars III) against the Clergy. The tone is violent, and the diction sometimes almost unintelligible, owing to its extravagant bombast and long and entangled sentences. Hist. litt. de la France 3, 279. CWSchöll, de ecclesiast. Britonum . . . historiae fontibus (Berl. 1851) p. 1. RALipsius in Ersch and Gruber, allg. Encykl. 1, 67, 231. Ebert, LdMA. 1 ², 562.— On the hymnus loricae erroneously attributed to this Gildas see § 476, 1.

2. Editions of Gildas in ThGale's hist. brit. scriptores XV (Oxford 1691), in CBertram's britann. gentium hist. ant. scriptores III (Copenhagen 1759), in the Monumenta historica britannica (London 1848) 1, 1 and in Councils and eccles. documents relating to Great Britain etc. by AWHaddan and WStubbs (Oxf. 1869) 1, 44. Migne 69, 328. Ad fidem codd. rec. JStevenson, Lond. 1838. Edited with an introduction by San Marte (ASchulz), Berl. 1844.

3. Gregorius (or Georgius Florentius), the descendant of a noble family of Auvergne, was born a. 538 at Clermont-Ferrand, and became bishop of Tours 573, † 593. Venantius Fortunatus, to whom Gr. dedicated his collection of poems, was his intimate friend. Cf. also § 491, 4 l. 13. Gregory speaks repeatedly of his want of literary culture, of his *rusticitas* and so forth, and apologises for his linguistic defects. hist. Fr. 4, 1 *veniam precor si aut in litteris aut in syllabis grammaticam artem excessero, de qua adplene non sum imbutus.* vit. patr. 2, praef. *non me artis grammaticae studium imbuit neque auctorum saecularium polita lectio erudivit.* de

glor. confess. praef. p. 747, 24 *timeo ne . . . quia sum sine litteris rhetoricis et arte grammatica, dicatur mihi a litteratis: 'o rustice et idiota . . . ut opus hoc a peritis accipi putas cui . . . nec ulla litterarum scientia subministrat? . . . qui nomina discernere nescis, saepius pro masculinis feminea . . . commutas, qui ipsas quoque praepositiones . . . loco debito plerumque non locas. nam ablativis accusativa . . . praeponis' . . . Sed tamen respondebo illis et dicam quia: 'opus vestrum facio et per meam rusticitatem vestram prudentiam exercebo . . . quod nos inculte et breviter . . . discribimus, nos lucide ac splendide stante versu in paginis prolixioribus dilatetis.'* He likewise observes hist. Franc. prol. p. 31, 14 *philosophantem rhetorem intellegunt pauci, loquentem rusticum multi.* According to this the diction of Gregory's works, which is most faulty from the standpoint of scholarly correctness, is yet certainly that which he actually employed. It should be compared with that of Jordanis, Anthimus, the archives of the Merovingian kings, but is not to be patched up and smoothed in accordance with the later MSS. and all the editions (except that by Arndt and Krusch). The linguistic irregularities of Jordanis quoted above § 485, 5 and others can be shown to occur in Gregory in large numbers, in the same or similar examples. Cf. on this subject FHaase (n. 7) p. 33, the collections of Krusch l.l. p. 929. 912 and the exhaustive leading work: MBonnet, le Latin du Grég. de Tours, Par. 1890. Gregory shows a close acquaintance only with Vergil's Aeneid (cf. p. 487, 32 Krusch), next with Sallust (esp. the introd. to Catil.), lastly in single instances with Gellius, Pliny, Titianus (§ 364, 4), then with Christian authors; his knowledge of ancient history and geography is scanty. GKurth, Grég. de Tours et les études classiques au VI^e^ siècle, in the Rev. des quest. hist., Oct. 1878.

4. Greg. hist. Franc. 10, 31 p. 449 *decem libros historiarum* (n. 5), *septem miraculorum* (n. 6), *unum de vita patrum* (n. 6 l. 6), *scripsi; in psalterii tractatu* (n. 7) *librum unum commentatus sum: de cursibus etiam ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi* (n. 7). *quos libros licet stilo rusticiori conscripserim, tamen coniuro omnes sacerdotes domini . . . ut numquam libros hos abolere faciatis aut rescribi quasi quaedam legentes et quaedam praetermittentes.* These works, which are nearly all extant, were not written successively by Gregory, but simultaneously; he was engaged on the lives of the Saints during his whole life (perhaps 575–593) and was always working at his history of the Franks, which was composed about 577 as far as perhaps the middle of b. 5, a. 584 or 585 to the end of b. 8, and a. 590 or 591 from that point to the conclusion, the epilogue being of a still later date. He then began to revise his work, and completed the first six books.

5. Greg. hist. Franc. praef. *cum . . . nec reperiri posset quisquam peritus dialectica in arte grammaticus qui haec aut stilo prosaico aut metrico depingeret versu, ingemiscebant saepius plerique dicentes: vae diebus nostris, quia periit studium litterarum a nobis nec reperiretur in populis qui gesta praesentia promulgare possit in paginis.* 1, prol. *scripturus bella regum cum gentibus adversis, martyrum cum paganis, ecclesiarum cum haereticis, prius fidem meam proferre cupio, ut qui legerit me non dubitet esse catholicum. . . . illum tantum studens ut quod in ecclesia credi praedicatur sine aliquo fuco aut cordis haesitatione retineam.* The Church in its relations to the world is the central point of the exposition; the author's standpoint is the orthodoxy and belief in miracles of the period. But as the true faith of the Catholic Christian is more meritorious than the highest virtue could be, if that faith were lacking, the author speaks with calm independence of the worst abominations of Chlodwig and the vices of many servants of the Church, and he is not consciously partial or untruthful. His horizon is limited, especially with regard to foreign history: see n. 3. In general he is uncritical in dealing with tradi-

tion, but on important points careful investigation is not wanting. LÖBELL [2] l.l. 320. Greg. v. T. fränkische Geschichte, translated (with introd. and notes) by WGIESEBRECHT, Berl.[2] 1878 II. JUNGHANS, Gesch. d. fränk. Könige Childerich u. Chlodovech 151. EBERT l.l. 568.—Only the first six books (down to a. 584) are included in the abridgment in the so-called Fredegar (§ 499, 1) under the title Historia Francorum epitomata (93 chapters), printed in the ed. of RUINART (n. 8), in BOUQUET 2, 391 sqq., MIGNE 71, 574, in KRUSCH's Fredegar and elsewhere. LvRANKE, Weltgesch. 4, 2, 333 denied the dependence of the hist. epitom. on Gregory of Tours; see against this GWAITZ, intr. to Arndt's ed. of Greg. p. VIII.

6. A list of the contents of the Miracula by Gregory himself lib. confess. praef. p. 748 *in primo libello inseruimus aliqua de miraculis domini ac sanctorum apostolorum reliquorumque martyrum . . . in secundo posuimus de virtutibus sancti Iuliani* (the passio s. Iuliani martyris, used by Gregory as one of his sources, is printed in the ed. of Gregory by ARNDT-KRUSCH p. 879). *quattuor vero libellos de virtutibus s. Martini. septimum de quorundam feliciosorum vita* (=*liber vitae patrum*, n. 4 l. 2). *octavum hunc scribimus de miraculis confessorum.* In the numeration at the close of the hist. Franc. (n. 4) the longest book de vita patrum is counted separately.—glor. mart. 94. p. 552 A.-K. *quod passio eorum quam Syro quodam interpretante in Latino transtulimus plenius pandit.* This has been transmitted by a now lost MS. at St. Omer and others as *passio ss. martyrum septem dormientium apud Ephesum translata in Latinum per Gregorium episcopum interpretante Ioanne Syro*, printed p. 847 A.-K. Gregory also composed the *liber de miraculis b. Andreae apostoli*, which is almost without exception transmitted without his name, and is not enumerated by Gregory among his works, but from its diction and literary peculiarities certainly belongs to Gregory. Last edited by MBONNET in the ed. of Gregory by Arndt and Krusch p. 821. The miracula Thomae (best given in the Suppl. codicis apocryphi I Acta Thomae Graece . . . Latine ed. MBONNET, Lps. 1883) is also assigned to Gregory by RALIPSIUS, d. apokr. Apostelgesch. 2, 2, 415 and BONNET l.l.—The treatise mentioned hist. Franc. 2, 22 (*in praefatione libri quem de missis ab eo* [Sidonius] *compositis coniunximus*) is not extant.—Les livres des miracles et autres opuscules de Greg. de T., revus . . . et traduits par HLBORDIER, Par. 1857-65 IV.

7. Of the commentary on the Psalms only scanty remains are extant, printed p. 873 A.-K.—The *liber de cursibus ecclesiasticis* (n. 4 l. 3) was first published by FHAASE, Bresl. 1853 from Bamb. H. I. IV. 15 s. VIII, the only complete MS. The Bamb. gives the work the fuller title *de cursu stellarum ratio qualiter ad officium implendum debeat observari;* it is silent concerning the name of the author, but HAASE has been enabled to prove from various statements in the work that it is to be assigned to Gregory. The treatise (composed between a. 575–582) begins with an enumeration of the wonders of the world (seven human and seven divine). This section is extant in a good many MSS., e.g. Vindob. s. VIII/IX; cf. MHAUPT, Ov. Halicut. p. 67. HOMONT, bibl. de l'éc. des chart. 1882, 50. To the constellations, which are named last among the wonders, are appended instructions for calculating the hours for nocturnal devotions according to the position of the stars. Printed after HAASE in BORDIER (n. 6 ad fin.) 4, 1 and in KRUSCH p. 854. On SGall. 855 s. IX, which contains portions of the treatise, see KRUSCH, NArch. f. ält. d. G. 12, 303. Cf. § 397, 8 l. 7. 491, 6 ad fin. EBERT l.l. 1[2], 576.

8. Manuscripts: early MSS. of Gregory's works are numerous. Some of s. VII for the history of the Franks are extant: Paris 17654 (Bellovac.), 17655 (Corbeiens.), Camerac. 624, Leid. 21 etc. Cf. for details ARNDT-KRUSCH l.l.; for

new discoveries Not. et Docum. de la Soc. hist. de la France 1884.—Edition by ThRuinart, Par. 1699, printed in Migne LXXI. The rest of the works are also contained in this. Editions of the history of the Franks in Bouquet's recueil 2, 137 and by Guadet and Taranne, Par. 1836 sq. II. Recently esp. Greg. Tur. opera edd. WArndt et BKrusch (I hist. Franc.; II miracula et opp. minora), Hanov. 1884. 85 II (=Mon. Germ. hist., Scriptt. Meroving. Vol. 1, 1. 2. Cf. on this MBonnet, rev. crit. 1885 1, 161); le Latin du Grég. 15.

9. Hist. litt. de la France 3, 372. · CGKries, de Gregorii Turon. vita et scrr., Bresl. 1838. JWLoebell, Gregor v. Tours u. s. Zeit, Bresl. 1839. Lpz.² 1869. RKöpke, kl. Schriften, Berl. 1872, 289, and especially GMonod, études crit. sur les sources de l'hist. mérov. 1 (1872), 21 (Biblioth. de l'école des h. études). GRichter, Annalen des fränk. Reichs, Halle 1873. Ebert l.l. 1², 566. Wattenbach, Deutschl. Geschichtsqu. 1⁵, 90. WArndt and BKrusch intr. to their ed., and MBonnet, le Latin du Grég., introduction.

487. To the beginning of the sixth century we may assign a small diaetetic treatise addressed by a Greek physician Anthimus, in the Gothic part of Italy, to Theuderic, king of the Franks, which is also one of the earliest documents showing the transition of the Latin language into the Romance. The Latin versions of some writings of Oribasius were likewise intended for Germanic tribes.

1. The title of the work: *Incipit epistula Anthimi viri inl. comitis et legatarii ad gloriosissimum Theudericum regem Francorum de observatione ciborum.* He is probably the physician Anthimus who was, a. 468, accused at Constantinople (under Zenon) of a treasonable connection with the Goth Theoderic Strabon († 481) and banished (Malch. in Hist. gr. min. 1, 400 Ddf.). We may suppose that A. fled to the Goths, went to Italy 489 with Theoderic the Great, and was despatched as his ambassador a. 511 to Chlodwig's son, Theuderic, king of the Franks (a. 511–534). VRose, anecd. 2, 44. The author of this treatise betrays that he is a Greek and a physician; he alloys the traditions of Greek physicians to which he appeals with various observations derived from his own experience among the Goths and Franks. Cf. c. 14 *de lardo, unde non est qualiter exire delicias Francorum, tamen qualiter melius comedatur ad horam expono. . . . de crudo vero lardo, quod solent ut audio Franci comedere, miror satis quis illis ostendit talem medicinam.* 64 *fit etiam de hordeo opus bonum, quod nos graece dicimus alfita, latine vero polentam, Gothi vero barbarice fenea.* 15 *cervisa bibendo vel medus* (mead) *vel aloxinum quam maxime omnibus congruum est, quia cervisa quae bene facta fuerit beneficium praestat et rationem habet sicut tisanae quam nos facimus.* 78 *oxygala graece quod latine vocant melca* (FBücheler, RhM. 37, 520).

2. The treatise deals with 94 articles of food, with some quite briefly, according as they are digestible or indigestible in a raw or prepared state, also with bacon and beer (n. 1) and all kinds of fish (c. 39 sqq. cf. Rose, anecd. 2, 53 sqq.). There are many points of resemblance between this work and the cookery book of Apicius (§ 283, 2). It is chiefly interesting for its Latin, which is the language then actually spoken and which the author himself had learnt by way of conversation. Cf. *devenire* (to become), *sera* (evening), *de* for the genitive, *ille* as article, *caballicare, medietas* (half), *sodinga*, and other examples (Rose ib. 46. 52. 99).

3. Manuscripts in St. Gallen s. IX and XI, in Bamberg s. IX, in London

Sloan. s. IX (the latter is extant only in a copy) etc. First published by VRose, anecd. gr. et graecolat. 2 (Berl. 1870), 65; iterum ed. VRose, Lps. 1877.

4. There have been handed down some very free Latin versions s. 5–6 in popular language of works by Oribasius, the physician to the Emperor Julian, viz. his handbook for travelling doctors (Synopsis ad Eustathium, 9 bb.) and his abridgment from this, the small text-book for laymen in cases of accident (Εὐπόριστα or Synopsis ad Eunapium, 4 bb.). The principal manuscript is Paris. 10233 s. VI; of the 40 leaves missing from this MS., 18 are at Berne (edited and explained as regards the diction by HHagen, Zur Gesch. der Philologie, Berl. 1879, 243). The Latin translations have been published in Bussemaker and Daremberg's ed. of the Oeuvres d'Oribase, vol. (5 and) 6: anciennes traductions latines de la Synopsis et des Euporistes publ. d'après les mscr. par AMolinier, Par. 1876. Cf. VRose, anecd gr. lat. 2, 110 sqq.—Remarkable additions by the editor, such as *id est, quem rustici vocant* etc., again (6, 131) *isatis: vocant Gothi uuisdile* (Rose l.l. 117).—On medical and botanical glosses see above § 42, 7 ad fin. —Medicinal recipes from Leid. Voss. Q. 9 s. VI have been published by JPiechotta, ein Anecdotum Latinum, Leobschütz 1887.

488. The want of a sound collection of the existing principles of law and the laws themselves was felt both in the Western and in the Eastern Empire. In the Western parts there was also the desire to define the position of the German conquerors towards the conquered Romans; and an essential difference arose from the fact that in the East schools of law and the historical study of law were still kept up, while both had greatly declined in the West. Hence the endeavours directed towards the same end in the two sections of the Empire bear a very different character: in the West they appear poor and rude, e.g. the edictum Theoderici regis, among the Visigoths the lex romana (or breviarium Alarici), in the Burgundian kingdom the so-called Papianus; while in the East Justinian created the so-called Corpus iuris. This consists of two principal parts, the law of the Jurists (ius vetus) and the Imperial law (ius principale), the latter of which was first executed (a. 528 sq.; revised and remodelled version a. 534). A commission was appointed for this purpose, the chief member being Tribonianus († 546). The constitutions of the Emperors were again sifted from the extant collections and from the additions thereto, abridged and united in the twelve books of the Codex Iustinianus. The extracts from the ius vetus were arranged in 50 books called Digesta, a. 530–533. On the basis of the new legislation a new manual was likewise elaborated by Tribonian, Theophilos and Dorotheos, the four books of Institutiones, chiefly after Gaius. To these collections of Justinian were added subsequent ordinances, Novellae, in

several private collections, from a. 533 to about the end of the century, mostly in Greek. Though Justinian, in causing these collections to be made, besides the craving to immortalise his name, was governed by the autocratic idea of establishing mechanical uniformity, foreclosing controversies among the lawyers and debarring the judge from the exercise of his individual opinion, still it was he who rescued the treasures of ancient jurisprudence, otherwise doomed to destruction, rendered possible an historical treatment of Roman law by his Digest, and laid the foundation of all further development of that law.

1. The Edictum Theoderici regis is a public edict which Theoderic caused to be made (probably by Cassiodorus) and posted during his sojourn at Rome (a. 500). It contains 154 articles arranged at random, drawn *ex novellis legibus ac veteris iuris sanctimonia* (i.e. the cod. Theod. and later Novellae, also Pauli sent. and cod. Greg.), and was intended to furnish rules to guide the decisions of military and civil judges. It was printed from MSS. which are now lost first by PPithoeus, Par. 1579 (as an appendix to the Cassiodorus of GFornerius), then in particular by GFRhon, comm. ad ed. Th. r. Ostrog., Halle 1816 and by FBluhme in the Mon. Germ. hist. Leges 5, 145. Rudorff, röm. RGesch. 1, 293. FDahn, d. Könige der Germanen, section 4, appendix 1.

2. The lex Visigothorum, published by king Euric (a. 466–484) served as law to the Visigoths in Gaul and Spain. Alleged remains of the same have been published by AGaudenzi from cod. Holkham. 210 s. IX/X, see however KZeumer, NArchfädG. 12, 387; cf. ZfRG. 23 (Germ.), 253. His son, Alaric II, appointed a. 506 a commission to draw up a code of laws for the Romans in the kingdom of the Visigoths. His work is the so-called lex romana Visigothorum, also called Breviarium Alarici or (from the referendarius Anianus who certified the copies) Aniani, best edited by GHänel (ad lxxvi librorum mss. fidem recogn. etc. Lps. 1849). Of the numerous MSS. only a few possess an independent value, esp. a Monac. s. VI–VII (specimen of the writing in Zangemeister-Wattenbach's exempla codd. latt. t. 27 and 28) and a Paris. s. VIII–IX, see PKrüger intr. to his ed. of Paulus p. 43 (§ 376, 3). On the palimps. 15 s. VI in Leon (Spain) see RBeer, Wien. SBer. 1887, 12 Oct., and RBeer and JElJimenez, catal. de los codd. . . . de Leon, Leon 1888. In gen. FDahn, Könige der Germ. 4, 123. 398 constitutions are taken from the cod. Theod. together with 33 Novellae, from cod. Greg. 22, from Hermog. 2 constitutions, one passage from Papinian. Gaius is included in an abridgment, and Paulus' sententiae in a similar manner. In most passages a paraphrase or explanation has been added. Cf. Fitting, d. sogen. west-gotische Interpretatio, ZfRGesch. 11, 222. In this shape the Roman law held its own during the first part of the Middle Ages in a great part of the West, and was even again abridged. Such an abridgment is e.g. the so-called lex Romana (Utinensis or) Curiensis (Mon. Germ. Leges 5, 289) compiled in the Rhaetian Palatinate, noteworthy on account of the strong Romance element in its latinity: LStünkel, JJ. Suppl. 8, 585; ZfromanPhil. 5 (1881), 41.—FSchupfer, atti d. R. acad. dei Lincei 1880/81 and sqq. RWagner, ZfRG. 17 (Germ.), 54. HBrunner, ib. 263. LRvSalis ZfRG. 19 (Germ.), 141. KZeumer, ib. 22 (Germ.), 1.—Cf. generally Rudorff, röm. Rechtsgesch. 1, 288. 303. GHänel's praef. (and Lpz. SBer. 1865, 1). Dern-

BURG, Gajus 119 together with HDEGENKOLB in Pözl's Vierteljahrsschr. 14 (1872), 504. PKRÜGER, Quellen u. Lit. d. röm. Rechts 309.

3. Lex romana Burgundionum promulgated by the Burgundian king Gundobad († a. 516) for the use of his Roman subjects, in 47 titles, drawn from the Burgundian laws, the cod. Greg., Hermog. and Theod. with the Novellae pertaining to them, and from the unabridged Gaius and Paulus. This work is appended to the breviarium Alar. (n. 2) in numerous MSS. In the MSS. it has been considered as the text of the last rubric and hence entitled *Papiani* (erroneously for *Papiniani*) *liber primus responsorum*. There are also abridgments of this work extant. Editions by FABIENER (ius civ. antei. p. 1501), FABARKOW (Greifsw. 1846), FBLUHME (Mon. Germ., leges 3 [1863], 497). RUDORFF, röm. RGesch. 1, 291. FBLUHME, der burgund. Papianus, in Bekker and Muther's Jahrb. d. gem. d. Rechts 2 (1858), 197 and in HvSybel's hist. Z. 1869, 234.

4. Const. IUST. de novo Codice faciendo of 13 Feb. 528: *Haec quae necessario corrigenda esse multis retro principibus visa sunt, . . . rebus donare publicis . . . censuimus et prolixitatem litium amputare multitudine quidem constitutionum quae tribus codicibus, Greg., Herm. atque Theod. continebantur, illarum etiam quae post eosdem codices a Theodosio . . . aliisque post eum retro principibus et a nostra etiam clementia positae sunt, resecanda, uno autem codice sub felici nostri nominis vocabulo componendo, in quem colligi tam memoratorum trium codicum quam novellas post eos positas constitutiones oportet.* (1) *ideoque ad hoc . . . opus efficiendum elegimus . . . Ioannem, . . . Leontium, . . . Phocam, . . . Basilidem, . . . Thomam, . . . Tribonianum, v. magnif., magisteria dignitate inter agentes decoratum, Constantinum, . . . Theophilum, v. cl., comitem sacri nostri consistorii et iuris in hac alma urbe doctorem, Dioscorum et Praesentinum, disertissimos togatos fori ampl. praetoriani.* (2) *quibus specialiter permisimus, resecatis tam supervacuis . . . praefationibus quam similibus et contrariis, . . . illis etiam quae in desuetudinem abierunt, certas et brevi sermone conscriptas . . . leges componere et congruis titulis subdere, adicientes quidem et detrahentes, immo et mutantes verba earum, ubi hoc rei commoditas exigeret, colligentes vero in unam sanctionem quae variis constitutionibus dispersa sunt, . . . ita tamen ut ordo temporum earum constitutionum non solum ex adiectis diebus consulibusque sed etiam ex ipsa compositione earum clarescat.* On 7 April 529 the finished work was sent to the praef. praet. Menna at Constantinople (accompanied by the constitutio *Summa reip. tuitio*), with the injunction that after 16 April 529 *recitationes constitutionum ex eodem nostro codice fiant.*—PKRÜGER, die Zeitfolge der in just. Codex erhaltenen Constitutionen Justinian's, Z. f. Rechtsgesch. 11, 166.—On the Greek versions of the cod. Iust. see ZACHARIÄ, ZfRG. 10, 48. 21, 1.

5. Numerous new decrees having been promulgated down to the time when the Digest and the Institutiones were completed (especially 50 decisions of controversies, Decisiones), which then *extra corpus eiusdem codicis divagabantur*, a new edition of the codex was undertaken (codex repetitae praelectionis), *per Tribonianum v. exc., magistrum, ex. quaest. et ex cons., legitimi operis nostri ministrum, nec non v. magnif., quaest. et Beryti legum doctorem Dorotheum, Mennam insuper et Constantinum et Ioannem, viros eloquentissimos, togatos fori amplissimae sedis.* They were invested with extensive powers to introduce corrections. This improved cod. Iust. was promulgated by the constitutio (of 16 Nov. 534) *Cordi nobis*, and became law from 29 Dec. 534, to the exclusion of all other constitutions and even of the first cod. Iust. (n. 4), which has, therefore, entirely perished. The new cod. Iust. is divided into 12 books, and these again into 765 titles. The latter contain in

chronological order the (about 4650) constitutions and rescripts. The earliest constitution is by Hadrian, the latest of 4 Nov. 534; the greater number are by Diocletian and Maximian (1222), Alexander Severus (447) and Justinian (402). Subsequent to a. 438 (therefore after cod. Theod.) no law by a West-Roman Emperor is given in the cod. Iust. See a chronological list of them in WIELING, iurispr. restituta 2, 3, which is supplemented by GHÄNEL's Corpus legum ab imperatoribus romanis ante Iustinianum latarum quae extra Constitutionum codices supersunt, Lps. 1857 (fasc. II contains copious indices to the collections of Theodosius and Justinian). The constitutions of the time preceding Constantine are excellently written, those after Constantine are in the bombastic Byzantine manner. The ecclesiastical law heads the list, but in general the arrangement of the Digest and therefore that of the Edict is observed.

6. Decree to examine and arrange the ius vetus (*de vetere iure enucleando, de conceptione digestorum*) of 15 Dec. 530 (*Deo auctore*) in the cod. Iust. 1, 17 (*Triboniano quaestori*), 1, 3 *tibi primo et hoc opus commisimus, ingenii tui documentis ex nostri codicis ordinatione acceptis, et iussimus quos probaveris tam ex facundissimis antecessoribus* (professors of law) *quam ex viris disertissimis togatis fori ampl. sedis* (practical lawyers) *ad sociandum laborem eligere.* (4) *iubemus igitur vobis antiquorum prudentium quibus auctoritatem conscribendarum interpretandarumque legum sacratissimi principes praebuerunt libros ad ius rom. pertinentes et legere et elimare, ut ex his omnis materia colligatur, nulla . . . neque similitudine neque discordia derelicta. . . .* (5) *cumque haec materia . . . collecta fuerit, oportet . . . in libros L et certos titulos totum ius digerere, tam secundum nostri constitutionem codicis quam edicti perpetui imitationem. . . .* (10) *si quae leges in veteribus libris positae iam in desuetudinem abierunt nullo modo vobis easdem ponere permittimus. . . .* (12) *nostram autem consummationem, quae a vobis . . . componetur, Digestorum vel Pandectarum nomen habere sancimus, nullis iuris peritis in posterum audentibus commentarios illis applicare* etc. The work, when finished, was promulgated in the const. (of 16 Dec. 523) *Tanta circa nos* (Cod. Iust. 1, 17, 2 [=Δέδωκεν in the prooem. of the Dig.] 1), where it is stated *duo paene milia librorum esse conscripta et plus quam trecenties decem milia versuum a veteribus effusa*, which the Commission abridged in *CL paene milia versuum.* The subject-matter was arranged in the 50 bb. predetermined by the Emperor: *et in VII partes eos digessimus non perperam nec sine ratione, sed in numerorum naturam et artem respicientes et consentaneam eis divisionem partium facientes:* here therefore there is the same play upon numbers as in Cassiodorus (§ 483, 13) and Fulgentius (§ 480, 3); FHOFMANN, Z. f. Rechtsgesch. 11, 310. 12, 180. Legal power attached to this collection from 30 Dec. 533 (ib. 22). A list of the members of the Commission ib. 9: Tribonianus (*mag., ex quaest. et ex cons., qui similiter eloquentiae et legitimae scientiae artibus . . . emicuit*), Constantinus (*comes sacr. larg.* etc.), Theophilus (*vir ill., magister iurisque peritus* at Constantinople), Dorotheus (*vir ill. et facundissimus quaestorius*, lawyer of Berytus), Anatolius (also *apud Berytienses iuris interpres*, of an old family of jurists; ECFERRINI, anecdd. Laurent. et Vatic.: cod. Iustin. summae ab Anatolio confectae, Mil. 1884), Cratinus (*comes sacr. larg.* and *antecessor* at Constantinople), together with 11 advocates of the praefectura orientis (Stephanus, Menna etc.). The collaborators were divided into three groups, each of which excerpted in a fixed order the juridical works apportioned to it; the order of the excerpts resulting from this system was generally retained in the titles when they were scheduled. The materials revised by these three groups are called, after the works with the abridgment of which they severally began, the 'Sabinus corpus' (on account of the excerpts from Ulpian, Pomponius,

Paulus ad Sabinum which they give first), the 'Edict corpus' (from the excerpts from Ulpian, Paulus, Gaius ad edictum which begin here), and the 'Papinian corpus,' commencing with the excerpts from Papinian's quaestt., resp., defin.). To these are added a short supplementary corpus (appendix) derived from works only subsequently added. Cf. FBluhme, ZfgeschRechtsw. 4 (1818), 257 and the notices before each title in Mommsen's ed. and the summary ib. p. 874 ed. min. PKrüger, die Zusammensetzung des Pandektenwerks, ZfRechtsgesch. 20, 3. The text of the excerpts was abridged, enlarged or altered as was required for the purpose of inserting them under the titles. These alterations are frequently noticeable both from the point of view of subject-matter and diction. FEisele, Interpolationen in den Digg. und im Cod., ZfRG. 20, 15. 23, 296. OGradenwitz, ib. 20, 45 and Interpolationen in den Pandekten, Berlin 1887.

7. A list of the (38) iuris auctores excerpted with statements of the title and number of the books is given (with a variety of mistakes) in the cod. Flor. (n. 11), and hence generally called index Florentinus; it is printed in most editions of the Dig. (at the beginning). The excerpts of the Pandects arranged according to the authors and works: CFHommel's palingenesia librorum iuris veterum, Lps. 1767 sq. III. OLenel's palingenesia iuris civilis; ICtorum rell. quae Iust. dig. continentur ceteraque iuris prudentiae civilis fragmenta minora, Lps. 1887–89 II. The Commission used, without much critical discrimination, all the ancient sources of law accessible to them, separated the component parts and cleverly united them again to form a new structure. This official work was, at all events, much more complete and trustworthy than previous works undertaken by private individuals, e.g. the fragmenta vaticana (§ 404, 2). FBluhme, d. Ordnung der Fragmente in den Pandekten, Z. f. gesch. Rechtswiss. 4, 257. Cf. Rudorff l.l. 303. ThMommsen's ed. of the Dig., Addit. p. 50*, and the index librorum ex quibus digesta compilata sunt ib. p. 59* (in the smaller edition p. 874. 879).

8. Const. *Tanta* (see n. 6) 11 *cum prospeximus quod ad portandam tantae sapientiae molem non sunt idonei homines rudes, . . . ideo Triboniano, viro exc., qui ad totius operis gubernationem electus est, nec non Theophilo et Dorotheo, viris ill. et facundissimis antecessoribus, accersitis mandavimus quatenus libris . . . qui prima legum argumenta continebant et Institutiones vocabantur separatim collectis quidquid ex his utile . . . sit . . . capere studeant et IV libris reponere et totius eruditionis prima fundamenta atque elementa ponere, quibus iuvenes suffulti graviora . . . legum scita sustentare. . . .* (12) *omni igitur rom. iuris dispositione composita et in tribus voluminibus, i.e. Institutionum et Digestorum s. Pandectarum nec non Constitutionum* (=Codicis) *perfecta et in tribus annis consummata* etc. From the const. (of 21 Nov. 533) *Imperatoriam* (before the Inst.) 4: *post libros L Digestorum s. Pandectarum . . . in hos IV libros easdem Institutiones partiri iussimus, ut sint totius legitimae scientiae prima elementa.* (6) *quas ex omnibus antiquorum Institutionibus et praecipue ex commentariis Gai nostri . . . aliisque multis commentariis compositas . . . cognovimus.* Tribonianus probably had only the supervision and Theophilus and Dorotheus each revised two successive books; this is rendered very probable by points of linguistic dissimilarity between the two groups. Huschke, pref. to his ed. of Just. p. v. EGrupe, de Iust. institt. compositione, Strassb. 1884 (Diss. Argentor. 9, 51); in the comm. in hon. Studemundi 173. KMeinhold, animadvv. in Iust. institutt., Diedenhofen 1887. —Institutionum graeca paraphrasis Theophilo (above l. 3) vulgo tributa, rec. ECFerrini, Berl. 1884/85 II and the same author in the archiv. giuridico 37 (1886), 367. HBrokate, de Theophilinae quae fertur Iustin. institutionum graecae paraphraseos compositione, Strassb. 1886.

9. The extinction of independent jurisprudence, which was likewise intentionally suppressed by Justinian, and the inconsistency between Roman (Western) law and the actual state of the Byzantine-Greek Empire, caused a constant need for new Imperial edicts: *νεαραὶ διατάξεις μετὰ τὸν κώδικα*, novellae constitutiones, briefly *Νεαραί*, Novellae. The projected official collection of these subsequent constitutions was not carried out; but there are various private collections of them extant. The earliest consists of 124 (122) Novellae of a. 535–555 and bears in MSS. s. X (not the earliest) the title: *Constitutiones novellae Iustiniani de graeco in latinum translatae per Iulianum, virum eloquentissimum, antecessorem civitatis Cpolitanae*, hence briefly Epitome Iuliani. This work perpetuated during the early Middle Ages in Italy the knowledge of Justinian law, being employed as a textbook in the schools of law before the rise of Bologna (HÄNEL l.l. p. XXXIII). Iuliani epitome latina novellarum Iustiniani . . . recogn., prolegg. adnot. addendis inst. GHAENEL, Lps. 1873. The second collection, consisting of 168 Novellae in Greek (principal MS. Ven. 179 s. XIII) of about a. 580, is more complete. A third consists of 134 Novellae (the Latin in the original, the Greek in a Latin translation) and was styled during the Middle Ages (in contrast to the Epitome Iuliani) Authenticum (or liber authenticorum), now versio vulgata (Authenticum, novellarum const. Iust. versio vulg. . . . rec. prolegg. etc. instruxit GEHEIMBACH, Lps. 1846–1851). For other edd. see n. 12. Cf. also ZACHARIAE intr. to his ed. and Berl. SBer. 1882, 993; ZfRG. 23, 252. In gen. cf. FABIENER, Gesch. der Novellen Justinian's, Berl. 1824.

10. Justinian allowed only verbal translations (*ἑρμηνεῖαι κατὰ πόδα*) and paraphrases (*ἑρμηνεῖαι εἰς πλάτος*) of his legal Collection, as well as references to other titles and passages (indices and *παράτιτλα*), while he forbade commentaries (*ὑπομνήματα*). But the studies of the legal schools both in the East and West (Rome, Ravenna, Pavia) were of themselves confined within these limits. To the Western Empire belong the earliest versions of, and works founded on the Justinian code, with which and its continuations the so-called glossators were connected: glosses and scholia on Julian and the Collatio leg.: the dictatum de consiliariis and the collectio de tutoribus, the legal collections of the Agrimensores, and the Turin glosses on the Institutiones [saec. VI]; also summaries of the cod. Theod. PKRÜGER, die Turiner Institutionenglosse, ZfRGesch. 7, 44. HFITTING, die sogen. Turiner Institutionenglosse und der sog. Brachylogus, Halle 1870 (cf. lit. Centr.-Bl. 1871, 153); Heimat und Alter des Brachylogus, 1880; Glosse zu den exceptiones legum des Petrus, Halle 1874; z. Gesch. d. Reichtswissensch. am Anf. des MAlters (an address), Halle 1875; juristische Schrr. des früheren MAlters aus Hss. meist znm erstenmal hrsgg., Halle 1876 (cf. on this RSTINTZING, Jen. LZ. 1876, 711. MOMMSEN, ZfRGesch. 13, 196); die Anfänge der Rechtsschule v. Bologna, Berl. 1888; ZfRG. 10, 317. 18, 256. AFICKER, Zeit u. Ort der Entstehung des Brachyl. iuris civilis, Wiener SBer. 67, 581. MCONRAT (COHN), die epitome exactis regibus, Berl. 1884 (compare FITTING, ZfRGesch. 19, 94). The most important mediaeval school of glossators is that of Bologna (c. a. 1075). v. SAVIGNY, Gesch. d. röm. Rechts im MAlter, Heidelb. 1815–1831 VI.

11. There is no MS. containing the whole of Justinian's corpus iuris civilis. Most reproductions have been made of the shortest work, the Institutiones, of which the most important MSS. (in addition to a fragment of palimpsest at Verona) are Bamberg. s. IX/X, Taurin. s. IX/X; of importance for criticism are also the Greek translation of Theophilus (n. 8 ad fin.), and excerpts of the Paris. 12448 s. X in a 'lex Romana canonice compta'; see PKRÜGER's praef.—The chief MS. of the

Pandects is the famous codex florentinus (littera florentina, previous to a. 1406 at Pisa) s. VI–VII, last collated for Mommsen's edition (specimens of the writing in Mommsen's ed. mai., also in Zangemeister-Wattenbach's exempla codd. latt. t. 39. 54). FBuonamici, ricerche sul celebre MS. Pisano, in d. studi giuridici . . . all' univ. di Bol. 1888, 11. Next, unimportant fragments s. VI/VII at Naples (b. 10) and Pommersfelden (b. 35); then for b. 1 a Berol. s. IX. The gaps in the flor. are supplemented by the numerous vulgate MSS. (saec. XI sqq.), which throughout divide the Digest into Digestum vetus (b. 1–24, 2), Infortiatum (b. 24, 3–b. 38) and Digestum novum (b. 39–b. 50). CFuchs, krit. Studien zum Pandektentexte, Lpz. 1867. Mommsen's Prolegg. to the ed. mai. Cf. ABrinz, Lehrb. d. Pandekten[2] 1 (Erlangen 1873), 9.—For the Codex the most important MS. is the Veron. 62 s. VI/VII, which at one time contained the complete codex Iust., but is unfortunately extant only in a fragmentary condition (see on it Codicis Iust. fragm. Veronensia ed. PKrüger, Berl. 1874). The remaining MSS. give respectively only one half of the work (either b. I–IX or b. X–XII), for the first half esp. Pistor. s. X/XI, Paris. 4516 s. XI, Casin. 49 s. XI/XII, the second Paris. 4537 s. XII, Oxon. Bodl. 3361 s. XIII. Krüger's prolegg. to the ed. mai. PKrüger, Kritik des just. Codex, Berl. 1867; and Indices constitutionum cod. Iust. ex libris Nomocanonis XIV, Marb. 1872 (Ind. lect.).

12. Editions e.g. by GHaloander, Nürnb. 1529–31 IV, DGothofredus (edition of the text, Geneva 1583; and with notes Lugd. 1590, lastly 1624 by JGothofredus; reprinted Amst. ap. Elzevir 1663), A. and MKriegel and others, especially the collective edition: Corpus iuris civilis, editio stereotypa ([4] 1886–88) I Institutiones recogn. PKrüger, Digesta recogn. ThMommsen, II Codex Iustinianus recogn. PKrüger, III Novellae recogn. RSchöll, Berl. 1869 sqq. Also the special editions (with complete critical apparatus): Iustiniani institutiones, recensuit PKrüger, Berlin 1867.—Iustiniani digesta, recognovit adsumpto in operis societatem PKrügero ThMommsen, Berl. 1866–70 II.—Codex Iustinianus recogn. P Krüger Berl. 1873–1877. A ms. ind. verbb. to this edition has been prepared (by OGradenwitz, BKübler, ESchulze) and deposited for use in the Imperial Library at Berlin (cf. vdLeyen, ZfGR. 17, 125). This index is intended to form the basis of a dictionary of classical jurisprudence: see a specimen in the ZfRG. 21 and cf. reprint 22, 1. 198.—Other separate editions of the Institutiones e.g. by FHotoman (Bas.[2] 1569), JCujacius (Par. 1585 and subsequently), FABiener (Berl. 1812), ESchrader (Berl. 1832), PrEHuschke (Lps. 1868); JBMoyle, Lond.[2] 1890; of the Digest e.g. by L. and FTaurelli (ex florentinis pandectis repraesentati, Flor. ap. LTorrentini (553 III); of the Novellae by CEZachariae von Lingenthal (ordine chronologico, ad fid. cod. Ven., Lps. 1881; an appendix to this, Lps. 1884).

13. Cf. the recent text-books of the Institutiones and Pandects (esp. by EBocking 1, 58 together with the appendices p. *1–*22), Rudorff's Rechtsgesch. 1, 196. PKrüger, Quell. u. Lit. d. röm. Rechts 322 and other works.—HEDirksen, manuale latinitatis fontium iuris civilis Romanorum; thesauri latinitatis epitome, Berl. 1837. WKalb, das Juristenlatein, Versuch einer Charakteristik, Nürnb.[2] 1888.—HJRoby, an introduction to Iust. digest, Cambr. 1886.

489. A position midway between prose and poetry is held by the novel, which is represented by the fabulous account (belonging probably to this century) of king Apollonius of Tyre. It is a free version, in a Christian tone, of some Greek original

which may have been written at the earliest in the third century. It was much read during the Middle Ages.

1. WCHRIST, Münchn. SBer. 1872, 4 assigns the original to the period between Caracalla and Constantine, because in c. 34 there is mention of the pound of gold being coined into 50 aurei; see however ERohde, griech. Roman 423.

2. Date of the translation: after Symphosius (§ 449), whose enigmas are inserted c. 42 sqq., and before the treatise de dubiis nominibus (s. VII, see § 495, 7), in which (GL. 5, 579) the novel is quoted without any name being given: *in Apollonio* (p. 16, 21 R.) '*gymnasium patet.*' VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS carm. 6, 8, 5 alludes to the story: *tristius erro nimis patriis vagus exul ab oris quam sit Apollonius naufragus hospes aquis*, cf. HAUPT's op. 3, 13. About the year 747 we find mentioned in the abbey of Fontenelle (diocese of Rouen) an *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri in codice uno* (GBECKER, catal. biblioth. antiqui no. 1, 17). Hence the translation dates at latest from the beginning of s. VI, and this is borne out by the latinity (n. 3) and particularly the use of the word *dos* (c. 1 and 19) in a sense opposed to the specifically Latin meaning but peculiar to the Germanic period (=pretium puellae, Muntschatz); TEUFFEL (n. 7) 586 (see however against this WMEYER ed. Porphyr. p. 373 and Münch. SBer. 1872). Side by side with this Bern. 203 (see n. 4) has *dos* in the Roman sense c. 23 (*numeratur dos amplissima*).

3. The subject-matter and its treatment bear the greatest similarity to the erotic novels of the Greek sophists, especially Xenophon of Ephesus. The characters are but faintly delineated, the description is monotonous and colourless, and the style was originally laboured and affected. The local colouring of the fables, the names etc. point to a Greek original by a Pagan author, whose work is still clearly discernible under the Latin version, although the latter has dealt very freely with its model. The Latin translator has conformed to the taste of the period and has christianised (TEUFFEL, Studd. $^{2}$585), barbarised, enlarged (ROHDE l.l. 417) and probably also (especially towards the close) abridged his original. Particularly in diction and style he takes his own line; the tone of his narrative is brought down to the popular level, while the language is strongly interlarded with ecclesiastical Latin (from the Vulgate) and with popular Latin, and is decidedly suggestive of the Romance Latin. Cf. § 487, 2. A collation of the late-Latin ingredients in RIESE p. XIII and especially PHTHIELMANN, Sprache u. Kritik des lat. Apolloniusromans, Speier 1881 (compare JFÜRTNER, BlfbayrGW. 17, 339).—EKLEBS, Phil. 47, 80 contends that the work is not a translation from a Greek original, but a version (partly abridged, partly christianised) of a Pagan Latin work of the third century.

4. The text of Ap.'s narrative was very freely handled (cf. § 399, 3 l. 5). A short version in the Laur. 65, 35 s. X (in the gesta Roman. c. 153 and in GOTTFR. v. VITERBO's Pantheon b. 11). The numerous manuscripts (about 100) exhibit the greatest variety. Up to the present three principal classes (recensions) have been established: the first and best is represented by the much mutilated Laur. 66, 40 s. IX-X (specimen of the writing in VITELLI and PAOLI, collez. flor. paléogr., Flor. 1884, Lat. tav. 3), the Paris. 4955 s. IX (see MRING n. 5) and by a fragm. Werdinense in Budapest containing p. 36, 8–65, 14 R.; the second chiefly by 9½ leaves from Tegernsee at Munich, a Leid. Voss. s. IX/X, Vatic. 1869 and others, a recension parallel with the first; the third is best given in the Sloanianus (γ) s. XI and Vindob. 510 s. XIII, also Bern. 203 s. XIII (HHAGEN, Phil. Anz. 1871,

539). Cf. Meyer l.l. 11 and Teuffel, RhM. 27, 106. Riese p. III and RhM. 27, 624. On cod. Minervae A. 1. 21 s. XIII and Vatic. Reg. 905 s. XIII see ORiemann, rev. de phil. 7, 97.

5. Editio princeps s. l. et a. about 1471, then by MVelser (Augsb. 1595; opera 1682, p. 681), JLapaume (scriptt. erotici ed. Didot, Par. 1856, p. 611), and esp. ARiese (rec. et praefatus est, Lps. 1871). Then by MRing (e cod. Par. 4955 [n. 4, l. 7] ed. et comm. crit. instr., Pressb. 1888, and on this ARiese, BerlphWschr. 1888, 561).

6. Numerous versions and translations, of which we mention a few only. German: Middle-German prose translation in a twofold version in GSchröder, Griseldis; Apollonius v. Tyrus aus Hss. hrsgg., Lpz. 1872. The poetical version (over 20,000 lines!) of Heinrich von der Neuenstadt (c. a. 1300) edited by JStrobl, Vienna 1875; HSteinhöwel's translation (after the section contained in the Pantheon of Gottfried v. Viterbo [n. 4 l. 3], which was composed c. a. 1185) appeared at Augsb. 1471.—An Anglo-Saxon translation (of cent. 9–10) ed. BThorpe, Lond. 1834 (cf. WMeyer l.l. 17). An old-English rhymed version (also after Gottfried's Pantheon) of the end of the 14th century in John Gower's confessio amantis 3, 284 Pauli. Cf. JZupitza in Roman. Forsch. 3, 269. In Shakespeare's Pericles prince of Tyre (KSimrock, Quellen des Shakesp. 2, 163).—Old French: printed at Geneva (1482); cf. also esp. KHofmann, Münchn. SBer. 1871, 415.—An abstract in verse in the carm. Burana no. CXLVIII; in 792 leonine hexameters, with Vergilian reminiscences, gesta A. regis Tyrii e cod. Gandensi (s. XI) ed. EDümmler, Halle 1877. In spite of the numerous Greek words which occur, a Greek model is not to be supposed (CBursian, JB. 1877 3, 56).—A middle-Greek version (from the Lat. text) in 852 political verses in WWagner's Mediaeval Greek texts (Lond. 1870) 1, 63 (*Διήγησις πολυπαθοῦς Ἀπολλωνίου τ.* T.), cf. p. 57. 102 and (CGidel, étude sur Ap. de T.) 91. LeGrand, bibliogr. Hellen. 219. 289. Also Ad'Ancona, la rappresentazione di S. Uliva, Pisa 1863. Grässe, allg. Lit.-Gesch. 4, 457 etc. etc.

7. MHaupt, d. Erzählung von Ap. v. Tyr. op. 3, 4. Teuffel, Studd. u. Charakterist. $^{2}$585 and RhM. 27, 106. ARiese, RhM. 26, 638. 27, 625. WHartel, östr. Wochenschr. f. Kunst u. Wiss. 1872, 161. ERohde, gr. Rom. (Lpz. 1876) 408. HHagen, K. Ap. v. Tyr. in his versch. Bearbeitungen, Berl. 1878. WMeyer, d. lat. Text des Ap. v. T., Münch. SBer. 1872, 3. EBährens, JJ. 103, 856. CBürger, de Lucio Patrensi (Berl. 1887) 60. PhThielmann l.l. 48.

490. About the middle of this century the Etruscan Maximianus composed poems in the spirit of ancient elegy, full of life and sensuous feeling, eloquent, but borrowing largely from the classical poetry, frequently artificial and exaggerated, and not always free from mistakes. The main theme consists of retrospective views of the poet's youth, and laments for its loss.

1. Personal circumstances. M. makes an observer of human nature say of himself (4, 26): *cantat,—cantantem Maximianus amat.* 5, 5 *me etruscae gentis alumnum* (cf. 5, 40 *tusca simplicitate senem*). He spent his youth at Rome (1, 63. 37). *dum iuvenile decus . . . manebat orator toto clarus in orbe fui. saepe poetarum mendacia dulcia finxi, . . . saepe perorata percepi lite coronam* (1, 9–13). Subse-

quently he was perhaps a schoolmaster. Cf. 1, 283 *pueri . . . irrident gressus et tremulum quondam quod timuere caput.* Slaves would still have to fear this. In later years *missus ad eoas legati munere partes* to conclude a peace (5, 2). The philosopher Boethius (*magnarum scrutator maxime rerum, . . . Boethi* 3, 47), who is referred to as his older friend, is in all probability the one known to us (§ 478), but it is more doubtful whether the Max. to whom is addressed Cassiod. var. 1, 21 (*Theodericus rex Maximiano viro illustri* etc., cf. ib. 4, 22 *Max. vir. ill.*) is our poet. On the other hand the view advanced by Wernsdorf l.l. 6, 1, 221. 223, that Maximian was a member of the embassy (above l. 3) sent to Anastasius a. 498, is untenable. Maximian, as a younger friend of Boethius (born c. a. 480), was at the time too young for such a mission. FVogel, RhM. 41, 158.

2. The six elegies appear all to be the productions of the latter years of the poet. The first draws a contrast between his life 'then' and 'now.' The second turns on the formosa Lycoris, who disdains the elderly poet. The third tells of Aquilina, a chaste youthful love (in this Vogel l.l. wrongly supposes M. to have made use of Boethius de consol. philos.); the fourth a similar passion for Candida, a dancer and singer. The fifth describes an erotic adventure with a coquettish Greek girl during the embassy above mentioned; here the grey-haired diplomat is worsted and gives the hetaera occasion for a pathetic and metaphysical speech on the mentula (*non fleo privatum, sed generale chaos* 5, 112). The sixth is merely an epilogue in six distichs. The author was a Christian, but in his poems he poses as a Pagan. He is well versed in ancient mythology, and even more so in Vergil, Catullus and the elegiac and lyric poets of the Augustan period. He endeavours to reproduce faithfully the essential features of ancient elegy, and among these he evidently reckons a tinge of obscenity (el. 5), as well as individual character and rhetoric. Cf. § 476, 3. 479, 6. Strongly realistic descriptions 1, 253. 2, 11. 5, 27. The verse-construction also aims, in the main successfully, at classical strictness; deviations from this are the synaloephae in the principal caesura (1, 77. 283. 5, 99. 153), *mortis* scanned as a spondee (1, 208), *ergo* as a trochee (6, 9), and in particular mistakes in the prosody of Greek words (*Socrātes* 1, 48; *pĕdagogus* 2, 17; *sīrĕniis* 5, 19), in accordance with the general custom of the time. A quotation (from 2, 55. 5, 27) is given in Anselmus peripat. p. 29 Dümmler.—In gen. cf. MManitius, RhM. 44, 540.

3. Manuscripts: Etonensis fol. 6. 5 s. XI, Vatic. Regin. 1424 s. XI, Riccard. 1224 s. XII and others. Bährens l.l.—The first editor, Pomponius Gauricus (Ven. 1501) suppressed at 4, 26 the name Maximianus, in order not to prejudice his assertion that Cornelius Gallus (§ 232) was the author of the work. Editions also by ThPulmannus (Antw. 1569), PPithoeus (epigr. et poem. vett. p. 423), Wernsdorf (PLM. 6, 1, 269, cf. ib. 207 and 229. 260, also 3, 125), Bährens (PLM. 5, 316) and MPetschenig (ad fid. cod. Eton.), Berl. 1890.—REllis, Amer. journ. of phil. 5 (1884), no. 145.

491. Among the Christians, metrical composition was practised likewise about the middle of this century by the younger friend of Ennodius, the quasi-rhetorician Arator, who versified the contents of the Acts of the Apostles in two books. To the same period may belong the very diffuse metrical version of the Old Testament, with its slovenly versification and language,

which has been transmitted under the name of Cyprianus; this must be supposed to denote, not the famous patristic writer (§ 382; cf. § 21, 2), but a later namesake. With greater facility, but less accuracy than Arator, Venantius Fortunatus wrote his poems a few decades later on (c. 535–600). He was an Italian, who found a new home in the kingdom of the Franks and in course of time became presbyter at Poitiers. Fortunatus evinced his metrical skill both in a rapidly written epic poem in four books on Martinus, the patron Saint of Tours, and in many other poems addressed in courtly fashion to royal persons, bishops, and dignitaries of the Empire. The latter poems form a collection in eleven books of very varied contents. He also wrote lives of Saints in prose. Contemporaneously with Arator the African bishop Verecundus wrote barbaric verse after the manner of Commodianus.

1. Cassiod. var. 8, 12 (*Aratori Athalaricus rex*): *primaevus venisti ad honores. advocationis te campus exercuit. . . . intra te fuit quamvis ampla professio litterarum. . . . auspicatus es militem. . . . iuvat repetere pomposam legationem* (de partibus Dalmatiarum to Theoderic, c. 525), *quam . . . torrenti eloquentiae flumine peregisti. . . . genitoris facundia et moribus adiuvaris, cuius te eloquium instruere potuit, etiam si libris non vacasses. erat enim . . . egregie litteris eruditus. . . . ibi te tulliana lectio disertum reddidit ubi quondam gallica lingua resonavit. . . . mittit et Liguria Tullios suos. . . . te comitivae domesticorum illustratum honore decoramus.* Ennod. carm. 2, 105 (*in natalem infantis Aratoris*). 115–116 (*de flagello inf. Ar.*). Laurentius, bishop of Milan (dict. 9, 18), took the place of a father to Aratus, who was orphaned at an early age. dict. 9 (*praefatio quando Arator auditorium* [of Deuterius, vid. inf.] *ingressus est*). dict. 12 (*dictio data Aratori quando ad laudem provectus est*). dict. 18 (*in tyrannum qui parricidae statuam* etc. *data Aratori v. c.*). To him is also addressed Ennod. epp. 8, 4. 8, 11. 9, 1 (in the last letter Arator receives the advice *post Musarum castra et inanes aetate nostra cantilenas ad curam te serendae subolis muta*). A manuscript from Rheims (cf. n. 2 l. 6): *oblatus hic codex ab Aratore illustri ex comite domesticorum, ex comite privatarum, viro religioso subdiacono s. ecclesiae romanae* etc. He had studied at Milan (under Deuterius) and Ravenna (ep. ad Parthen. 35 sqq.); he assumed the tonsure at Rome c. 540 (cf. ep. ad Parth. 70).

2. The Epos de actibus apostolorum (cf. Fortunati vit. Mart. 1, 22) is preceded by two dedications in elegiac metre to the learned Florianus (*prisca volumina linquens cede dies operi quod pia causa iuvat*) and to Pope Vigilius (a. 537–555): *versibus ergo canam quos Lucas rettulit actus historiamque sequens carmina vera loquar.* Subscription (cf. n. 1 l. 17 and JHuemer, Wiener Stud. 2, 79): *oblatus est huiusce modi codex ab Aratore subdiacono . . . papae Vigilio et susceptus ab eo die VIII id. Apr.* (a. 544) *in presbyterio. . . . quem cum ibidem legi mox pro aliqua parte fecisset, Surgentio . . . in scrinio dedit recte collocandum. cuius beatitudinem litterati et omnes doctissimi continuo rogaverunt ut eum iuberet publice recitari. quod cum fieri praecepisset in ecclesia b. Petri quae vocatur Ad vincula, . . . turba convenit atque eodem Aratore subdiac. recitante distinctis diebus*

*ambo libri quattuor vicibus sunt anditi, cum uno die medietas libri tantum modo legeretur propter repetitiones assiduas quas cum favore multiplici postulabant.* The work was sent *Parthenio mag. off. atque patricio* (in Gaul), the friend of his youth (at Ravenna) and son of the sister of Ennodius, with a dedication in elegiac metre, in which besides Claudian Martial is also used.—B. 1 (Petrus) contains 1076, b. 2 (Paulus) 1250 hexameters. The subject-matter is lost in the rhetorical treatment. Mystical and allegorical interpretation is found here even more than in Sedulius. The form is elegant apart from the irregularities of prosody, which have their excuse in the example of numerous predecessors (*ecclĕsiae, idŏla, Macēdo, Pharāo, affātim, spādo* and so forth). Early MSS. of his works are not rare (e.g. Vat. Pal. 1716 s. X/XI. Reg. 300 s. X/XI, see REIFFERSCHEID's bibl. patr. 1, 200. 314). Editions: in GFABRICIUS' corp. poett. chr. 569, esp. (cum obss.) by HJARNTZEN (Zutphan. 1769). Extracts from this in MIGNE 68, 45. Ed. AHÜBNER, Neisse 1850.—GLEIMBACH, d. Dichter A., Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1873, 225. EBERT, LdMA. 1², 514.

3. A metrical version of the Old Testament. A MS. of the monastery at Lorsch contained, according to the list s. X (GBECKER, catal. biblioth. antiq. p. 111 no. 463) *metrum Cypriani super heptateuchum et regum et Esther, Iudith et Macchabaeorum.* For a long time there were known of this work, which according to the above statement was a very voluminous one, only 165 hexameters on Genesis (last printed in HARTEL's Cyprian 3, 283; cf. above § 21, 2), which MARTÈNE (collectio vett. scriptt. 1724; Gallandi bibl. patr. 4, 587) subsequently enlarged by 1460 lines from a MS. formerly at Corbie (now Par. 13047 s. IX, previously SGerm. 841, LDELISLE, mss. de S. Germain, Par. 1868 p. 86; HOMONT, rev. de phil. 4, 67). At the conclusion (of *Iuvenci* [see below l. 24] *Historia. Genesis*): *Incipit Exodus*, which portion is however wanting in the above MS. Further portions have been published from three mss. (Cantabr. coll. Trin. B. I. 42 s. X and two from Laon 279. 273 s. IX, see their contents in PEIPER's Avitus p. LIII) by JBPITRA, spicil. Solesmense (Par. 1852) 1, 171 (cf. p. XXXV), viz. a) 54 additional hexameters on Genesis (cf. PITRA, anall. sacr. et class. p. XI); b) metrum in exodum, v. 55–1392 (1388); c d e) specimens from the version (complete in the MSS.) of Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy; the Song of Moses (Deuteron. 32) is written in phalaecic hendecasyllabics (p. 253 sqq. and further specimens anall. sacr. et class., 202); f) the Book of Joshua, 586 hex. With this was published by PITRA, anall. sacra et class., Par. 1888, 181 g) the Book of Judges, cap. 1–17 (the rest is wanting in the MSS.; see however PEIPER l.l. LV), 760 hex. Recent collective edition: The Latin Heptateuch, critically reviewed by JEBMAYOR, Cambr. 1889.—This metrical version of the O.T. is assigned to the most widely different authors (Tertullian, Cyprian, Juvencus, Sedulius, Avitus), without substantial evidence, even in the case of Juvencus, who often obtains the preference. For against his authorship, apart from other objections, there is the fact that the treatment of the subject-matter and still more the metre and character of the prosody exhibit important divergences, as compared with the hist. evang. The Old Testament history e.g. shows, in contrast with the comparative strictness of the New Test. history (§ 403, 5), numerous gross mistakes (shortening of the *ā* in the ablative, of the *ae* [*praebebit, Aegypti, praesentas, maerente, laetare, gloriae*], of the multiplicative *-es*, of the plural *-is*, lengthening of *ă* in the neuter plur., quantities such as *lăborum, lāticibus, sācellum, idōla, fūgax, nătus, ĕnormis, ĕrumpo, cāreo, transmēavere* etc. See also JTHATFIELD, Americ. journ. of phil. 11, 95.—This work bore in the Lorsch MS. the name of Cyprian (above l. 3) and bears the same in the Laudun. 279 (*liber geneseos metricus Cipriani*). Aldhelmus and Baeda quote

lines from it (cf. LMüller, RhM. 21, 123, 266. Peiper, intr. to his Avitus p. lxi). —Müller l.l. rightly assigns the poet to the fifth or sixth century and takes him to be a Gaul. As the name Cyprianus was common at that time, we may assume this, for which there is sound MS. evidence, to be the real name of the author. Peiper l.l. points to Cyprianus bishop of Toulon, who wrote the life (printed in Migne 67, 1001) of his master, bishop Caesarius (§ 469, 2). It remains a question whether the other poems current under the name of Cyprian, e.g. Sodoma, de Iona (§ 21, 2) belong to our author.—AEbert, Lit. d. MA. $1^2$, 118.—On reminiscences of Horace see MHertz, anall. ad hist. Hor. 4, 23.

4. While Arator was a native of the Western portion of Upper Italy, Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus (the poet frequently calls himself by the last of these names, and he is thus designated in the little book de dubiis nominibus and in Baeda) was a native of Treviso in the Eastern part of Upper Italy (vit. Martin. 4, 665 *mea Tarvisus. . . . per Cenetam gradiens et amicos Duplavenenses* [Paul Diac. hist. Langob. 2, 13 *Fortunatus natus in loco qui Duplabilis dicitur fuit*], *qua natale solum est mihi sanguine, sede parentum*). He studied grammar, rhetoric and jurisprudence (at Ravenna), v. Martin. 1, 26. He travelled from Ravenna over the Julian Alps through Austria and Southern Germany into Gaul (journey on the Moselle and the Rhine, carm. 10, 9. 3, 12. 3, 13) as far as the Pyrenees (carm. 1, praef. 4: inf. n. 7), thanks (according to his own account) to the miraculous agency of S. Martin of Tours (v. Martin. 1, 44), c. a. 565, under king Sigibert (10, 16, 2). At Tours Gregory (§ 486, 3 l. 3) was then bishop and took him under his protection (8, 19. 20. 21). Many of F.'s poems are addressed to him (carm. 5, 3–5. 8–19. 8, 11–21. 9, 6 sq. cf. 10, 5 sq. 12). He was generally a wanderer: he writes carm. 3, 26 from Britain; cf. 1, 17. At Poitiers he was fascinated by the pious enthusiast Radegunde, an elderly Thuringian princess, the widow of the Frankish king Clothaire I († 561); she had founded there a convent (according to the rule of S. Caesaria of Arles): 8, 1, 21 *Martinum cupiens voto Radegundis adhaesi;* cf. ib. 11 *Fortunatus ego . . . (Italiae genitum gallica rura tenent) Pictavis residens.* Many of his poems, some of them passionate in tone, have reference to her (8, 9, 6 *sine te nimium nocte premente gravor. . . . tempora subducis ceu non videaris amanti, cum vos dum cerno hoc mihi credo parum.* 11, 2, 5 *quamvis sit caelum nebula fugiente serenum, te celante mihi stat sine sole dies*). After her death (13 Aug. 587) F. wrote a biography of her (n. 5). To her (foster-) daughter Agnes, whom she had appointed abbess, are addressed ib. 11, 5 sqq. He protests (11, 6) that he loves Agnes *caelesti affectu, non crimine corporis ullo*, but his diction betrays the earthly quality of his feeling. Cf. EDümmler in the periodical Im neuen Reich 1871, 641. In Poitiers *primum presbyter, deinde episcopus ordinatus est atque in eodem loco digno tumulatus honore quiescit:* so Paul. diac. hist. Langob. 2, 13, who there honours him with a metrical epitaph, and he is called bishop both in the title of this epitaph in Peiper's Avitus p. 193 and also by the nun Baudonivia of Poitiers, who shortly after a. 600 added a second book to Venantius' life of Radegunde: *non ea quae vir apostolicus Fortunatus episcopus . . . composuit iteramus* (Krusch, introd. to Ven. Fort. p. xvii). In the poems he calls himself neither presbyter nor bishop, nor does he even mention his priestly calling (the passage adduced as referring to this occurs in a spurious poem, spur. append. 11, p. 386 Leo). Gregory of Tours also (hist. Franc. 5, 8; glor. confess. 94) calls him only *presbyter* and this is his designation in the MSS. of his poems (see n. 6. 7). Hence F. would appear to have been made bishop only after he completed his historical work, therefore 592 at earliest. Fortunatus is a drawing-room abbé, of an amiable, kindly and inflammable temperament. His

flexible genius makes him everywhere welcome in high circles, ecclesiastical and secular, and he is an adept at picking his way amid the venial hypocrisies of society; his sedulous avoiding of offence amounts to weakness, and he is master of the art of steering round the truth. His poems often indicate a somewhat parasitic kind of life (e.g. 3, 13[b]. 7, 14. 15. 10, 11. 11, 9 sqq.). Cf. DÜMMLER l.l. 655: while the 'Mother' (Radegunde) and 'Sister' (Agnes) observed the strictest fasts, they prepared for their votary, whose weak point (7, 14, 25 *sed non ego lassor edendo*) they recognised with quick feminine insight, the most dainty dishes, and even whole repasts (11, 9. 10). His Christianity is very zealous, but frequently looks rather business-like and interested. Often enough a thoroughly earthly spirit shows through his poems, as in the Epithalamium (6, 1), and at 8, 3, 205 feminine love towards Christ is depicted with coarsely sensuous colouring.— THBORMANN, das Leben des lat. Dichters Venantius etc., Fulda 1848. Hist. litt. de la France 3, 464. FHAMELIN, de vita et operibus Venantii Fort., Rennes 1873. AMPÈRE, hist. litt. de la France avant le XII[e] siècle 2, 275. EBERT, LdMA. 1², 518. WWATTENBACH, Deutschl. Geschichtsqu. 1⁵, 87. FLEO, deutsche Rundsch. 32 (1882), 414. CHNISARD, rev. hist. 37, 69; acad. des inscr. et bell. lettr. 19 Oct. 1888; 7 Feb. 1889. DLEROUX, le poète Ven. Fort., Par. 1887.

5. Prose works of F.: biographies of Saints, cf. GREGOR. TUR. praef. ad v. s. Mart.: *utinam Severus* (§ 441) *aut Paulinus* (§ 437) *viverent aut certe Fortunatus adesset, qui ista describerent.* vita s. Albini (bp. of Angers, mentioned by GREG. TUR. glor. confess. 94), s. Hilarii (bp. of Poitiers, § 418, 1) and liber de virtutibus s. Hilarii (mentioned without the name of the author by GREG. TUR. glor. confess. 2); vita s. Germani (bp. of Paris † a. 576; quoted by GREG. TUR. hist. Fr. 5, 8), s. Paterni (bp. of Avranches), s. Radegundis (n. 4 l. 17; on a second book concerning her see n. 4 l. 34), s. Marcelli (bp. of Paris, cf. FORT. carm. app. 22, 15. GREG. glor. conf. 87; recently published from Montepess. s. VIII amongst others in Act. SS. Nov. 1); Severinus, bp. of Bordeaux (GREG. TUR. de glor. conf. 45; not extant). Other works are assigned to him on insufficient evidence. Printed e.g. in MIGNE 88, 513 and esp. in KRUSCH (n. 11 in fin.). Cf. EBERT l.l. 1², 540. There are also many prose pieces in the carmina, especially letters to bishops, a commentary on the Lord's Prayer (10, 1) and the Apostle's Creed (11, 1, an excerpt from RUFIN. 21, 335 MIGNE). F.'s prose is generally involved, clumsy and inflated; only the legends (lives of the Saints), which were intended for public use, are comparatively simple in style. His works, together with those of Gregory of Tours, are the most instructive for the history of the time.

6. Opus Fortunati presbyteri de vita S. Martini liber I (–IV): thus the MSS. Dedication to Gregory: *cum iusseritis ut opus illud . . . quod de suis virtutibus explicuistis* (§ 486, 6 l. 5) *versibus debeat digeri, id agite ut ipsum mihi relatum iubeatis transmitti. nam . . . quod de vita eius vir disertus, domnus Sulpicius* (§ 441, 4), *sub uno libello prosa descripsit et reliquum quod dialogi more subnectit, primum quidem opus a me duobus libellis et dialogus subsequens aliis duobus libellis complexus est, ita ut brevissime . . . in IV libellis totum illud opus versu inter hoc bimenstre spatium, inter frivulas occupationes sulcarem.* Cf. 3, 10 *cum duce Sulpicio, bene cuius ab ore venusto Martini sacros dulcis stilus edidit actus.* GREGOR. v. Mart. 1, 2 *sed et Fortunatus presbyter omne opus vitae eius* (Mart.) *in IV libris versu conscripsit.* But he does not mention his predecessor Paulinus (§ 474, 3; MMANITIUS, Zfög. 37, 250, 230), although he has made use of him. The extensive work (513 + 490 + 528 + 712 = 2243 hexameters) sufficiently betrays the haste with which it was executed: the design is slovenly (cf. 1, 45 sqq. 50 sqq. 56 sqq.), the subject-

matter is mechanically borrowed from Sulpicius, the style is diffuse and commonplace, with many empty puns (e.g. 1, 19 *prudens prudenter Prudentius immolat actus;* perhaps an allusion to the words of his patron Gregory, de curs. eccl. p. 869, 17 Kr.: *Prudentius cum de . . . stella prudenter dissereret;* 1, 99 *ne timeam timidum, timor est deus arma timentum*). The work was composed before 576, as at the time when it was concluded (4, 636) Germanus was still bishop of Paris (cf. Greg. Tur. 5, 8). Ebert, LdMA. $1^2$, 536.

7. A considerable historical and topographical value attaches to the eleven volumes of poetry, of varied contents, most of them occasional pieces. They are called carmina or miscellanea; the MSS. give them no collective title but only the heading *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati presbyteri Italici liber I* etc. From the affectedly modest preface to Gregory: *quia viritim flagitas ut quaedam ex opusculis imperitiae meae tibi transferenda* (to have them copied) *proferrem, mugarum mearum admiror te amore seduci, . . . praesertim quod ego imperitus de Ravenna progrediens Padum . . . Tiliamentumque tranans, per Alpem Iuliam . . . Dravum Norico, Oenum Breonis, Liccam Baiuvaria, Danuuium Alamannia, Rhenum Germania transiens ac post Mosellam, Mosam, Axonam et Sequanam, Ligerem et Garonnam . . . transmittens, Pyrenaeis occurrens . . . paene aut equitando aut dormitando conscripserim.* Only 1, 1. 2 relate to Italy; all the other poems seem to have been written in Gaul. The arrangement is partly chronological, partly according to the subjects (with special reference to the rank of the persons addressed). The bishop Leontius, who is addressed as living 1, 15, is the subject of an epitaph 4, 10; in b. 6 Charibert († 567) and Sigibert († 575) are kings (6, 1 treats of the marriage of Sigibert and Brunhild a. 566); but in b. 9 Chilperic (I, † 584) and in b. 10 Childebert (II, born 570), Sigibert's son and successor (a. 575–596). 7, 9, 7 F. has been away from his home for nine years; 9, 7, 50 he mentions poems written by him 20 years previously. Books 1–3 treat chiefly of ecclesiastical matters (buildings etc.) and persons; b. 4 contains epitaphs on bishops, on ecclesiastics, then on laymen, last on ladies; b. 5 is addressed to bishops, especially St. Martin and Gregory; b. 6 to kings, queens and princesses; b. 7 to high court and state officials (Gogo, Bodegisil, Lupus, Mummolenus, Sigismund and others); b. 8 contains compositions of a Christian character, and poems addressed to Radegunde and Gregory; b. 9 to Chilperic and Fredegunde and their children, to Gregory and several bishops and other ecclesiastics; b. 10 to Childebert and Brunhild, Sigoald and others; b. 11 a poetical correspondence with Radegunde. The collection seems to have originally terminated with b. 8, b. 9–11 being subsequent additions.

8. By far the larger portion of the poems are in elegiac metre; in epic metre only 2, 4. 5, 5, 6 (these three poems are trifles in the manner of Porphyrius, § 403). 5, 7. 6, 1 (an epithalamium). 7 is composed at Gregorius' request, in sapphics, of the strict Horatian type. An elegy in the shape of a serpent (ophites, serpentinus, echoicus; cf. § 26, 4) 3, 30; similarly append. 19. Several poems treat quite in the manner of elegies of personal experiences, adventures (6, 8. 7, 14), travels (10, 9. 11, 25 sq.) and so forth; the touching elegy de excidio Thoringiae (*ex persona Radegundis*, append. 1) may also be ascribed to this class, likewise 6, 5 (on the murder of Gelesuintha) and 2, 16 (on the death of Medardus). Ebert l.l. $1^2$, 527. Others again are versified letters (in recommendation of himself and of others). There are numerous instances of laudatory poems addressed to living persons, especially bishops (Leontius, Felix, Gregorius). There are inscriptions for churches and vases; and epigrams as short occasional pieces. Cf. Ebert l.l. $1^2$, 527.

9. Paul. diac. hist. Langob. 2, 13 mentions as works by Fort. *hymnos singularum festivitatum* (Johann v. Trittenheim, catal. script. eccl. p. 243 ed. a. 1601 even *hymnorum septuaginta septem lib. I*). Among the carmina only three hymns are extant, and of these two (1, 16 *Agnoscat omne saeculum*, 2, 6 *Vexilla regis prodeunt*) are in four-line strophes composed of dim. iamb. acat. The first is a so-called hymnus abecedarius (§ 440, 8), both are rhymed almost throughout, the Romance clipping of the endings being frequently employed, but without any fixed rule as to sequence or alternation of the rhymes. 2, 2 *Pange lingua gloriosi* has three-line strophes of tetr. troch. cat. The last hymn is wrongly attributed to Claudianus Mamertus (§ 468, 3 and 5), as 1, 16 is to Amoenus (§ 474, 2).—There are also extant separately in hymnologies and elsewhere 7 hymns, which are according to a tradition of more or less value attributed to Fort., but which in their substance and style of versification are far removed from his art; printed in Leo, carm. spuriorum append. p. 382.

10. F.'s knowledge of Greek literature is very poor (7, 12, 25 *Archÿta, Pythagoras, Arātus, Cato, Plāto, Chrÿsippus. . . . quidve poema potest Maro, † lysa* [*Naso* GFabricius], *Menander, Homerus*). He was better versed in Roman literature. On the models used by Fortunatus (esp. Vergil, Ovid, Claudian and his Christian predecessors) see MManitius in the edition of Leo-Krusch p. 2, 132; ZföG. 37, 241. F. has a decided talent for verse-making, which lifts him far above his contemporary rivals; words, rhythms and figures of rhetoric he has readily at command, but he is wanting in inventive originality and the gift of distinctive characterisation. All his work is in the same key, and if he occasionally produces an effect, it is because the subject-matter tells in spite of the writer who treats it. Fort. handles the elegiac metre with almost Ovidian facility, but he lacks his model's lucidity, elegance and skill. As might be expected in a poet who worked so lightly and rapidly (see n. 6 and v. Mart. 1, 27 *sermone levis.* carm. 3, 22, 3, *garrulitate levi.* 10, 11 is improvised) and who frequently wrote his verses to order, he creates or avails himself of many licences. Biblical, Greek, Gallic and other proper names are treated in the most arbitrary manner as regards their prosody (this rarely occurs with Roman names, as *Agrĭpina, Cĕcĭlia, Vigĭlius*), and this applies to Greek words generally; there are also many irregularities in Latin words, in particular the shortening of final syllables (*parturĭs, nitĕs, nutribăs, coetŭs* genitive) and unaccented middle syllables (*petĕbatur, preferĕbantur, teneĕretur, confitĕreris, commovĕrere;* once even *movĕret* 7, 1, 1); these are however on the whole not over-frequent, considering the extensive range of the poems. Short syllables are frequently lengthened by arsis (*h* is regularly counted as a consonant after an arsis, and not infrequently in other positions), and harsh synaloephae are admitted. On the other hand the caesura is very rarely neglected, and hiatus is admitted equally rarely. The middle syllable of the pentameter counts as common and rhymes as a rule with the final syllable. Fortunatus' diction is strongly interspersed with provincialisms and notably with vulgarisms (e.g. *scio quia, credo ut, aio ut, quoniam=quod, vel=et, stare=esse, utraeque regionis, utraeque morti, consuleas, miscam, monades=monas, triades=trias,* and the use of the tenses is frequently very lax). A liking for puns (*funis, finis; febris, fibris; saluto salutem; non musicus poeta sed muricus; natus in urbe, notus in orbe* and so forth), alliteration (*vibratus verbere verbi, differte dies dum disco dolores*) etc. Cf. n. 6. On diction and prosody cf. the references in Leo's edition, p. 387. ASchneider, Lesefrüchte aus Ven. Fort., Hall in Austria 1882.

11. All the extant manuscripts of the Carmina (n. 7), except Paris. 13048 s.

VIII/IX, are derived from an incomplete original copy of the collection (hence below b. 1 there is the Subscriptio: *explicit in quantum habuit auctor* [i.e. the first transcriber] *usque ad finem*); the best are Par. 14144 s. IX, 8312 s. X. Ambr. s. X. Petropol. s. VIII. Only the above mentioned Par. 13048 gives a selection from the complete collection, and through this ms. 31 poems not included in the incomplete collection are preserved; they were first published by Guérard, notices et extr. des mss. 12, 2 (Par. 1831), 75, now in Leo's ed. p. 271 (as appendix carminum). Only four of these poems (append. 1–3, 5) were previously known, mainly through a Trèves MS. which has now disappeared. As a further fragment of the complete collection must be added a panegyric poem de Magnerico Trevirensi episcopo (append. 34), which has been by chance separately preserved. It is very doubtful whether the lengthy panegyric on the Virgin Mary (in laudem sanctae Mariae, spur. append. 1 in Leo), handed down in good MSS. under the name of Fortunatus, is genuine, see Leo p. xxiv.—The principal MSS. for the vita Martini, which is generally transmitted by itself, is (in addition to the Petropol. mentioned above) Vatic.-Palat. 845 s. IX, Paris. 2204 s. IX.—Editions of Fort.'s works by ChrBrower (Mayence 1603. ²1617), MALuchi (Rome 1786 II), the latter reprinted in Migne b. 88. Recently esp. in the Mon. Germ. hist. Auctt. antiquiss. 4, 1: Venanti Fortun. opera poetica rec. et emend. FLeo. 4, 2: Venanti opera pedestria rec. et emend. BKrusch, Berl. 1881–85.—Translated (and explained) by ChNisard Par. 1887.

12. Ven. Fort. carm. 3, 18 *ad Bertechramnum* (bishop of Bordeaux or Le Mans) *de opusculis suis* (i.e.=*eius*): *ardua suscepi missis epigrammata* (of Bert.) *chartis. . . . nitido pomposa poemata cultu.* They however contain plagiarisms (*carmine de veteri furta novella*) and metrical blunders (*superaddita syllaba, pede laesa*).—Ib. 6, 9 and 10 to Dynamius of Massilia (*rector provinciae* Greg. Tur. h. F. 6, 7; his epitaph in Peiper's Avitus p. 194). Ibid. 10, 57 *legi etiam missos alieno nomine versus, quo quasi per speculum reddit imago virum, fonte Camenali quadrato spargeris orbi ad loca quae nescis duceris oris aquis. hinc quoque non aliquo nobis abolende recedis quo fixus scriptis nosceris esse tuis.* A quotation from Dynamius in the little book de dubiis generibus GL. 5, 579, 23. Cf. Hist. litt. de la France 3, 457.

13. 23 elegiac lines by a certain Honorius scholasticus, in which he eulogises his instructor in Christianity and exalts him above Seneca (as *potior Seneca meliore magistro*), printed in Mabillon's analecta 1, 364 (387) and in Riese's AL. 666. The person addressed is not named in the poem, in the subscription we read: *ad Iordanem episcopum.* Hence the lines have been inserted in the MSS. of the Romana of Jordanis (Mommsen's ed. p. xlvi) and have thus been preserved. Does this refer to a bishop of Ravenna? See § 485, 1 after the middle.—Marvellous stories concerning a certain Honorius scolasticus are given in a fragment transmitted in the cod. Salmas. (§ 476, 1) and published by MHaupt, op. 3, 150. Cf. on this WFröhner, Phil. Suppl. 5, 55.

492. With the laborious accuracy of a grammarian and the servility and bombast of a Byzantine, the African Flavius Cresconius Corippus wrote epic poems on historical subjects with a panegyric tendency, especially the four books in laudem Iustini Augusti minoris. The previously written eight books Iohannidos seu de bellis libycis, which are of importance for the

history and topography of the North of Africa, tell their story with fidelity, though rather in the style of a chronicle. Not infrequently a certain warmth and vividness in the descriptions and in the local colouring interrupts the prevailing monotony and discloses the writer as a contemporary, who took part in the events which he narrates. The style is fluent and formed on models such as Vergil and Claudian.

1. The complete name Fl. Cresconius Corippus is given only in the cod. Budensis (now lost), elsewhere in the MSS. the poet is called Cresconius or Corippus, and in the cod. Matrit. (n. 2) *africanus grammaticus*. He described in Africa, a. 549 or 550, the campaign against the Mauretanians, which had been a short time previously brought to a successful termination by Iohannes mag. milit. per Afr. (and Athanasius praef. praet. Afr.); see concerning this war PARTSCH in the pref. to his ed. p. VI. This Iohannis does not consist of seven (as in the cod. Trivult.), but of eight books according to the quotations in the florilegium Veronense of 1329 (§ 212, 4 l. 12) and in the cod. Budensis. The fourth very voluminous book of the cod. Trivult. may be divided into two books. GLOEWE, RhM. 34, 139. B. 8 is incomplete at the end. It is preceded by a preface in 40 elegiac lines (ad proceres Carthaginienses). This runs as follows at 11: *descripsit . . . Aeneam doctus carmine Vergilius, meque Iohannis opus docuit describere pugnas* etc. (15) *Aeneam superat melior virtute Iohannes, sed non Vergilio carmina digna cano. . . .* (19) *nutat in angustum discors fortuna poetae. . . .* (25) *quid* [*quod ego*] *ignarus quondam per rura locutus urbis per populos carmina mitto palam. forsitan ex fracto ponetur syllaba versu: confiteor; Musa est rustica namque mea. . . . quos doctrina negat confert victoria versus* (an allusion to IUV. 1, 79). Ed. princeps: ex cod. mediolanensi (=Trivultiano s. XIV, the sole MS. of the Iohannis still extant) op. et stud. PETRI MAZZUCHELLI, Milan 1820.

2. The panegyric on the Emperor Justinus minor (a. 565–578) was written after the Iohannis (praef. 35 *quid libycas gentes, quid syrtica proelia dicam, iam libris completa meis?*). The author wrote this work at an advanced age, when he was living as a court official at Constantinople (paneg. in laud. Anastas. 46 *vestro de fonte creatur rivulus iste meus, sub cuius nomine gesto principis officium. fessae miserere senectae*) and he intended by means of it to improve his position, praef. 39 *cui vincere fas est indomitas gentes, . . . vince meae saevam fortunae, deprecor, iram. . . . nudatus propriis et vulnera plurima passus ad medicum veni. . . . huic ego sananti . . . grates semper ago et pro munere carmina porto* (cf. 4, 182 sqq.). The praefatio is followed by a short panegyric on an influential court official of Justinus, the quaestor (sacri palatii) Anastasius, whom he entreats to recommend him to the Emperor. The first 3 books embrace only the first week of Justinus' reign, and were composed very soon after he assumed the government and previous to a. 567. The fourth (of which the conclusion is incomplete) must have followed soon after the first; see PARTSCH intr. to his ed. p. XLV. The sole manuscript is a Matritensis (Toletanus) s. IX/X (see on this and on the fragm. Ovetense of laud. Iust. 3, 271–307. 317–398 also PEWALD, NArchfältdGesch. 6, 581), from which MRUIZ (Antw. 1581) first published the poem. Subsequent editions by THDEMPSTER (Par. 1610), ARIVINUS (Lps. 1653), NRITTERSHAUS (Altorf 1664), PFFOGGINI (Rome 1777) and in WJÄGER's Panegyrici (§ 391, 3) 2, 459.—The diction and especially the prosody of C. are remarkably pure. He is much more

strict than for example Fortunatus (§ 491, 10). Such licences as he allows himself are restricted within very narrow limits; see on the prosody PARTSCH p. 182 and in general his and PETSCHENIG's (n. 3) index rerum verbb. et locutionum. Also PETSCHENIG, ArchfLex. 3, 150.—On the models of Corippus (Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius and others, and the Christian precursors) see RAMANN, de Corippo priorum poett. lat. imitatore, Oldenb. 1885. 88 II. MMANITIUS, ZföG. 37, 82; WschrfklPh. 1887, 593.

3. Both the poems of C. are edited in IBEKKER's Merobaudes (see § 464, 3) with a reprint of the notes and prolegomena of his predecessors; recently especially recens. IPARTSCH, Berl. 1879 (=Monum. Germ. hist. Auctt. antiquiss. 3, 2) and rec. MPETSCHENIG, Berl. 1886 (=Berliner Studd. f. Phil. vol. 4).—Critical contributions on Corippus: MHAUPT, op. 3, 625. IPARTSCH, Herm. 9, 292. MPETSCHENIG, Wiener Studd. 2, 257. 4, 292. 6, 261; Wien. SBer. 109, 631.

4. In the Lorsch catalogue no. 459–461 (GBECKER, catal. bibl. ant. p. 111): *metrum Cresconii in evangel. l. I; eiusdem de diis gentium luculentissimum carmen; eiusdem versus de principio mundi vel de die iudicii et resurrectione carnis.* To whom and to what poems does this allude? JHUEMER, Wiener Studd. 7, 330 conjectures a confusion with Dracontius. The assumption is plausible as far as the versus de principio mundi etc. (=Dracontius de deo § 475, 2) are concerned, but it does not account for the two other titles.

493. At the head of the theological writers of this century is Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604), whose estrangement from classical lore and enthusiasm for monastic institutions combined with credulity characterise him as a genuine son of his period, though personal advantages, statesmanlike penetration, adroitness and firmness in action procured him a prominent position therein. Among his numerous works his letters have especial historical value. Besides doing good service to ecclesiastical singing, he himself wrote hymns. The high authority which he and his works continued to enjoy soon caused forgeries and interpolations in his name.

1. Gregorius, the descendant of a rich and noble Roman family, born between 540 and 550, praet. urb. c. 571–574, Pope from 590, † 604.—EWMARGGRAFF, de Gregorii M. vita, Berl. 1844. GJTHLAU, Gregor I nach s. Leben u. s. Lehre, Lpz. 1845. PFAHLER, Gr. d. Gr. u. s. Zeit, Frankf. 1853. DÄHNE in Ersch and Gruber's allg. Encykl. 1, 89, 61. LPINGAULD, la politique de St. Grég., Par. 1872. EBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 542. CWOLFSGRUBER, die vorpäpstliche Lebensperiode Greg. d. Gr., Augsb. 1886.—PEWALD, die älteste Biogr. Greg. d. Gr. (s. VII/VIII in the SGall. 567), hist. Aufs. für GWaitz (Berl. 1887) 17.

2. GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. 10, 1 *litteris grammaticis dialecticisque ac rhetoricis ita erat institutus ut nulli in urbe ipsa putaretur esse secundus.* Very hyperbolically ISID. ill. 27: *tantum . . . scientiae lumine praeditus ut non modo illi praesentium temporum quisquam doctorum nec in praeteritis quidem illi par fuerit umquam.* But Gregory himself, in the pref. to his expos. in Iob (Moral.): *ipsam loquendi artem quam magisteria disciplinae exterioris insinuant servare despexi. nam . . . non mytacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, hiatus motusque etiam*

*et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo ut verba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati.* Cf. epist. 11, 74 *nos nec graece novimus* (notwithstanding that he had been six years Nuntius at Constantinople) etc. ib. 7, 32 *quamvis graecae linguae nescius, in contentione tamen vestra iudex resedi.* This agrees with the statement of IOANN. SARESBER. (nug. cur. 8, 19) that Gregory caused the books of the Palatine Library to be burnt, lest they should be detrimental to the Scriptures. LAU l.l. 11. EBERT l.l. 1², 545.

3. G.'s literary work was, like that of Ambrose, mainly practical, and his works are full of apt observations concerning the functions and policy of the Church.—His genuine prose works: Regula pastoralis, useful directions on the right administration of the sacerdotal office, dedicated to John archbishop of Ravenna, c. 590 (EBERT l.l. 551); the division into 4 partes is not found in the MSS. Expositio in b. Iob, also called Moralia, an explanation of the book of Job, full of the most daring allegories, very tedious and diffuse, dependent in its subject-matter on his predecessors; it was composed between a. 580 and 590, divided into six codices and 35 books, and dedicated to bishop Leander. EBERT l.l. 1², 549. XXII homilies on Ezekiel, in two books (c. 595). XL homilies on the Gospels, in two books (c. 592). Four books of dialogues (with the deacon Petrus) on the lives and miracles of Italian saints, full of purblind credulity (593 or 594). ib. 4, 39. 57 the doctrine of Purgatory. Cf. EBERT l.l. 546.—The numerous letters (over 800) are extant in three collections (epistolae ex registro beati Gregorii papae), in which are included some forgeries (e.g. the privilegium of the monastery of St. Medardus). They date from the time of G.'s pontificate and are divided into 14 books (one for each year).—A new edition has been commenced (b. 1–4) by PEWALD, Berl. 1887 (=Mon. Germ. hist. Epistolae 1, 1). On the letters, their transmission etc. see in particular PEWALD, NArchfädGesch. 3, 433. 7, 587; Unterss. zu Ehren ASchäfer's (Bonn 1882), 296.—FMAASSEN attributes also to Gregory the Great the preparation of the so-called collectio Avellana (§ 453, 4).

4. The genuineness of the following works is doubtful: a commentary in six books on the first book of Kings; a commentary on the Canticum Canticorum; a commentary on the seven penitential Psalms; Concordia quorundam testimoniorum sacrae scripturae. LAU l.l. 319.

5. Nine hymns by Gregory (in MIGNE 78, 849). Most of them are in the usual form of the dim. iamb. in strophes of four lines each, two are in sapphics. The rhyme is sometimes clearly marked (*intimum—praemium—noxium—pessimum*), sometimes indistinctly (*optime—proferens—novae—originem*). The diction is simple. The verbal and the metrical accent are sometimes at variance; hiatus also is of frequent occurrence. EBERT, LdMA. 1², 535. During the Middle Ages Gregory's liturgic works (Sacramentarium, Antiphonies) suffered even more than the hymns at the hands of collectors and revisers. He founded schools of singers and introduced choral chanting. LAU l.l. 244.

6. The principal edition is that of the Benedictines e congr. s. Mauri. (cur. DSAMMARTHANUS et GBESSIN), Par. 1705 IV. A reprint by JBGALLICIOLI, Ven. 1768–76 XVII and in MIGNE b. 75–79.

494. The incomparable biography of St. Severinus by Eugippius (a. 511) is as a strong gleam of clear light illumining the darkness of German history. The remaining theological writers of the sixth century who are worthy of mention belong to the

provinces of Northern Africa and Spain. Thus to Spain belongs Leander, bishop of Seville, the friend of Gregory, Martinus, archbishop of Bracara, and others; to Northern Africa belong Verecundus, Primasius, Ferrandus etc.

1. Isid. ill. 28 *Leander, genitus patre Severiano, Carthaginensis provinciae Hispaniae, . . . ex monacho Hispalensis ecclesiae provinciae Baeticae constitutus episcopus* (c. a. 576-596), wrote against Arianism. *praeterea edidit unum ad Florentinam sororem de institutione virginum et contemptu mundi libellum* etc. *scripsit et epistolas multas ad papam Gregorium et . . . ad ceteros quoque episcopos. floruit sub Recaredo, viro religioso ac principe glorioso,* under whom his death took place. His works in Migne 82, 871.

2. Isid. ill. 17 *Apingrius, ecclesiae Pacensis Hispaniarum episcopus, disertus lingua et scientia eruditus, interpretatus est apocalypsim* etc. *scripsit et nonnulla alia. . . . claruit temporibus Theodi principis Gothorum.*—Martinus (of Pannonia, abbas Dumiensis, then archbishop of Bracara, hence Bracarensis, † 580) *nulli in litteris secundus suis temporibus habitus, . . . versiculos qui super ostium sunt in basilica s. Martini ipse composuit* (these are given in Peiper's Avitus p. 194; cf. Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. 5, 38). *floruit regnante Theodemiro rege Suevorum temporibus illis quibus Iustinianus in rep. et Athanagildus Hispanus imperium tenuere.* Ven. Fort. addresses to him carm. 5, 1 and 2. He wrote much on ethics (in some of these treatises he made great use of the philosopher Seneca, as in the treatise de ira, and in the formula honestae vitae, cf. § 289, 1, b); he also translated from the Greek sententiae patrum aegyptiorum (on flagellation and other penances, Fabricius, bibl. lat. med. aet. 5, 38. Reprint in Migne b. 72). Of importance for the history of civilisation is the homily de correptione rusticorum, against the superstition and pagan beliefs of the common people (cf. § 440, 11 l. 16), first published in a complete form (from Bern. 289 s. IX) by CPCaspari (with a treatise on Martin's life etc.), Christiania 1883.—Cf. Gams, Kirchengesch. Span. 2, 1, 471. FMaassen, Gesch. d. Quellen d. kanon. Rechts 1, 802.

3. Cassiodor. div. lect. 23 *presbyteri Eugippii opera necessario legere debetis, quem nos quoque vidimus, virum quidem non usque adeo saecularibus litteris eruditum sed scripturarum divinarum lectione plenissimum. hic ad parentem nostram Probam* (an aristocratic Roman lady of the family of the Anicii [§ 422, 3], whose library supplied the materials for E.'s work) *. . . ex operibus S. Augustini . . . quaestiones ac sententias ac diversas res deflorans in uno corpore . . . collegit et in cccxxxviiii* (or rather 348) *capitulis collocavit* (cf. Notker in EDümmler, Formelbuch des Salomo 3, 65). This thesaurus (excerpta) ex opusculis S. Augustini (from 41 of his works and from his letters and sermons) is printed e.g. in Migne 62, 561 and recently in Knoell, vid. inf. A MS. of this was revised by Petrus notarius s. ecclesiae cathol. neapolitanae in a. 582 (Mabillon, anall. vett.[2] 60. AReifferscheid, Bresl. ind. schol. 1872/73, 7). Extant MSS.: Vatic. 3375 s. VII, Ambr. C. 73 inf. s. VII., cod. Desnoyers 1720 s. VIII (see on it LDelisle, sur un mscr. mérovingien conten. des fragm. d'Eug., Par. 1875), Phillippicus 12263 s. VIII, Paris. 11642 s. IX and others (Knoell pref. to his ed.). —Isid. ill. 34 *Eugipius, abbas lucullanensis oppidi Neapoli Campaniae* (here the congregatio S. Severini found a home after it had quitted Noricum c. a. 492). *hic ad quendam Paschasium diaconum libellum de vita sancti monachi Severini* († 428 near Favianis, the present Mauer, not far from Öling) *transmissum brevi stilo composuit. scripsit et regulam monachis consistentibus in monasterio S. Severini . . .*

*claruit post consulatum Importuni iunioris* (a. 509) *Anastasio imp. regnante.* Eugippius wrote in the year 511 (Eug. epist. ad Paschas. 1 *ante hoc ferme biennium, consulatu scilicet Importuni*) the life of St. Severinus, with whom he had long lived in the Danubian provinces (Noricum ripense between Passau and Vienna; see however WArndt, lit. Centr. Bl. 1880, 198). This vita (which is quoted already by Anon. II Vales. p. 291, 24 Gardth.) gives an interesting account of Severinus, which is remarkably trustworthy in spite of its exaggerated praise and the credulity of the period, and which does honour both to the subject of the eulogy and to his pupil, the author, whose devotion to his master is touching; the work is likewise of exceptional importance on account of its highly picturesque descriptions of country and people. The diction is quite simple and popular. Eugippius sends his notes to the deacon Paschasius, requesting him to work them up into a complete biography; he does not however conceal his anxiety lest the employment of rhetorical art (we need only think of the tortured prose of Ennodius, Fortunatus, Cassiodorus) should remove the work further from the comprehension of the faithful. It is therefore fortunate that Paschasius declined, as he did, to comply with this request.—The name *Eugippius* is not decisively fixed, the MSS. fluctuate between this form and *Eugipius* (Büdinger l.l. 795) and *Eugepius* (this last chiefly in the earliest MSS., defended by WArndt, litt. Centr.-Bl. 1878, 388. 1879, 1622). Eugippius is perhaps a popular broadening (§ 483, 1), the intermediate aspirate becoming guttural, for Εὔιππος (cf. Schuchardt, Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins 2, 501. 520), or equivalent to Εὐέπιος? It is not ascertained with certainty which was Eug.'s native country. Cf. concerning this Borovszky, WschrfklPh. 1887, 342.—Manuscripts of the vita Sever.: Taurin. s. X, Vatic. 5772 s. XI, Ambr. s. XII and others. The Lateran. 79 s. X which Sauppe prefers is much interpolated; see PKnoell, das Hss.-Verhältniss der vita Sev. d. Eug., Wiener SBer. 95, 445.—Editions of the same e.g. in Migne 62, 1170. Published separately by MVelser (Augsb. 1595), AKerschbaumer (Schaffh. 1862; cf. HSauppe, Gött. gel. Anz. 1862, 1544), by JFriedrich in his Kirchengesch. Deutschl. 1, 431. Especially rec. et adn. HSauppe, Berl. 1877 (=Mon. Germ. hist. Auctt. antiquiss. 1, 2) and rec. PKnoell in his collective edition: Eugippii opera, P. I: excerpta ex opp. Augustini; P. II: vita s. Severini, Vienna 1885. 86 (=Corp. scrr. eccles. lat. Vindob. Vol. 9, 1. 2).—Transl. by KRodenberg (in the Geschichtschreiber d. deutschen Vorzeit vol. 4), Berl. 1878. In German with introd. expl. etc. by SBrunner, Vienna 1879. On Eug. cf. in gen. MBüdinger, Wiener SBer. 91, 793. Wattenbach, Deutschl. Geschichtsq. 1[5], 43. HFrey, der h. Severin, Bas. 1872.—A hymn in praise of Severinus imitated from Eug. taken from Paris. 7172 s. IX is given by Sauppe l.l. p. xix.

4. Victor Tunnun. (in Migne 68, 959) ad ann. 552: *Verecundus ecclesiae Iuncensis* (in Byzacene, North Africa) *episcopus in defensione memoratorum perdurans capitulorum* (in the dispute of the three chapters) *Chalcedone urbe ubi refugium fecerat . . . de hac vita migravit ad dominum.* Pitra, spicil. Solesm. 4, 1 published from cod. Leid. Voss. F. 58 s. VIII/IX Verec.'s commentariorum super cantica ecclesiastica libri IX (heading in the MS. *incipit liber Verecundi presbyteri in exodi cantico*) and ib. p. 166 the same writer's Excerptiones de gestis Chalcedonensis concilii.—Isid. vir. ill. 7 *Verecundus, Africanus episcopus, studiis liberalium litterarum disertus edidit carmine dactylico duos modicos brevesque libellos quorum primum de resurrectione et iudicio scripsit, alterum vero de paenitentia, in quo lamentabili carmine propria delicta deplorat.* The poem mentioned second (beginning: *Quis mihi moesta dabit* etc.) has been published by Pitra l.l. 4, 138 from a MS. at Laon. In a MS. at Madrid (a copy is at Berlin, NArchfädG. 6, 316; it contains

8 lines which are missing in Pitra, WMeyer, Abh. d. Münch. Akad. 17, 2, 167) it bears the name of Verecundus and is written in quantitative hexameters. On the other hand the exhortatio poenitendi, which Pitra took for the first poem mentioned in Isid. l.l., neither treats de resurrectione et iudicio, nor is there evidence in connection with it for the name Verecundus, and it is moreover written in rhythmical hexameters (similar to those of Commodianus § 384, 4). The exhortatio poenitendi should rather be classed with the lamentum poenitentiae (in rhythmic trochees) and the prose oratio pro correptione vitae, along with which it is also placed in MSS. (as an appendix to the Synonyma of Isidorus): printed in editions of Isidorus and (with the exception of the oratio) in a new critical revision by WMeyer (l.l. 434. 440; cf. 282), who attributes these three pieces to an imitator of Isidorus.—The three books Crisiados (in Pitra l.l. 144 from Vat. Urb. 352 s. XV) have no connection with Verecundus and are not even ancient. On Verecundus see also Pitra l.l. 4, v; on his diction ib. 581. 604.

5. Primasius, bishop of Hadrumetum in Africa, took the same side as Verecundus in the dispute of the three Chapters, wavered with the irresolute pope Vigilius, with whom he also recanted (c. a. 554). Being rewarded for this with the Primacy in his province, he died a short time afterwards *infelici morte*, at least according to Vict. Tunn. in Migne 68, 959. He wrote (c. a. 540) a commentary on the Apocalypse (mentioned already by Cassiod. inst. div. [c. a. 544] in Migne 70, 1122 *nostris temporibus apocalypsis diligenter quinque libris exposita est*), which was based chiefly and especially on the commentary of Ticonius (§ 442, 2), and also a book *quid faciat haereticum* (Cassiod. l.l.); according to Isidorus, vir. ill. *composuit sermone scholastico de haeresibus libros III directos ad Fortunatum episcopum.* On the other hand the commentary on the Pauline epistles attributed to him from the time of JGagney, Lugd. 1573 is not by Primasius. The works are given in Migne b. 68. Cf. n. 7.—JHaussleiter, Leben u. Werke des B. Primasius, Erl. 1887.

6. Fulgentius Ferrandus, ecclesiae Carthaginiensis diaconus c. a. 540, composed a systematic breviatio canonum (FMaassen, Gesch. d. Quellen des kanon. Rechts 1 [Graz 1870] 799). On his vita of Fulgentius see § 480, 1. We have also 7 letters. All his works are given in Migne 67, 877. A letter, which has been completed in AMai (scriptor. vett. nova coll. 3, 2, 163) from cod. Casinas 16 s. XI, from which also five longer and more rhetorical ones (e.g. *sancto patri Eugippio* [n. 3] *presbytero Ferrandus exiguus*, one to Junilius, see immediately below) are given in AReifferscheid, anecdota Casinensia (Bresl. 1871) p. 6.

Junilius, a native of Africa, a high state official at Constantinople, composed c. a. 550 at the instance of bishop Primasius (n. 5) the instituta regularia divinae legis (usually wrongly called de partibus divinae legis, in Migne 68, 15), an elaboration of a work by the Persian Paulus, who taught at the schools at Nisibis. HKihn, Theod. v. Mopsuestia und Iunilius als Exegeten nebst einer Krit. Textausg. von des letzteren instit. reg. div. leg., Freib. 1880.—Cf. 8 lines above.

7. Isid. ill. 20 *Iustinianus, ecclesiae Valentinae episcopus, . . . scripsit librum responsionum ad quendam Rusticum, de interrogatis quaestionibus* (dogmatic). *. . . floruit in Hispaniis temporibus Theudi principis Gothorum.*—21 *Iustus, Orgellitanae ecclesiae episcopus et frater praedicti Iustiniani*, wrote an allegorical commentary on the Canticum Canticorum (in Migne 67, 963). *huius quoque fratres* (likewise bishops) *Nebridius et Elpidius quaedam scripsisse feruntur.*—29 *Licinianus, Carthaginis Spartariae episcopus* (c. 584), *in scripturis doctus*, author of numerous letters on dogmatic subjects (in Migne 72, 685). *claruit temporibus Mauricii Aug.* (a. 582-602). *occubuit Constantinopoli.*—30 *Severus, Malacitanae sedis*

*antistes* (c. 580), *collega et socius Liciniani episcopi* (see above), *edidit libellum unum adversus Vincentium Caesaraugustanae urbis episcopum* (an Arian). . . . *est et alius eiusdem de virginitate ad sororem libellus qui dicitur anulus.* . . . *claruit temporibus praedicti imp.* (of Mauricius), under whom he also died.—32 *Eutropius, ecclesiae Valentinae* (in Spain) *episcopus,* . . . *scripsit ad episcopum Lucianum* . . . *epistolam* etc. *scripsit et ad Petrum episcopum Ircabicensem de districtione monachorum epistolam.* MIGNE 80, 15.

8. To the first half of the 6th cent. belongs the vita sanctorum abbatum Agaunensium (of St. Maurice in canton Valais) published by WARNDT, kleine Denkmäler aus d. Merowingerzeit, Hanov. 1874 (and in the Acta Sanct. Nov. 1) and the earliest Latin version (translated from the Greek) of the legend concerning the finding of the Cross, which has been published from a Paris. s. VI/VII by AHOLDER, inventio sanctae crucis, Lpz. 1889. Cf. ENESTLE, de s. cruce, Berl. 1890.

495. In the seventh century we find no traces of any cultivation of poetry in Italy or France, but we meet with imitations of the ancient writers in Ireland and Spain. The Spanish kingdom of the Visigoths maintained most intellectual life. We find there the bishops Eugenius and Julian of Toledo, perhaps also Eucheria; and the bishops Maximus and Braulio of Saragossa.

1. By Sisebutus, king of the Visigoths (reigned a. 612–620; cf. § 496, 1. 3) we possess 61 correct hexameters on eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, AL. 483 PLM. 5, 357. Newly edited by GGOETZ, ind. schol. Jen. 1887/88. In addition to other evidence the authorship is established by cod. Colon. 83 s. VIII with the heading: *incipit epistola Sisebuto regis Gotorum missa ad Isidorum de libro rotarum* (ARIESE, RhM. 30, 133). Commencement: *Tu forte in luco lentus vaga carmina gignis,* . . . *at nos congeries obnubit turbida rerum ferrataeque premunt milleno milite curae, legicrepae tundunt, latrant fora, classica turbant, et trans oceanum ferimur porro, usque nivosus cum teneat Vasco nec parcat Cantaber horrens.* Cf. LMÜLLER, RhM. 22, 86. 88. Letters of Sisebutus in FLOREZ, España sagrada 7, 307.

2. By Eucharia poetria we have 16 distichs (AL. 390 PLM. 5, 361), in which she adduces a number of examples of things mutually irreconcilable, in order to assure us at the conclusion that neither would Eucheria unite herself with a *rusticus et servus.* Gaul (the iron mines near Langres) is indicated by v. 9 *Lenconico* (Lingonico) *aere.* As v. 31 is quoted by Julianus Tolet. (n. 6), some connection between the two may be assumed.

3. By Eugenius, bishop of Toledo a. 646–657, we possess poems in the epic and elegiac metres, as also trochaics, iambics (trim.) and sapphics, together with rhyme, epanalepsis, acrostic and telestic form and even division of words (EBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 603) being also employed. His remains were published by SIRMOND (Par. 1619), and recently in MIGNE 87, 347. A few hitherto unknown riddles etc. by Eugenius are given in JHUEMER, Wien. Studd. 5, 167. 6, 324. Cf. § 475, 4. It is disputed whether the poem de philomela, AL. 658 PLM. 5, 368 is to be attributed to him. Cf. § 23, 3. RIESE ib. 2, p. 115 not. and also p. XXXVI sq. and Heidelb. Jahrbb. 1871, 587.—In gen. MMANITIUS, RhM. 44, 548.

4. ISID. ill. 33 *Maximus Caesaraugustanae civitatis episcopus* (shortly before a. 592, † 619) *multa versu prosaque componere dicitur. scripsit et brevi stilo historio-*

*lam de his quae temporibus Gothorum in Hispaniis acta sunt, historico et composito sermone. sed et multa alia scribere dicitur, quae necdum legi.* What is however given under his name, e.g. in MIGNE 80, 618, is a forgery. Cf. HHERTZBERG (see § 496, 4) 65. Cf. § 484, 4.

5. ILDEFONS. ill. 22 *Braulio* († 651) *frater Ioannis in Caesaraugusta decedentis adeptus est locum. . . . clarus . . . quibusdam opusculis. scripsit vitam Aemiliani cuiusdam monachi. . . . habuit sacerdotium ferme XX annis. . . . duravit in regimine temporibus Sisenandi, Chintilae, Tulganis et Chindasuinthi regum.* Cf. § 496, 1. 7. His extant writings (44 letters, vita Aemiliani, Acta de martyribus Caesaraugustanis) e.g. in MIGNE 80, 649.

6. Julianus, bishop of Toledo a. 680–690, the author of a Prognosticon futuri saeculi ad Idalium (bishop of Barcelona) sive de praescientia futuri saeculi libri III, a Demonstratio sextae aetatis s. de Christi adventu adversus Iudaeos libri III, addressed a. 686 to King Ervig (a. 680–687), an Historia de Wambae (or Wambanis) regis Gothorum Toletani expeditione (a. 673, EBERT, LdMA. 1², 604), a Vita Ildefonsi Toletani, his predecessor (see § 496, 5) and others (FABRIC., bibl. lat. med. et inf. aet. 4, 198), printed together in MIGNE 96, 427. Iuliani ep. Tol. ars grammatica, poetica et rhetorica . . . nunc primum edita, Rome 1797. Extracts from it in KEIL's GL. 5, 317 with HHAGEN, anecd. Helv. p. CCIV. The Ars is partly in the form of question and answer, and generally follows verbatim the works of Donatus, Maximus Victorinus, Mallius Theodorus, and Pompeius. Audax and Isidorus are also quoted. KEIL l.l. p. 313.

7. Likewise a short time after Isidorus (who is quoted p. 582, 19) was composed by an unknown author the treatise de dubiis nominibus, probably for the most part after the treatise of Flavius Caper, which bears the same title (§ 343, 3), with many additions, and in particular with evidence in the form of quotations from Christian authors (e.g. Sidonius, Sedulius, Avitus, hist. Apolloni [§ 489], Ven. Fortunatus, Dynamius [§ 491, 12], cf. also p. 580, 27 *ut ad Frontonium discipuli 'numquid in sola heremo castitas* etc.'). Published first by MHAUPT (in his ed. of Ovid's Hal. etc. 1838, p. 74), then by VLECLERC, FWOTTO (Giessen 1850), last in KEIL's GL. 5, 571, cf. ib. 567. Cf. also RPEIPER, JJ. Suppl. 11, 297; introd. to his Avitus p. LII.

8. The codex Salmasianus, see § 476, 1, dates from s. VII(–VIII). On the cod. Coloniensis (Darmstad.) s. VII see § 379, 4. 408, 6. On others see § 433, 6. 434, 9. 11.

496. The most prominent figure of this century is the last philologer of the Roman Empire, the strong-minded and industrious bishop of Seville, Isidorus (c. 570–636), who did his best to maintain and promote the cause of ancient literature, and who became through his works one of the most influential teachers during the Middle Ages, though himself possessed of but little knowledge or acumen. Among his numerous works on historical, grammatical and theological subjects the most important is his lengthy Etymologiarum (Originum) libri XX, which he left unfinished, interesting for the variety of the contents and the

author's employment of sources subsequently lost, especially Suetonius. His work de natura rerum was also of much consequence during the Middle Ages.

1. Praenotatio librorum d. Isidori a Braulione Caesaraugustano episcopo (§ 495, 5) edita: *Isidorus . . . Hispalensis ecclesiae episcopus, Leandri* (§ 494, 1) *episcopi successor et germanus. floruit a tempore Mauritii imp.* (a. 582–602) *et Reccaredi regis. . . . vir in omni locutionis genere formatus. . . . edidit libros differentiarum II* (on synonyms, 253 articles, and de diff. spiritalibus 35 articles). *. . . prooemiorum librum unum* (short arguments of the writings of the N.T.). *. . . de ortu et obitu patrum librum unum. . . . ad germanum suum Fulgentium episcopum Astigitanum officiorum libros II* (liturgical). *. . . synonymorum libros II* (s. *soliloquia*, ILDEF. ill. 9 *librum lamentationis, quem ipse synonymorum vocavit;* EBERT, LdMA. 1 [2], 595). *. . . de natura rerum ad Sisebutum regem librum unum, in quo tam de ecclesiasticorum doctorum quam etiam de philosophorum indagine obscura quaedam de elementis absolvit* (see n. 6). *de numeris librum I* (cf. MCANTOR, mathemat. Beitr. zum Culturleben, 1863, 277). *. . . de nominibus legis et evangeliorum librum I. . . . de haeresibus librum I. . . . sententiarum libros III, quos floribus ex libris papae Gregorii moralibus decoravit. chronicorum a principio mundi usque ad tempus suum librum I* (see n. 3). *. . . contra Iudaeos* (n. 8 ad fin.) *postulante Florentina germana sua . . . libros II. . . . de viris illustribus librum unum, cui nos ista subiunximus* (see n. 5). *monasticae regulae libr. I. . . . de origine Gothorum et regno Suevorum et Wandalorum historia librum I* (n. 4). *quaestionum libros II. . . . etymologiarum codicem nimia magnitudine, distinctum ab eo titulis, non libris. quem quia rogatu meo fecit, quamvis imperfectum ipse reliquerit, ego in XX libros divisi. . . . ibi redundans diversarum artium elegantia, ubi quaecunque fere sciri debentur restricta collegit* (see n. 7). *sunt et alia huius viri multa opuscula et in ecclesia dei multo cum ornamento inscripta. quem deus post tot defectus Hispaniae novissimis temporibus suscitans, credo ad restauranda antiquorum monumenta, ne usquequaque rusticitate veterasceremus, quasi quandam apposuit destinam. . . . quo vero flumine eloquentiae . . . Acephalitarum haeresim confoderit synodalia gesta coram eo Hispali acta declarant. . . . obiit temporibus Heraclii imperatoris* (a. 610–641) *et christianissimi Chintilani regis* (of the Visigoths a. 636–640; cf. AL. 494 PLM. 5, 363). ILDEFONS. vir. ill. 9 (ISID. opp., Paris. 1601, p. 737): *floruit temporibus Reccaredi, Liuvanis, Witterici, Gundemari, Sisebuti, Scinthilani et Sisenandi regum annis fere XL tenens pontificatus honorem.* Cf. EBERT, l.l. 1 [2], 588.

2. Braulio's list of Is.'s works (n. 1) seems to be mainly chronological; at all events the incomplete Etymologiae (or Origines) are placed at the end, and we cannot discern an arrangement according to subjects. Other works not enumerated above are extant; see the various editions.

3. The chronicle, as is stated in the preface, connects with Julius Africanus, Eusebius-Hieronymus and Victor Tunn. (§ 484, 3 sq.). *. . . horum nos temporum summam ab exordio mundi usque ad Aug. Heraclii et Sisebuti Gothorum regis principatum* (down to a. 615) *quanta potuimus brevitate notavimus, adicientes elatere descendentem lineam temporum, cuius iudicio summa praeteriti saeculi cognoscatur.* The division according to the six ages of the world, in agreement with the six days of creation, is imitated from Augustine (EBERT l.l. 598. HHERTZBERG l.l. 15, 289. MBÜDINGER in Sybel's hist. Zeitschr. 7, 114). This chronicle is extant in two versions, a shorter and a longer one. As cod. Par. s. IX mentions a certain Mellitus as the author of the shorter version, and the later and more elaborate one has incorporated

at its close the chronological summary from the earlier version, the presumption is that the first sketch was prepared by Mellitus at the instance of Isidorus, who however found it insufficient and replaced it by a work of his own founded on the same materials (AvGutschmid). Cf. n. 4. A short excerpt from the chronicle is also given in the last two chapters of b. 5 of the Origg. and was composed a. 627. Cf. Ebert l.l. 1 [2], 598. HHertzberg, die Chroniken des Isidor, Forsch. z. deutschen Geschichte 15, 280.

4. The Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum has been transmitted by the manuscripts in two versions (HHertzberg p. 8–16), a shorter one, completed probably in the year of Sisebutus' death († 621), and a fuller one, composed five years later, in which the subject-matter, after renewed recourse to the originals, was partly condensed but still more enlarged, with the addition of orthodox outpourings, Biblical quotations etc. (HHertzberg l.l. 19). The fuller version in ed. 1599 or 1778 (see n. 8) 1, 203, from cod. Clarom. s. IX is given in HGrotius, hist. Gothor. etc. p. 705 and PhLabbe, nova bibl. mss. 1, 61; the shorter from Paris. 4873 s. XII in PPithoeus, cod. legis Visigoth. p. 1. The remaining edd. have no critical value, e.g. in Arevalo 7, 107 (cf. 1, 691) and from this in Migne 83, 1057.— The sources, which are nowhere mentioned, are for Spanish affairs in particular Idacius (§ 470, 4) and Ioann. Biclar. (§ 484, 5), for African affairs Victor Tunn. (§ 484, 3), and also Hieronymus, Orosius, Prosper's Chronicle, Maximus of Saragossa (§ 495, 4) and probably as regards some portions Cassiodorus' hist. trip. and Eutropius. HHertzberg, die Historien und die Chroniken des Isid. v. Sevilla; I die Historien (Gött. 1874) 42. 79; cf. n. 2. Isid. Gesch. d. Goten, Vandalen und Sueven, nebst Auszügen aus d. Gesch. d. Beda, translated by DCoste, Lpz. 1887 (=Geschichtschreiber d. deutsch. Vorz. vol. 10).

5. Isidorus' continuation of the viri ill. of Gennadius (§ 469, 12) in 43 chapters (not in strictly chronological order) is printed also in the complete editions de ill. eccles. scriptoribus (see § 469, 12), Isidorus' work was continued by his pupil Ildefonsus, bishop of Toledo, † 667. Cf. § 495, 6 l. 6. Ebert l.l. 1[2], 601.

6. The treatise de natura rerum (cf. n. 1) professes to *expedire . . . rationem dierum ac mensium, anni quoque metas, . . . solis denique ac lunae cursus . . . tempestatum signa atque . . . terrae positionem alternosque maris aestus.* This seems to indicate a manual of the most valuable information from natural science. *quae omnia secundum id quod a veteribus viris* (chiefly Suetonius in his Prata, also Solinus and perhaps Hyginus) *ac maxime sicut in litteris catholicorum virorum* (Ambrosius, Clément, Augustine) *scripta sunt proferentes* etc. Cf. GBecker's prolegg. p. vi. It was much read and copied (e.g. Vatic.-Palat. 8340. 1448, both s. IX/X; Vat. Reg. 255. 1260, both s. X and others), and also much utilised, during the Middle Ages. Cf. GBecker p. xxiii. Separate edition: recens. GBecker, Berl. 1857.

7. Correspondence of Isidorus with his friend Braulio (see § 495, 5) on the subject of the Origines: ep. 5 *codicem etymologiarum cum aliis codicibus de itinere transmisi et licet inemendatum prae valitudine tibi tamen modo ad emendandum studueram offerre.* Ep. 6 *en tibi, sicut pollicitus sum, misi opus de origine quarundam rerum ex veteris lectionis recordatione collectum atque ita in quibusdam annotatum sicut extat conscriptum stilo maiorum* (i.e. verbally copied). There follows a list of contents. B. 1–3 contain the seven artes liberales, b. 4 medicine, b. 5 juridical matters and a short general chronicle (n. 3), b. 6 antiquarian matters in relation to the Old Testament, b. 7 Christian subjects, b. 8 the history of religion. Observations on language begin with b. 9 and extend to the end of the work (b. 20), the whole being arranged according to the subjects as in Nonius Marcellus, with the

exception of b. 10, which is alphabetical. Cf. EBERT, LdMA. 1², 589. As was to be expected, the whole of the subject-matter is derived from earlier sources; hardly anything original is to be found in Isidorus. His employment of his authorities is extremely careless and superficial; from this cause and from his want of knowledge (Isidorus e.g. understood scarcely any Greek) arose numerous and serious misconceptions. He only rarely mentions the numerous sources of which he has availed himself, but on the other hand the names of the authors mentioned in his sources are sometimes copied in (thus in particular that of Varro, see § 169, 1), sometimes replaced by indefinite terms (such as *quidam*, *gentiles*, *veteres*, *philosophi*, *astrologi*). Suetonius' Prata (§ 347, 3) have been very largely used (cf. p. 199, l. 20). Use is also made of Pliny and Solinus, Sallust (Jug. and hist.), Lucretius, Vitruvius (in the epitome by Faventinus, § 264, 5), Jerome, Ambrosius, Hegesippus (§ 433, 5), Augustine, Palladius (Aemilianus, see 17, 10, 8), Orosius, Boethius and others. AREIFFERSCHEID on Suet. rell. p. 420. 476 and elsewhere; JB. 1880 3, 288ᵉ. HDRESSEL, de Isidori originum fontibus (Gött. Diss.), Turin 1874 (and in the rivista di filol. 3, 207). On the employment of the so-called glossae Placidi by Isidorus see ADEUERLING, BlfbayrG. 14, 288, HHAGEN, de Plac. Glossis, Berne 1879, 4. On the sources of Roman law used by Isid. see HEDIRKSEN, hinterl. Schrr. 1, 185. HUSENER, anecd. Hold. 65 draws attention to the fact that Cassiodorus' encyclopaedia has not been used by Isidorus.—There are numerous early MSS.: e.g. Escorial. s. VII/VIII, Guelferb. Weissenb. 64 s. VIII, Matrit. (Toletan.) s. VIII, Vatic. 5763 s. VIII/IX, Ambr. s. VIII/IX, Vatic.-Pal. 281, Monac. 6250; Cavens., SGall. 233. 235. 237, Weilburg. 3, all s. IX, Vatic. 5764 s. IX/X, Vercellenses s. IX/X etc. Cf. HNETTLESHIP, transact. of Oxf. phil. soc. 1880/81 (Oxford MSS.), JSCHMIDT, on Isidorus (Vienna MSS.), Vienna 1884. LSADÉE, Freiburger Fragmente (s. XI) der Etym. Isid., Freib. 1883., LVALMAGGI, riv. di fil. 15, 68 (cod. Epored.). RGROPIUS, Isid. etym. 13, 13 als Handhabe z. Beurt. von Isid. Hss., Weilb. 1889.—Origg. 1, 26 (according to a different numeration 27) in the Vatic. Regin. 846 written in Tironian cypher, explained by WSCHMITZ, Stud. zur lat. Tachygraphie, Cologne 1880.—Separately edited: cum scholiis BVULCANII (Bas. 1577), most recently by FWOTTO in Lindemann's corpus gramm. latt. III (Lps. 1833), but more accurately prior to this in AREVALO's ed. (n. 8) vol. 3–4. The sections concerning rhetoric (from b. 2) are best given in HALM's rhetores latt. min. p. 505 (cf. p. XIII), those on weights and measures in FHULTSCH's metroll. scriptt. 2, 106. 135, those on land-measurement in LACHMANN's gromatici 1, 366. 371.—On the so-called glossae Isidori see § 42, 6 in fin. Also GGOETZ, Lpz. SBer. 1888, 223.

8. Complete editions: Par. 1580 (studio MARG. DE LA BIGNE). Cum notis JBPEREZ et JGRIAL, Madriti 1599 and 1778 II. Emendata per JDUBREUL, Par. 1601. Colon. 1617. Principal edition by FAREVALO, Rome 1797–1803 VII, reprinted in MIGNE, vol. 81–84.—KWEINHOLD, d. altdeutschen Bruchstücke des Tractats des Isid. de fide catholica (=de nativitate domini) contra Iudaeos, mit Abh. und Glossar, Paderb. 1874. Cf. EBERT, LdMA. 1², 597.

497. The so-called Aethicus Ister, who under the mask of Hieronymus composed in barbarous Latin a fictitious cosmography in six books, seems to have written about the year 630 and under the Merovingians. The so-called Geographus (Anonymus) Ravennas is no less irregular in diction and untrustworthy in his references to authorities, his basis being

some Greek cosmography, dating probably from the end of the seventh century. To these works, which exhibit a peculiar medley of truth and fiction, should be added that of the grammarian Virgilius Maro, whose writings afford a glimpse into a world of whimsical grammatical speculation, which, devoid of any historical knowledge of language, at a time when the Latin tongue was already far on the way to dissolution, and the Romance languages had begun to take shape, yet had the courage to regulate and criticise the language from its own miserably poor and narrow basis.

1. Aethicus. According to the heading, the work professes to be *Edicta Aethici philosophi cosmographi*, which Aethicus (i.e. Ethicus=philosophus) according to c. 2 *Historiae regione sophista claruit primusque codices suos cosmographiam nuncupavit.* It professes to have been originally written in Greek, of which the patristic writer Hieronymus made a Latin abridgment, and the author pretends to have himself witnessed what he describes: these are all extravagant assertions, which are refuted by the quotation (c. 11 sq.) of the bishop Alcimus Avitus, † c. 525 (§ 474, 5), and other historical references, and especially by the fact that Isidorus' origg. are very largely used. KLRoth, Heidelb. Jahrbb. 1855, 103. Trogus Pompeius is used (perhaps through the medium of Cassiodorus?), see FRühl, Verbreit. des Iust. 6. Fredegar (in Wuttke l.l. see lv) refers to this work when he designates Jerome as the authority for the supposed descent of the Franks from the Trojans. Cf. ELüthgen, fränk. Trojasage (1875) 22. From this the date when the work was composed may be approximately gathered, as also from the important part which throughout the book is played by the Turchi: it is evidently written when the impression was still fresh, which was made when Heraclius (a. 626) suffered the Turks to issue from the Caspian defiles, spreading terror through the most distant West, as their escape was associated in men's minds with the releasing of Gog and Magog, which was to precede the Last Day (AvGutschmid).

2. The best MS. is Vat.-Reg. 1260 s. IX (Bethmann in Pertz' Arch. 12, 314).—Editions by d' Avezac in the Mém. de l'acad. des inscr. 19 (Par. 1852), 230 and by HWuttke, Lpz. 1853 (pp. 136), with an introduction (pp. cxxxiii), containing a discussion (also published separately) of the genuineness of the cosmogr. of Aithikos the Istrian. Cf. also CLRoth, Heidelb. Jahrbb. 1854, 269. 1855, 100. Kunstmann in the Munich gel. Anz. 1854, 249. CAFPertz, de cosmogr. Ethici libri III, Berl. 1853.—On another so-called 'Aethici cosmographia' see § 453, 5 before the middle.

3. Heading of the Geographus Ravennas in the Urb.: *chosmographya*, cf. 1, 18 *lectionem nostram cosmographiae exactionem facientes*, 4, 31 *Ravenna nobilissima in qua licet idiota ego huius cosmographiae expositor Christo adiuvante genitus sum.* The address: *mi frater carissime* (p. 1, 11 P.), *Odocare* (p. 32, 1). Mommsen l.l. 116: 'the cosmography (of the Geographus Ravennas) was composed at the close of the VII. century at Ravenna (of which place the author was a native, see above) in Greek (cf. in support of this AvGutschmid, RhM. 12, 438); not long afterwards it was made known in an enlarged form also in Greek, then about s. IX the first version was translated into Latin, and this was likewise the case at some time or other with the second version, which Guido of Pisa excerpted a. 1118. In the main therefore the work is one of the few literary productions of the West in the VII.

century, the barbarous spirit of which it reflects to the full; but the mass of the geographical notices which it contains belong only in part (and perhaps a very small part) to this period. The book contains, in addition to the Carlovingian interpolations, a large number of statements derived from a Roman map belonging to the third century.'

4. The sources may be divided into two classes. The one embraces a host of fictitious philosophi so-called, Roman, Greek, Egyptian (*Cynchrin et Blautasin*), Macedonian (*Livanium, Hylas et Aristarchum*), Illyrian (*Probinum et Marcellum atque Maximum*, Probinus and Marcellus are the names of the consuls of a. 342), and Gothic (*Aitanaridum, Eldevaldum, Marcumirum*). Here the most astounding authorities make their appearance, thus e.g. besides those mentioned above p. 174, 14 *de qua patria subtilius agunt supra scriptus Pentesileus et Marpesius atque Ptolomaeus rex . . . philosophi* (cf. the Amazons Penthesilea and Marpessa and JORD. get. 49. 57), and *Arbitio et Lollianus* (thus the consuls of a. 355 are named) who are frequently mentioned together *atque Castorius Romanorum philosophi.* Lollianus and Castorius are also designated as *cosmographi*, the latter, who is referred to with special frequency, being also spoken of as *Romanorum cosmographus* (§ 412, 6). These inventions however merely serve to conceal the miserable poverty of the writer, who draws almost the whole of his information from a single source, viz. a circular map. The other class of authorities is serious and trustworthy. The author mentions among Greek theologians Athanasios of Alexandria, Basilios of Caesarea, Epiphanios of Cyprus, and the *miser* or *miserrimus* or *nefandissimus Porphyrius;* among Roman authors Orosius (p. 50, 16. 420, 11 P.), Jordanis (§ 485, 1), S. Gregorius (p. 159, 8) and *sanctus Ysidorus Ispalensis* (p. 13, 8). The original was therefore written after the death of Isidorus († 636), and on account of p. 185, 3 sqq. after a. 678, and also because p. 248, 7 the province of Brundisium is still called Calabria. The terms *iuxta, desuper* etc. do not denote the real situation of the places, but the position they occupied on the map from which the author copied. MOMMSEN l.l. 97. 115 sq.

5. Manuscripts: Paris. 4794 s. XIII/XIV, Vatic.-Urbin. 961 s. XIII, Basil. s. XIV/XV. For criticism and relative estimate of the MSS. see JWKUBITSCHEK, Herm. 22, 471. Editions by PPORCHERON (Par. 1688), JGRONOV (in his Mela, 1696), AGRONOV (1722), but esp. by MPINDER and GPARTHEY, Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia et Guidonis geographica (in this work, composed at Pisa a. 1118, Guido has largely used G. R., see n. 3) ex libris mss. ed., Berl. 1860.—MOMMSEN, Lpz. SBer. 1851, 80. GBDEROSSI, il cosmografo Ravennate e gli geografi citati da lui, Rome 1852. MPINDER, die Kosmogr. des G. R., Berl. MBer. 1853, 535. MD'AVEZAC, le Ravennate et son exposé cosmographique, Rouen 1888. AJACOBS, de Gallia ab anonymo Rav. descripta, Par. 1858. GPARTHEY, Ägypten beim G. R. (Abh. d. Berl. Ak. 1858, 115); die Erdansicht des G. R. (Berl. MBer. 1859, 627); Geogr. Rav. beim Riccobaldus Florariensis (Herm. 4, 134). WTOMASCHEK, ZföG. 18; 709. ESCHWEDER, d. Weltkarte des Kosmographen v. Rav., Kiel 1886 (compare DDETLEFSEN, BerlphWschr. 1887, 107); Herm. 24, 602. KMILLER, die Weltkarte des Castorius, Ravensb. 1888, 40.

6. A cosmography in verse (Versus de Asia et de universi mundi rota) by a Burgundian of the 7th cent., in 129 rhythmical troch. tetram. (tristichic), after ISID. origg. 14, 3 sqq. GHPERTZ, eine fränkische Kosmographie des 7. Jahrh., Abh. d. Berl. Ak. 1847. EBERT, LdMA. $1^2$, 610.

7. By *Virgilius Maro* there are extant (though not quite complete) *epitomae XV* (I *de sapientia*, II *de littera*, III *de syllaba*, IV *de metris*, V *de nomine* etc. XIII *de scinde-*

*ratione fonorum* etc., XV *de catalogo grammaticorum*). In addition to these (only preserved in the Neap., n. 9) eight letters on grammatical subjects (*de nomine, de pronomine, de verbo* etc.; cf. p. 107, 3 HUEMER *quia orationis partes octo sunt, octo quoque in uno licet epistolas volumine digerere dispono*) with a preface (*Virgilius Maro Iulio Germano diacono s.*): in this the author repeatedly quotes his epitomae e.g. p. 107, 5 *quod etiam in XV epistolarum* (? *epitomarum*) *Africam missarum volumine ad Fabianum, puerum meum peritissimum ac docillimum tunc gentilem, nunc autem fidelem baptismate purificatum, eodem scribendi more fecisse memini;* p. 121, 8 *ego ipse in epitomis ter quinis numero proprium pronomini indixerim opusculum.* 131, 25. 148, 12 (*ego in epitomarum opere*). 149, 19. 156, 10. 169, 15. In the epp. p. 175, 11 Virgilius also quotes another of his works: *illud* (*exemplum*) *quod et ego hesterno feceram anno cum librum de mundi creatione commentatorium adversus paganos ediderim, cuius principium est* etc. AMAI l.l. attributes to him the 'paedagogus Virgilii mentioned above § 229, 2 (an assumption which is unlikely, if only on account of the quantitative verse, n. 8 ad fin.). Virgilius calls the Gauls his compatriots (p. 137, 27 *multi nostrorum maxime Gallorum*, 30 *in quibusdam Gallorum nostrorum scriptis*) and Abbo Floriacensis († a. 1004) names him after Toulouse in AMAI, class. auctt. 5, 349: *scripulus appenditur XVI granis lentis, licet Virgilius Tolosanus in suis opusculis* (a treatise which is not extant) *asserat pensari XVIII granis hordei* etc. In close agreement with this we read p. 8, 13 *de potestate* (*literarum*) . . . *bigerro* (=southern Gallic; cf. the Begerri, Bigerriones, the modern Bigorre) *sermone clefabo.* (In the heading of the fragm. Mediolan. s. XI p. 100 H. he is called *Virgilius presbyter Hispanus*). As regards his date: the Virgilius who is ridiculed by Ennodius and who must therefore have flourished at the turn of s. 5–6 (§ 479, 8 l. 4) is probably too early to be identified with our grammarian. On the other hand ALDHELMUS († a. 709, § 500, 2) p. 95 Giles distinctly refers to VIRG. epp. p. 121, 9–11; LTRAUBE, Herm. 24, 647; he is also quoted by Baeda, Petrus, Clemens Scotus and others (see the references in HUEMER's ed., cf. HHAGEN, anecd. Helv. 188 and ib. CVI). The MS. of the excerpt at Nancy (ACOLLIGNON, rev. de phil. 7, 13) dates from as early as s. VIII(–IX), others (n. 9) from s. IX.

8. As regards its contents, we first notice the ridiculous imposture which pervades Virgilius' works: they teem with the silliest and most tasteless conceits, in which they even surpass Dictys, Dares, Fulgentius, Aethicus and the Ravennate. In this period of imposture, when the Church was so eagerly bent on miracles, which she discovered because she was enamoured of them, it was a matter of course that dry grammar should look for adventitious attractions from the same quarter. In the catalogus grammaticorum (n. 7 l. 3): *primus fuit quidam senex Donatus apud Troiam, quem ferunt mille vixisse annos. hic cum ad Romulum . . . venisset, IIII continuos ibi annos fecit scolam construens et innumerabilia opuscula relinquens . . . fuit itidem apud Troiam quidam Virgilius eiusdem Donati auditor . . . qui LXX volumina de ratione metri scribens et epistolam ad Virgilium Assianum missam de verbi explanatione. Tertius Virgilius ego. Virgilius Assianus . . . scripsit librum nobilem de XII latinitatibus* (namely the *usitata, assena, semedia, numerosa, metrofia, lumbrosa, sincolla* etc.) . . . *erant praeterea tres Lucani, unus in Arabia, alius in India, tertius in Africa, quos Aeneas meus* (Virgilius' master, who is very frequently mentioned) *praeceptores habuit. . . . in quibus repperit quod vir quidam Maro fuerit prope diluvium cuius sapientiam nulla narrare secula potebunt. unde Aeneas cum me vidisset ingeniosum hoc me vocabulo iussit nominari dicens 'hic filius meus Maro vocabitur quia in eo antiqui Maronis spiritus redivivit.'* During his youth the author took part in a *conventus grammaticorum qui non minus quam trienta in unum positi . . . multa quaesivere* (p.

49, 17); the grammarian Mitterius comes to him by night *senex (et valde senex)*, in order to instruct him (p. 114, 17), he refers to the *scolae Italicae totae Africanaeque et in quacumque poli parte positae latinae* (p. 80, 24). For fourteen days and nights the grammarians Galbungus and Terentius wrangle concerning the vocative of *ego* (p. 123, 16); in like manner during fifteen days and nights there raged between Cappadocus and Sedulus Romanus *insomnes et indapes tribus mil⟨it⟩ibus utrimque sumptis* a discussion concerning the inchoativa, in which the disputants almost came *usque ad gladiorum conflictum* (p. 138, 24). In this labyrinth of folly we meet only with authorities who are otherwise unknown to us: some indeed among these bear well-known names such as Aeneas, Cato, Cicero, Donatus, Homerus, Horatius Flaccus, Lucanus, Propertius, Quintilianus, Terentius (§ 482, 2), Varro (§ 169, 2 l. 15), but that these are not appellations of real persons named after famous prototypes, is evident from passages such as p. 165, 10 *astipuletur mihi in hoc Mevius, vir in carminibus dulcissimus, de quo illud praecentum est 'qui favum mellis non amat, odit tua carmina, Mevi,'* which is an allusion to Vergil's well-known critic and to the line in V.'s ecl. 3, 90 *Qui Bavium non odit amet tua carmina, Mevi.* Other sources also are named, such as Balapsidus, Bregandus Lugenicus, Falanges Lacedaemonicus, Fassica femina, Gabritius, Galbungus, Glengus, Mitterius Spaniensis etc. V.'s grammatical system is childish, and utterly silly in its extravagant self-importance (cf. e.g. the observations concerning cypher p. 76. 77. 173. 174). Nevertheless these works deserve full recognition as linguistic monuments of the period when Latin passed under Romance influence. Not merely many of the words employed by V., in their form and use, but also a number of Virgilius' theories are based on the decadence of Provincial Latin at this time, and likewise such verse as occurs in his work is no longer constructed quantitatively but rhythmically with hiatus and assonance or rhyme.

9. Manuscripts: Paris. 13026 s. IX, Neapol. IV. A. 44 s. X (ThStangl WschrfklPh. 1884, 1469), Ambian. 426 s. X (MHertz, de Virg. Mar. gramm. epit. cod. Amb., Bresl. 1888); also fragments in Vindob. 19556 s. IX (JHuemer, Wien. SBer. 99, 529), Angel. 5, 3, 22 s. X, excerpts, etc. (see n. 7 ad fin.).—Editions: the first by AMai, class. auctt. 5, 1 (cf. appendix ad opera ab AMaio edita p. 113. 151); then esp. Virgilii Maronis grammatici opera ed. IHuemer, Lps. 1886.—Criticism, explanation, language, textual criticism etc.: FOsann, Beitr. z. gr. u. röm. Litgesch. 2, 125. AFOzanam, oeuvr. compl. 4 (1855), 483. HKeil, de gramm. quibusd. lat. inf. aet., Erl. 1868, 5. WMeyer, Münch. SBer. 1882, 74. JHuemer, Wien. SBer. 99, 509 and the appendices to his ed. AeErnault, de Virgilio Mar. gramm. Tolosano, Par. 1886. PGeyer, ArchflatLexicogr. 2, 25. JMStowasser, ZföG. 34, 211. 511. 38, 122. KSittl, JB. 1889 2, 71. ThStangl, WschrfklPh. 1890, 641. 667. 698. 823.—On the Hisperica famina etc., which are connected in many points with the grammarian Virgilius, see § 476, 1.

498. On the boundary line between antiquity and the Middle Ages, i.e. between the sixth and eighth centuries, appeared a number of Latin translations of Greek works, most of them on natural science and medicine. We may mention translations of works by Euclid, Philo and Hero, Hippokrates, Dioskorides, Soranos and Galenos, and among later writers Oribasios and Alexander of Tralles. These translations, part of which were expressly made for the Germanic tribes, served to keep up a

certain continuity of study between the ancient and the modern world, between Romans and Teutons.

1. A list of the Latin versions extant in the time of Cassiodorus is given by him inst. div. 31; see above § 55, 3. 463, 7. These translations were used by the Italian and Franconian physicians, and by the school of Salerno, long before the Arabic translations.

2. For a translation of Euclid see § 379, 5.—A piece from Philo's πνευματικὰ (liber Philonis de ingeniis spiritualibus), treating of the motion of water in pipes, in a Latin translation (from the Arabic), edited by VRose, anecd. graecolat. 2 (1870), 299 (with two tables). Cf. ib. 283. This is the only hydraulic treatise of antiquity.—Of Hero's Catoptrics we have a Latin translation (probably greatly abridged) with the heading liber Ptolomei de speculis, edited by VRose, ib. 2, 317. Cf. ib. 290.

3. Translations of some of the most famous works of Hippokrates, especially his ἀφορισμοί, προγνωστικά (in the Ambr. G 108 inf. s. IX, HKühlewein, Herm. 25, 123), περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων, περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων. So περὶ διαίτης b. 1 translated (s. VI) in the Paris. 7027 (together with περὶ ἑβδομάδων), and b. 2 in the SGall. 762. In ancient MSS. we frequently find a medical collection in five books, edited under the mistaken title Oribasii de simplicibus libri V by JSchott (Strassb. 1533); then with an erroneous application of the first title to the whole work, it appears as Dynamidia (Dynameus, δυνάμεως, de virtutibus herbarum) Hippocratis, edited from Vaticani s. X and XII by AMai, class. auct. 7, 399. A similar collection is found in the SGall. 762 s. IX. Book 1 is an abridgment of Ps. Apulei de herbis (the Latin names of plants being prefixed); b. 2 (in the SGall. 762, b. 1: *de virtutes herbarum* (Dynamidia Hipp.); b. 3 (SGall.: b. 2, see p. 72: *de erbas yalieni et apollei* etc.) again de herbis, from Galenos and Apuleius (the Greek names being prefixed). b. 4 is an enlarged translation of b. 2 of the εὐπόριστα (ἁπλᾶ) of Oribasios, a work itself entirely derived from Galenos. The preface to this was erroneously prefixed to the whole by JSchott. Cf. § 487, 4. Book 5 is again an (incomplete) treatise on the Simplicia in alphabetic arrangement, employed in the Latin Dioskorides (n. 4). This fifth book is completely printed as Galenus de simpl. medicamentis ad Paternianum in the editions of the Spuria of Galenos. VRose, anecd. gr. 2, 110. Cf. ib. 120 and above § 380, 2.

4. The translation of Dioskorides is extant in the original shape, in an abridgment and in an alphabetic arrangement (the latter was first printed at Colle [Tuscany] 1478). The first book was reprinted from cod. Monac. 335 s. VIII by KHofmann and TMAuracher in Vollmöller's roman. Forschungen 1, 49. See also HRoensch, ib. 1, 413. The Latin translator also made additions from the so-called Oribasius (b. 5, see n. 3), Ps.-Plinius, Apuleius de herbis. VRose, anecd. 2, 113. 119, n. 2.

5. Galen's therap. ad Glauc. (τὰ πρὸς Γλαύκωνα θεραπευτικὰ in two books, called also Gal. de feribus or de curatione febrium) was long used in a Latin translation; it was one of the chief sources of Garipotus (saec. XI, school of Salerno). Cf. n. 3 in fin.—On the translation of Soranos by Aurelian see § 463, 1; on that of Pelagonios § 463, 6.

6. Under Justinian lived the celebrated physician Alexander of Tralles, whose principal work (in 12 bb.), which treats of diseases in general from the head to the feet (exclusive of surgery and of female maladies [edited with the rest of his works in ThPuschmann's Alex. v. Tralles, Vienna 1878 sq. II; addenda to this in the

Berl. Studd. f. Philol. 5, 2], together with his treatise on fevers, compressed into three books, was translated into Latin at an early date, probably in the 6th cent. Manuscripts at Montecassino s. IX/X, Angers s. X/XI and elsewhere, printed Alexandri yatros practica, Lyons 1504 (then at Pavia 1520, Ven. 1522). PUSCHMANN l.l. 1, 91. 99. From this Latin translation was derived Ps.-Plin. de medic. b. 5, see § 411, 2.

7. The 'excerpta latina barbari' (so called since Scaliger [Euseb. p. 58]) which are of great historical and chronological importance, were translated from the Greek (after Julius Africanus § 381, 1; they are however full of wild mistakes, e.g. *confixus est sol ab Acheis*=ἥλω Ἴλιον ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν, *Cemenelaus*=καὶ Μενέλαος etc.) into a debased Latin. A (later) marginal note in the MS. calls the work *Cronica Georgii Ambionensis episcopi vel, sicut alii dicunt, Victoris Turonensis episcopi:* it is very doubtful whether these statements are worthy of belief, as the personages named are otherwise unknown. The only MS. is Paris. 4884 s. VII/VIII. Edited from a copy of this, now at Hamburg (CFRICK, RhM. 43, 123), by JSCALIGER l.l. Then esp. by ASCHÖNE, Euseb. chron. I (Berl. 1875), append. 6. Cf. CFRICK, Beitr. z. griech. Chronol. u. Lit.-Gesch., Höxter 1880, 7. KTRIEBER, Göttinger gel. Anz. 1880, 49. HGELZER, Iul. Africanus 2, 1 (1885), 316. GANAGNOSTOPULOS, περὶ τῆς λατινικῆς ἐπιτομῆς τοῦ βαρβάρου, Jena 1884.

499. In spirit and diction the work passing under the name of Fredegarius scholasticus, the contents of which are priceless for the history of the first half of the seventh century, belongs entirely to the Middle Ages. This 'Fredegar,' gradually compiled by three authors, was continued by more than one hand during the eighth century. Independently of Fredegarius, the substance of his work was carried on a. 727 in the so-called Gesta Francorum, the Latin of which is less barbarous, while its contents are more meagre, than Fredegar's. Side by side with this secular literature that of the Lives of the Saints continues to flourish.

1. The name of 'Fredegar' ('Fredegarius scholasticus') does not occur in any of the MSS.; it first appears in JSCALIGER 1598 and in CIFAUCHET's antiquitez gauloises et françoises 1599. A Burgundian (of Avenches) compiled in a. 613 an historical work, which contained in abridgments 1) liber generationis (§ 413, 3); 2) Hieronymus and Idacius (§ 470, 4); 3) Burgundian annals down to the above-mentioned year (reaching as far as cap. 39 of the so-called Fredegar, p. 140, 7 Krusch). Another Burgundian revised this work in a. 642, first supplying additions to it, and next supplementing it by an abridgment of Gregory's hist. Franc. b. 1–6 (down to a. 584, the so-called historia Franc. epitomata [486, 5 ad fin.], with interpolations of a mythical kind, not given in Gregory, concerning the origin of the Franks, cf. § 497, 1); lastly he carried on the admirably truthful narrative from a. 613–642 (down to cap. 90 p. 168, 2 Krusch). This work was further revised c. a. 658 by an Austrasian, who enlarged it by an excerpt from the life of Columba and a series of isolated additions. On this subject see esp. BKRUSCH l.l. l.l. (n. 3 ad fin.) and introd. to his ed.—Continuations: first one (c. 91–109 med. p. 176, 17 Kr.) composed a. 736 and excerpted down to a. 720 from the Gesta Francorum (n. 4), but supplemented with very valuable insertions and

additions down to a. 735; this gives special attention to the Carlovingian dynasty. Next a second continuation down to a. 752 (c. 109 med. to c. 117 p. 182, 13 Kr.) with the subscription: *usque nunc inluster vir Childebrandus comes, avunculus praedicto rege Pippino, hanc historiam vel gesta Francorum diligentissime scribere procuravit. abhinc* (third continuation c. 118–137 p. 193, 10 Kr. down to a. 767) *ab inlustre viro Nibelungo, filium ipsius Childebrando itemque comite, succedat auctoritas.* Breysig, de continuato Fredegarii chronico, Berl. 1849. BKrusch, NArchfädGesch. 7, 495. Wattenbach l.l. 1[5], 119.

2. The work is constrained in style and language; its weakness is naively manifested, but equally evident is its fidelity. The narrative is of a secular and political character; miraculous stories are almost entirely absent.—The diction is debased: the vowel system is very disorganised, as is the use of the cases (the acc. and the abl. preponderate over the others) and that of the participles (e.g. accus. absol.) etc. etc. Specimens are *capo truncare*, *posso potebam*, *volestis vellire*, *amplexerat* etc. See the conspectus in Krusch NArch. 7, 486 and in his ed. p. 557. The MSS. and edd. (except that of Krusch) often eliminate these only too genuine barbarisms. Cf. above § 485, 5. 486, 3.

3. Manuscripts: Paris. 10910 s. VII/VIII, the most important and the source of all the others; in addition to other variations we find added in the latter e.g. Hilarianus de cursu tempp. (§ 442, 1) or Daretis Frigii historia de origine Francorum (§ 471, 4 ad fin.) and the continuations of Fredegar (n. 1) Krusch, NArch. 7, 249 and introd. to his ed.—Editions: by ThRuinart in his Greg. Tur. (§ 486, 8, and from it Migne 71, 605) and recently esp.: Fredegarii et aliorum chronica. Vitae sanctorum. Ed. BKrusch, Hanov. 1888 (=Mon. Germ. hist. Scriptt. Meroving. vol. 2).—A German translation by OAbel, Berl.[2] 1876 (Geschichtschreib. d. deutsch. Vorz. vol. 11).—FZarncke, Lpz. SBer. 1866, 257. HBrosien, Unters. der Quellen z. Gesch. Dagobert's I (Gött. 1886) 5. AJacobs, géographie de Frédeg., de ses continuateurs et des Gesta Francorum, Par.[2] 1861. Wattenbach, Deutschl. Geschichtsq. 1[5], 100. ELüthgen, Quellen u. hist. Wert der fränkischen Trojasage, Bonn 1875, 7. 27. GMonod, rev. crit. 1873, no. 42; études sur les sources de l'hist. Merov. II, Par. 1885 and esp. BKrusch, die Chronicae des sogen. Fredegar, NArchfältdGesch. 7, 247. 421 and introd. to his ed.

4. The author of the Gesta Francorum or of the liber historiae Francorum (printed with Krusch's edition of Fredegar p. 215, in Migne 96, 1421) wrote a. 727, using exclusively Greg. Tur.; where the latter leaves off, he continues in a connected narrative, which though meagre is trustworthy, from the point of view of a native of Neustria. Brosien l.l. 41. Wattenbach 1[5], 103. Lüthgen l.l. 48. GMonod, mém. de la soc. de l'hist. de Paris 3, 219.

5. The vita of Wandregisil, the founder of Fontenelle († c.a. 665), is also written in Fredegarian Latin. Edited by WArndt, kl. Denkmäler aus der Merovingerzeit, Hanov. 1874.—To the same period belongs the correspondence of Desiderius, bishop of Cahors 637–660, extant e.g. in the SGall. 109 s. IX (*epistularum liber domni Desiderii episcopi; epistulae diversorum ad eundem domnum Desiderium*), printed bibl. patr. Lugd. 8, 579. Migne 87, 218.

6. The sifting of the materials contained in the Lives of the Saints is commenced in LSurius, de probatorum sanctorum historiis, Cologne 1570–75 VI. [2]1576–81 (vol. VII, with an index and addenda, by Mosander); [3] Cologne 1618 sq. XII. [4] Turin [1884 sqq. Next esp. by the Bollandists (the Jesuits HvRoswey, JBolland, DPapebroch, GHenschen and others) in the Acta sanctorum (Antw.

1643 sqq.), following the order of the calendar, now continued through 60 folios down to the beginning of November (suppl. for Oct. and index of contents up to date, Par. 1875; there is also an index in FPotthast's bibl. hist. [Berl. 1862] 575). Also the analecta Bollandiana 1882 sqq. (up to the present 8 vols.). Besides these the Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti by (Luc d'Achery and) JMabillon, Par. 1668–1701 IX. from the foundation of the order (a. 529) down to a. 1100; the first centuries by ThRuinart, Acta primorum martyrum sincera, Par. 1689. Wattenbach, D. Geschichtsq.[5] 1, 9 sq. and ib. 1, 409 the list of Merovingian Lives of the Saints by BKrusch and the commencement of a critical edition of the same by BKrusch in the Mon. Germ. hist. Scrr. Merov. 2, 329 sqq.—Ebert, LdMA. 1[2], 612, cf. ib. 201. 331. 449. 572. 640. Cf. above § 486, 4. 491, 5. 493, 3, below 500, 3. Recent works on this subject by ELeBlant, e.g. les actes, martyrs, supplément aux acta sincera des Ruinart (extr. d. mém. de l'acad. des inscript. t. 30, 2, Par. 1882). Cf. generally esp. KJNeumann, d. röm. Staate u. d. Kirche 1 (Lpz. 1890), 274 sqq.

500. In conclusion may be mentioned as belonging to the end of the seventh and the first half of the eighth century, some Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics, who made valuable contributions to ancient literature. Such are Aldhelmus, the writer on prosody, and the monk and polyhistor Baeda (Beda venerabilis), whose erudition rose above the standard of his time, also the two archbishops Tatuinus and Bonifatius, by whom are extant some grammatical treatises among other works.

1. TWright, biographia britannica literaria, Anglo-Saxon period; Lond. 1842. Ebert, LdMA. 1[2], 622.

2. Aldhelmus, abbot of Malmesbury from a. 675, † 709 as bishop of Sherborne. We possess by him 100 riddles (cf. § 499) in hexameters, which gave him the occasion for prefixing the rules (in the form of a dialogue) relating to heroic metre (partly corresponding verbatim with Audax), together with a general view of the different metrical feet and examples from various classes of words. This part was first edited by AMai (class. auct. 5. [1833], 501), then (with the riddles) emended from a cod. Paris. in Aldhelmi opera ed. JAGiles (Oxon. 1844) p. 216, under the title: Epistola ad Acircium sive liber de septenario et de metris, aenigmatibus ac pedum regulis. Reprinted from this in Migne 89, 161.—With these instructions for verse-making may e.g. be compared (although it is very full of mistakes) the short manual on quantity (Exempla diversorum) published from Vatic. Reg. 215 s. IX, Paris. 4883 A s. X. by HKeil, ind. schol. Halle 1872 and EChatelain, rev. de philol. 7, 65. Cf. ARiese, RhM. 26, 332. LTraube, RhM. 44, 479.—Aldhelmus also mentions b. 6 of his work de nomine (p. 540 Mai). Also de laudibus virginitatis (Migne 89, 103) written both in prose and (2905) hexameters (the latter with an acrostic and telestic praefatio ad Maximam abbatissam), one portion of which treats De viii principalibus vitiis. His verses show an industrious study of the earlier Pagan and Christian authors. Reifferscheid, Suet. reliqq. p. 449. Mommsen, Solin. p. xxxv and esp. Manitius l.l. He gives a humorous description of a homeward journey in 100 rhyming octosyllabic lines. Cf. in general JCaesar, PRE. 1[2], 689. HKeil, de gramm. inf. aet. p. 6. Ebert, LdMA. 1[2], 624. MManitius, zu Aldhelm und Baeda, Wiener SBer. 112, 535. KTraube in Rödiger's Schrr. z. germ. Phil. 1, 43.

3. Baeda (Beda) born 674 in Northumberland, presbyter 704, † 735. Numerous works (ed. Cologne 1688 VIII; ed. JAGiles, Lond. 1843 sq. XII, in Migne's patrolog. vol. 90-95). In a metrical form he composed lives of Saints and Martyrs in iambics and hexameters, and other poems (but some of those ascribed to him are of doubtful authorship). Cf. EBährens, RhM. 31, 99.—Among the historical works are specially noteworthy his historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum 5 bb. down to a. 731 (principal MS. Cantabrig. s. VIII. CWSchöll, de eccles. Brit. hist. fontibus 1851, p. 20) and Chronicon s. de VI huius saeculi aetatibus (from the Creation down to a. 726). This universal chronicle had been preceded a. 733 by the short treatise de temporibus. The chronology is reckoned from the birth of Christ. Monumenta historica britannica by Petrie and Sharpe (Lond. 1848) p. 83. Bedae opera historica, ad fidem codd. mss. rec. JStevenson, Lond. 1838-41 II. Hist. eccl. ed. AHolder, Freib. 1882. Hist. eccl. b. 3 and 4 ed. by JEBMayor and JRLumby, Cambr. 1878. Wattenbach, D. Geschichtsq. $1^5$, 122. BSimson, Forschungen z. deutschen Gesch. 19, 97.—Grammatical treatises amongst others De VIII partibus orationis, Cunabula grammaticae artis Donati restituta, De schematibus et tropis (in Halm's rhett. latt. min. p. 607, cf. p. xv), De metrica arte, derived from earlier sources, e.g. Donatus and his commentators, Audax (§ 482, 4), Maximus Victorinus (§ 408, 5), Theodorus (§ 442, 3) and others, without any original additions, except examples from the Christian poets, e.g. from Paulinus, Prosper, Sedulius, Fortunatus, Arator, best printed in Keil's GL, 7, 227; further de orthographia, borrowed chiefly from Charisius and Diomedes, Caper and Agroecius, with additions from ecclesiastical Latin, printed in Keil's GL. 7, 261: on the other hand the de orthographia liber (in Keil, GL. 7, 295) reprinted under the name of Baeda in Putsche's GL. p. 2327 belongs rather, according to the evidence of the MSS., to Albinus magister (i.e. Alcuin, the friend of Charlemagne, † a. 804; cf. AEbert, LdMA. 2, 12. EDümmler's poetae lat. aevi Carol. 1, 60; see above § 427, 8 ad fin.): see Keil l.l. 244. HUsener, RhM. 24, 110.—Mathematical works (de arithmeticis numeris, De divisionibus temporum etc.): MCantor, mathemat. Beitr. zum Culturleben (1863) 279; Gesch. der Mathem. 1, 707.—Very numerous theological treatises of an exegetical and dogmatic character, also sermons.—HGehle, de Bedae Venerabilis vita et scriptis, Leyd. 1838. JAGinzel, kirchenhistor. Schrr. (Vienna 1872) 2, 1. KWerner, Beda der Ehrwürdige u. s. Zeit, Vienna 1875. Ebert, LdMA. $1^2$, 634. CWSchöll in Herzog's Real-Encykl. $2^2$, 204.

4. Tatuinus (Tatwine), an Anglo-Saxon Benedictine of the monastery of Bruidune in Mercia, finally (a. 731) archbishop of Canterbury (cf. Baeda, hist. eccl. Angl. 5, 23), † 734, the author of a grammar (de VIII partibus orationis) which follows Donatus and his commentators; AWilmanns, RhM. 23, 398 (with specimens). This grammar was extant in the 9th cent. at St. Riquier (GBecker, catal. biblioth. antiq. no. 11, 179). Poems by him have also been preserved, and amongst them some riddles (40 in number, in hex., edited together with 60 written by Eusebius, an Anglo-Saxon who likewise lived in the 8th cent., by AEbert, Lpz. SBer. 1877, 20; LdMA. $1^2$, 650).—Cf. LMüller, JJ. 93, 566. FBücheler, RhM. 36, 340. HHahn in the Forsch. z. deutsch. Gesch. 26, 597.—The *versus cuiusdam Scoti de alfabeto* (which occur as early as in MSS of s. X and XI), riddles on the letters of the alphabet (similar ones are found in the above-mentioned Eusebius) belong to this period and to the same region. Printed first in ThWright and JOHalliwell, reliq. antiquae (Lond. 1845) 1, 164. Then in LMüller, RhM. 20, 357. 22, 500. PLM. 5, 375. Cf. EGrosse, RhM. 24, 614. JKlein, ib. 31, 465. FBücheler, ib. 36, 340.—A great similarity exists between the riddles of Eusebius and

Aldhelmus (n. 2) and the 12 riddles by an unknown author printed in EDümmler, Z. f. deutsches Altert. 22, 258 and Poett. lat. aevi Carol. 1, 20, and likewise the 62 (60) riddles, which are mentioned among others § 26, 2 in fin.

5. Bonifatius (originally Winfrid), born 683 at Kirton in Devonshire, a Benedictine, the well-known 'Apostle of the Germans,' finally archbishop of Mayence a. 745–755. A contemporary vita S. Bonifatii (by Willibald of Mayence) in Migne 89, 603; Mon. Germ. SS. 2, 331; esp. ed. PhJaffé, Berl. 1866 (Bibl. rer. Germ. 3, 422), a translation of the same with a commentary by BSimson, 1863. An abridgment of this vita in the anall. Bolland. 1, 51. GWaitz, NArchfädG. 8, 169. In addition to works of doubtful authenticity (vita s. Livini) we possess by him in particular letters (s. B. et ad eum scriptae epistolae CLVI), printed e.g. in Migne 89, 687 and especially by PhJaffé, Bibl. rer. germanic. 3, 8. Cf. Forschungen z. deutsch. Gesch. 10, 397 and 13, 1. 15, 43. ANürnberger, NArchfädGesch. 7, 353. 8, 301. 11, 11; Progrr. of Neisse 1883. 88; Tüb. theol. Qschr. 70, 287. Concerning the most important MS. of the letters Vindob. 751 s. IX see WDiekamp, NArchfädG. 9, 11. 15 sermons of doubtful genuineness (HHahn, Forsch. z. d. G. 24, 583. ANürnberger, NArchfädG. 14, 109). There is also extant a patchwork school manual de VIII partibus orationis, published from Vatic.-Palat. 1746 s. IX by AMai, class. auct. 7, 475. Cf. HKeil, de gramm. inf. aet. (1868) p. 6. CBursian, Münch. SBer. 1873, 457. Some notices concerning prosody have been published from Vat.-Pal. 1753 s. IX by AWilmanns, RhM. 23, 403. Here we read e.g. *orationis autem studium primum egit Seron* after Isidor. orig. 1, 27, 2 *prosae autem studium sero viguit!* Cf. § 35, 1.—The poems of Bonif. are best given in poett. lat. aevi Carolini rec. EDümmler (=Mon. Germ. hist. Poetae lat. medii aevi I) 1 (Berl. 1881), 3 (cf. 2, 687): among these first 20 acrostichic Aenigmata (338 hex.), in which the virtues and vices are introduced discoursing (PBock, Freiburger Diöcesan-archiv. 3, 221); then an acrostichic, mesostichic and telestichic tour-de-force in the manner of Porphyrius ib. 16 (see concerning this GLaubmann, Münch. SBer. 1878 1, 1).—Opera quae extant omnia ed. JAGiles, Lond. 1844 II, in Migne 89, 598. Cf. Rettberg, Kirchengesch. Deutschl. 1, 309. JPMüller, Bonif., eine Studie, Amst. 1869 sq. II. Wattenbach, D. Geschichtsqu. 1⁵, 126. Ebert, LdMA. 1², 653. AWerner, Bonif. u. die Romanisierung von Mitteleuropa, Lpz. 1875. OFischer, Bonifatius etc., Lpz. 1881.

6. Paulus diaconus, the first important historian of the Middle Ages (c. a. 725–797), is also prominent on account of the extent of his classical culture and his literary skill. At the instance of the duchess Adelperga of Beneventum (his dedication to her is given in Droysen's Eutr. ed. mai. p. 4) he wrote about a. 770 his Historia Romana, of which the basis was the breviarium of Eutropius (§ 415, 4) enlarged by additions from Orosius, Jerome, Jordanis, Victor's epitome, a more comprehensive origo gentis Romanae [§ 414, 5] etc. To Eutropius b. 1–10 Paulus added b. 11–16, copying further from a variety of sources (first Orosius and next Prosper) (Droysen's ed. mai. prolegg.). Paulus brings the narrative down to Justinian. Numerous MSS. beginning with s. IX–X. Best edition (of the essential portions) of the Hist. Romana in Droysen's Eutropius ed. mai. (see § 415, 7) and (the complete work) in the editio minor (Pauli hist. Rom. in usum scholl.) Berl. 1879. The hist. rom. of Paulus passed into the so-called historia miscella, see § 39, 5.—Subsequently (after a. 787) Paulus wrote at Montecassino his important historical work, the historia Langobardorum (6 bb.), best edited by GWaitz in Monum. hist. Germ. Scriptores rer. langob. et ital. saec. VI–IX, Hanov. 1878. Cf. Mommsen, NArchfädGesch. 5, 51. 10, 74 and

GWaitz ib. 5, 415. 10, 421. AVogeler, Paul. Diac. u. d. origo gent. Langob. Hildesh. 1887. LSchmidt, NArchfädG. 13, 391. Paul. Diac. and the other historians of the Langobards, transl. by OAbel and RJacoby, Lpz.$^2$ (= Geschichtschr. der d. Vorz. vol. 15).—The poems of P. are best given in EDümmler's poett. lat. aevi Carolini 1, 27.—For Paul. diac.'s abridgment of Festus see § 261, 6. Cf. generally on Paul. diac. CLBethmann, ArchfädGesch. 10, 247. 335. GWaitz, scrippt. rer. langobard. p. 12. Wattenbach, Deutschl. Geschichtsq. $1^5$, 155. AEbert, LdMA. 2, 36. LvRanke, sämtl. Werke 51/52, 77.

# ADDENDA.

Vol. I. **3,** 1 WWMerry, Selected fragments of Roman poetry, with introdd. and notes, Oxf. 1891. **97,** 4 Plautus Capt., ARSHallidie, London 1891. Miles Gl., GGötz, Leipz. 1891. Rudens, EASonnenschein, London 1891. **184,** 10 (4) Cic. de Nat. Deorum, app. crit. by PSchwenke, Classical review, V, 1 sqq. **187,** 8 Correspondence of Cicero, by RYTyrrell and CPurser, III Dublin 1890. Cicero in his letters (correspondence relating to Cic.'s private life), by RYTyrrell, London 1891. **196,** 11 Caesar de bell. Civ. I, AGPeskett, London 1891. **228,** 10 Vergil, Ecl. and Aen. 1–6, in verse, by Sir CBowen, London 1887. **236,** 2 Horace, Satires, LMüller, Vienna 1891. **253,** 7 Manilius' Astronomica (Noctes Manilianae), REllis, Oxf. 1891. **256,** 17 Livy 1, 2, JBGreenough, New York 1891.

Vol. II. **279,** 6 Valerius Maximus (selections), WRInge, London 1891. **305,** 7 Petronius Cena Trimalch. (with transl.), LFriedländer, Leipz. 1891. **325,** 10 Quintilian Inst. or. I, ChFierville, Paris 1890. X., WPeterson, Oxf. 1891. **347,** 10 Suetonius, de vita Caes. libri duo, HTPeck, New York 1889. **441,** 6 Sulpicius Sev., de v. M. cum epist. et dial., FrDübner, Paris[2] 1890.

## ERRATA.

Vol. I. p. 99, n. 2 l. 5. For 'combated' read 'supported.' p. 316, n. 7, l. 14. For 'u. X' read 'and X.' p. 405 (heading), for § 319 read § 219.

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